

# Dynamics of Direct CitizenParticipation in Rwandan Local Governance

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## Acronyms and abbreviations

CPIA: Country Policy and Institutional Assessment

CRC: Citizen Report Card

DALGOR: Deepening Accountable Local Governance in Rwanda

FGDs: Focus Group Discussions

Fc: Frequency

GIS: Geographical Information System

LG: Local Government

LODA: Local Administrative Entities Development Agency

M&E: Monitoring and Evaluation

MINALOC: Ministry of Local Government

MINECOFIN: Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning

NURC: National Unity and Reconciliation Commission

RGB: Rwanda Governance Board

SPSS: Statistical Package for Social Sciences

RALGA: Rwanda Association for Local Government Authorities

%: Percentage

#### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

This study on the dynamics of direct citizen participation in local governance in Rwanda was undertaken by Rwanda Association of Local Government Authority (RALGA) through DALGOR Project and in the framework of RALGA mission to promote direct citizen participation in Rwandan local governance. In this study, citizen participation was analysed with an understanding that it is the process of and means by which all Rwandans as citizens are involved in decision-making process in order to influence the policy/programs formulation, resources allocation, implementation and evaluation as well as holding leaders accountable. The overall objective of this this study was to identify and explain the dynamics of direct citizen participation in Rwandan local governance between the period 2011 - 2017. Hence forth the specific objectives this study intended were to:

- 1. Identify and explain the dynamics of direct citizen participation in local agenda setting, budget allocation, implementation and monitoring and evaluation;
- 2. Determine the extent to what the identified citizen participation dynamics link with both national and local priorities as defined by key national and local planning framework;
- 3. Determine which of the existing direct citizen participation channels are most used versus the least used ones and examine why;
- 4. Assess the value and practicability of direct citizen participation in planning, budgeting, programs implementation, M&E, with a strong focus on enabling and hindering factors; and
- 5. Identify and explain the implication of the current dynamics of citizen's interests in direct participation on downward accountability and recommend most viable policy actions to improve on current practices.

The study covered 5 Districts where DALGOR project operates. The Districts included: Burera, Nyamagabe, Nyamasheke, Gasabo and Ngoma. The target population for the study was 1.027.721 while the total sample was 2288. Quantitative and qualitative data were collected through questionnaire, semi-structured interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). As far as the analysis and discussion of the findings are concerned, the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of respondents such as residence, sex, education, age, poverty level, marital status, physical status and employment were analyzed. The analysis of the results was done in line with the 5 specific objectives.

The first objective of the study was to assess the dynamics of direct citizen participation in agenda setting, budgeting, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. The main findings showed that citizens directly participate in identifying community priorities and communicating them to their leaders. Concerning the planning and budgeting, direct citizen participation is not satisfactory from the perspective of citizens. Only 21.7% confirmed that they have participated in planning and budgeting. The level of direct citizen participation in implementation of local agenda was at 66%. Finally, the findings showed that the level of direct citizen participation in monitoring and evaluation is less than 40%. Therefore, citizens need more sensitization in order to improve their direct citizen participation in monitoring and evaluation.

The second objective was to determine the extent to which the identified citizen participation dynamics link with both National and local priorities as defined by key National and local planning framework. It was found out that Local administrative entities implement National programs and policies defined in various Government strategic sectors. All these National programs and policies aim to enhance socio-economic development of citizens. Local administrative entities establish enabling mechanisms to allow effective implementation of those government policies and programs. Direct citizen participation is one of those mechanisms that enable them to identify local priorities, but abide by National priorities. The findings demonstrated that the top 5 sectors or domains (agriculture, health, infrastructure, security and education) in which citizens have directly participated in identifying community priorities and in planning and budgeting coincide with National priorities as defined in EDPRS. At District level, it was found out that the top 5 sectors in which citizens directly participate most, coincide with District priorities as defined in District performance contracts (imihigo y'Akarere). In addition, it was found out that the Village is the local government level at which the citizens have directly participated in planning and budgeting. Also, it was found that it is the local government level of which citizens wish to have more direct participation in the future. This totally coincides with government commitment to empower the population to participate in the decision making over issues that affect them, making the village level (Umudugudu) a solid local government level for service delivery, capable of resolving issues and conflicts, and a place where the population participate directly in the governance of the country. All in all, it was found out that the identified citizen participation dynamics link with both National and local priorities as defined by key National and local planning framework.

The findings on how both citizens and local leaders appreciated the value and practicability of direct citizen participation, showed that majority of citizens and local leaders consider direct citizen participation as very important factor of democratic governance. However, factors such as illiteracy of citizens, lack of time, lack of sensitization and mobilization might limit the practicability of direct citizen participation in local governance.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> objective was to determine which of the existing direct citizen participation channels are most used versus the least used ones and examine why. The findings revealed that the most channels used by citizens for direct citizen participation in priorities identification and prioritization, planning and budgeting, implementation and M& E were: community assemblies (Inteko z'Abaturage), community work (Umuganda), meetings organized by local leaders and parents' evening forum (Umugoroba w'Ababyeyi). The less used channels by the citizens were: ICT, ubudehe, suggestion boxes, open day, National dialogue council and media.

In general, community assembly is the most used and preferred channel by both citizens and local leaders. During FGDs, participants explained that community assemblies are preferred, because every adult person is invited and the attendance is compulsory. In addition, community assemblies are preferred, because people are prepared in advance, they have enough time and they are free to debate and express on issues they are facing. Community work is used also because attendance is compulsory and citizens have time to debate on issues and express their views. Also, there is legal framework for both community assembly and Umuganda. The less used channels such as ICT, media etc. require money and infrastructure such internet, mobile phone network and electricity that are lacking in most rural areas.

The fourth objective intended to assess and analyze the value and practicability of direct citizen participation in defining local priorities and budgeting, programs implementation and M&E, with a strong focus on enabling and hindering factors. It is shown that 99, 09% of local leaders said that direct citizen participation in local governance is of paramount importance, while 0.9 % argued that it is not of value and not desirable. Moreover, 66.8% of citizen respondents confirmed that direct citizen participation in local governance is of value, while 33.2% reported that it has less value. From these findings, one can simply conclude that local leaders appreciate the value and the importance of direct citizen participation than citizens. In expressing their views on factors that limit citizens, 53.2% of citizens said that they did not

directly participate, because they were not invited by local leaders while 51.9 % of citizens confirmed that the reason was that they did not have knowledge and skills in planning and budgeting, 51.2% of local leaders said that citizens do not have enough knowledge and skills necessary for them to directly participate in planning and budgeting, 28.6% of citizens said that there was lack of clear information about what was supposed to be done, 23.5% of citizens stated the lack of clear information about what was supposed to be the direct role and direct contribution of citizens in the implementation and 19.1 % of citizens mentioned insufficient funds.

The objective five was to identify and explain the implication of the current dynamics of citizen's interests in direct participation on downward accountability and recommend most viable policy actions to improve on current practices. It was found out that 73.6% of citizens have directly participated in holding their local leaders accountable for their actions. 26.4% of citizens did not directly participate in holding their local leaders accountable for their actions. When the same question was asked to local leaders, the following findings were shown: 94.6% of local leaders confirmed that citizens have directly participated in holding local leaders accountable for their actions, while only 4.11% of local leaders said that citizens did not directly participate in holding their local leaders accountable. Citizens in FGDs said that for local leaders whom they have directly voted, for instance the Coordinators of villages, they can hold them accountable. But, for the recruited and appointed local leaders, such as cell executive secretary, sector executive secretary and the District Mayor, it is difficult for citizens to directly hold them accountable.

Even if the GoR has put in place various mechanisms to promote direct citizen participation in local governance, there are still challenges that seem to hamper the effectiveness of direct citizen participation. The culture of centralism is still manifested in attitudes and practices of local government leaders and citizens. Some local leaders think that citizens do not have sufficient knowledge and skills; therefore, there is no need to involve them in decision making. In this regard, capacity building of local leaders on this matter is recommended. Some citizens, because of low level of literacy and the culture of centralism which is still entrenched in citizens' minds, they think that participating in issues affecting their daily lives is not necessary. Some think that the government in general, local leaders and councillors in particular, can think and decide on their behalf. In this context, education and socialization of citizens is recommended. The culture of participation in decision-making should be

entrenched in Rwandans' minds. Two ways communication between local leaders and citizens should be enhanced. Local leaders and councillors should regularly (as many times as possible) contact with citizens in order to know their real needs, views and priorities. Citizens should be informed and prepared in advance so that they put together their concerns. Citizens' needs and priorities should inform those decisions taken at the Cell, Sector and District level. Last but least, feedback should be provided to citizens.

In conclusion, although all attempts have been made in this study to analyse the dynamics of direct citizen participation in Rwandan local governance, some areas require further inquiry. These include among others: (i) The role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and political parties to optimize direct citizen participation; (ii) Involvement of community based structures (National Women Council, National Youth Council and National People With Disability Council) in promoting the culture of direct citizen participation in the local governance; and (iii) The state of e-governance in Rwandan local administrative entities, challenges and strategies.

#### **CHAPTER 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

#### 1.1.Introduction

This study on the dynamics of direct citizen participation in local governance in Rwanda was undertaken by RALGA through DALGOR Project in the framework of its mission to promote direct citizen participation in Rwandan local governance.

In Rwanda, given the history of centralized system, bad governance, violent conflict and genocide, direct participation of citizens in policy-making was a top governance priority. In fact, article 48 of the 2003 Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda as revised in 2005, postulates that every Rwandan Citizen has the right to directly and /or indirectly participate in the governance and development of his/her country.

Furthermore, the national decentralization policy adopted in 2000 and revised in 2013 was established with the aim of enabling and stimulating citizens' interest to directly be involved in initiating, making, implementing, monitoring and evaluating decisions and programs that affect them. A part from legal and institutional framework put in place to foster direct citizen participation, the government of Rwanda has put in place platforms for direct citizen participation known as Home Grown Solutions, such as Umuganda (Community work), Inteko z'abaturage (Community assemblies), Ubudehe, Umugoroba w'Ababyeyi (Evening parents' forum), Inama y'Igihugu y'umushyikirano (National Dialogue Council) and Umwiherero (National Leadership Retreat), to mention but a few.

As a result of all this, Rwanda has made important steps in terms of democratic governance and social and economic development of its citizens. In this regard, the RGB's Rwanda Governance Scorecard (2014) highlights improvement in citizens' participation (71.68%). The Ibrahim Index for African Governance (2015) suggests that Rwanda is among the African continent's top ten improvers in overall governance since 2011, while the World Bank's Country Policy and Institutional Assessment for 2016 (CPIA) ranked 1st among Sub Saharan Africa with a score of 4.

However, a number of assessments on citizen participation in Rwanda consistently showed that direct citizen participation in the formulation of policies and programs remains weak (Rwanda Governance Board, 2013, 2014; IRDP, 2010, 2013; Transparency International Rwanda, 2015). The recent RGB's Citizen Report Card - CRC (2015 and 2016) highlights the low level of appreciation of citizens regarding their participation in performance contract. In

addition, assessments done by OXFAM (2015), IRDP (2011) and NURC (2016 and 2011) on citizen participation, showed that the level of direct citizen participation in local agenda setting, planning, budget allocation, monitoring and evaluation as well as holding their local leaders accountable was low. It is worth noting however, that most of those assessments were largely quantitative and did not provide enough clarification on the current dynamics of direct citizen participation. Hence there were critical knowledge and data gaps in terms of exploring where the citizens' real interests for their direct involvement in public local decisions lie, this study was conducted to fill up those gaps. This report is structured in four chapters:

Chapter 1 presents the general introduction, the background to this study and highlights its rationale and objectives.

Chapter 2 defines key concepts;

Chapter 3 gives the methodology used in this study and focuses on approaches, sampling plan, quality assurance, and ethical considerations;

Chapter 4 discusses and interpretes the findings.

## 1.2.Background to the study

The arguments of citizens not having time, interest and even ability to make useful contribution through direct citizen participation have pushed scholars to think about indirect involvement as opposed to the direct engagement (Callahan 2007). In this regard, Callahan (ibid) argues that central government should devise different ways of consulting citizens and engaging them in decision making. As both mechanisms (direct and indirect) of citizen participation do not contradict each other, but mutually supportive, they can therefore, be combined and used. For instance, in Rwanda, the constitution of 2003 as amended in 2015 guarantees both mechanisms of citizen participation (direct and indirect participations). In the same line, the 7year government programme 2010-2017prones further to consolidate "democracy as form of administration in which citizens participate and work to promote their interests and strive for sustainable development accessible to all without any exclusion from the benefits offered byRwanda as a nation". The law no 87/2013 of 11/09/2013 determining the organisation and functioning of decentralized administrative entities in its article 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Republic of Rwanda (2010). Government Programme 2010-2017

precises that the decentralized entities comprise the City of Kigali, Districts, Sectors, Cells and Villages. These entities are governed by their respective councils and are under supervision of the Ministry in charge of local government (MINALOC 2013:53).

Only the City of Kigali and the District have the legal personality and constitute the basis for community development with financial and administrative autonomy. The management of those centralized entities is done by 3 organs:

- (i) The council;
- (ii) The executive committee and;
- (iii) (ii) The executive secretariat.

Regarding Sector and Cell, their management comprises of the council and the executive secretariat. These organs are supported by the security committee at Sector level and the development consultative committee at cell level. The article 185 of the law n° 87/2013 of 11/09/2013 specifies the responsibilities of sector which is to implement the development programs, service delivery and promote good governance and social welfare.

The same law in its article 202 precises that the cell is an entity without legal personality providing basic services and it is in charge of data collection and sensitizing the population to contribute to and participate in sustainable development activities. In the same law, the article 217 specifies that the village is the basic unit for mobilization and interaction of the population. It is the entity in which the citizens participate directly to their development.

In this way, Citizens Assemblies (Inteko z' Abaturage) were established in 2010, following Ministerial Instruction N° 002/07/01 of 20/05/2011 to guide decentralized entities to handle citizens' concerns. Article 16 of this instruction states that "Inteko z' Abaturage are attended by Cell residents and leaders from various structures who should come to provide the citizens with advice and share ideas (MINALOC-REPORT, 2011)". Inteko z' Abaturage constitute one of the three mechanisms put in place to examine and solve citizens' concerns at the Village level (Never Again 2016).

According to MINALOC report (2013), the governance commitments of the Government's program 2010-2017 included among others to further good governance by continued empowerment of the population to participate in the decision making over issues that affect them, making the village level (Umudugudu) a solid local government level for service delivery, capable of resolving issues and conflicts, and a place where the population participate directly in the governance of the country. A number of channels to facilitate direct citizen participation were established by the government of Rwanda including amongst

others; local community radios, Inteko z'abaturage (Community assemblies), Ubudehe, Umuganda (Community work), imihigo (Performance Contract), ubusabane (Conviviality) and umugoroba w'ababyeyi (evening parents' forum).

Despite all the mechanisms established to promote direct citizen participation, the participative governance at local government remains at low level (Never Again Rwanda 2016). Various other reports on participative governance at local level showed that direct citizen participation in the formulation of policies and programs remain feeble (Rwanda Governance Board, 2013, 2014; IRDP, 2010, 2013; Transparency International Rwanda, 2015).

The Citizen Report Card - CRC (2015)- done by RGB highlights the low level of appreciation of citizens regarding their participation in performance contracts. It indicates that only in 5 of 30 Districts, the level of satisfaction is between 50 and 75%. In 10 out of 30 Districts, the level of citizen satisfaction is between 25% and 50%, while in 15 out of 30 Districts, the level of citizens' satisfaction is below 25%. In terms of direct participation in budget planning, the CRC (2015) shows that the citizens' satisfaction is between 25% and 50% in only 2 Districts while in 28 out of 30 Districts, the satisfaction is below 25% (Rwanda Governance Board 2015). In the same study, effectiveness of various direct citizen participation channels was assessed. The direct citizen participation channels which were appreciated by citizens include the Presidential outreach visits, Inteko z'Abaturage and broad-casting media (both local and national).

In the recent CRC report (2016) it was shown that while participation in various decision making framework scored more than 60%, direct citizen participation has scored less in budget preparation (7.40%), decision making process (59%) and especially imihigo (27.3%).

In addition, the study conducted by Transparency Rwanda (2011), shows that direct citizen participation was higher in the health and education than in the agriculture and budgeting related affairs. Direct citizen participation was also high at the policy implementation stage, while in other stages (formulation of priorities and evaluation) it was relatively low. The study also showed that the role of civil society organizations in promoting civic participation is lower, while the participation of women in decision-making is much higher than men.

The concept of both direct and indirect citizen participations gained much more attention in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as one of the key factors of democratic governance and as the cornerstone of decentralisation (Gaventa and Valderrama 1999). Later

in the 1980s the concept was institutionalized in the developing countries with the movement of people centred-structures, (Brosio, 2000). This new form of running public affairs originated from the move of many African countries toward the adoption of decentralisation "which is considered as an important ingredient for instituting democracy and widening civic space" (Kessy 2013). As a result, the benefits of citizen participation have been commonly appreciated by many countries although there have been a number of controversies as far as its impact and approaches are concerned.

Talking about the benefits of citizen participation, Nabatchi (2012) argues that citizen participation promotes transparency and legitimacy. It fosters cooperation and trust between people and the government, reduces tension and conflict over public policy decisions. For Rugo (2014) the lack of direct citizen participation affects negatively the quality of service delivery. In Kenya for instance, lack of direct citizen participation resulted into inefficiencies in decentralized service delivery (Rugo, 2014). It is, however, believed that, citizen participation is too expensive and time consuming. Besides, citizens generally do not have enough skills to make a thorough analysis of complex situations as well as skills to make critical analysis of governance. This is even more risky once the governance process has to follow all the steps of governance from the problem identification, formulation of best alternatives and implementation up to the evaluation.

## 1.3.Problem statement

The recent findings from CRC report 2016 shows that the level of citizen satisfaction for their direct participation in local affairs that concern them was 58.9 %; the level of direct citizen participation in district performance contracts was 41.1%; the level of direct citizen participation in agenda setting for the district was 25.6%, whereas the level of direct citizen participation in budgeting related activities was 23.1%.

In addition, some of the channels put in place for direct citizen participation are not used or are under-utilised. For instance, according to CRC report 2016, direct citizen participation channels which were appreciated by citizens include the Presidential outreach visits, Inteko z'Abaturage and broad-casting media (both local and national), while other channels are underutilized (CRC report 2016).

It is worth noting however, that most of the aforementioned assessments were largely quantitative and did not provide enough clarification on the current dynamics of direct citizen participation. It was unclear whether citizens in Rwanda are, for the time being, more interested and hence more eager to directly participate in decision-making pertaining to

infrastructure, health, education and agriculture, than they would do in other sectors. It was unclear why the level of participation is high even higher in certain domains and very low in other domains, especially domains related to budgeting, budget allocation, monitoring and evaluation. Again, it was unclear where the citizens' real interests for their direct participation in local governance lie.

It is from critical knowledge and data gaps in the previous researches, that I-5 SAFE Ltd on behalf of RALGA conducted an in-depth quantitative and qualitative research on dynamics of direct citizen participation in Rwandan local governance. A thorough understanding of the dynamics of direct citizen participation in local governance was needed in order to know the pushing and pulling factors behind direct citizen participation.

## 1.4.Objectives of the study

The overall objective was to identify and explain the dynamics of direct citizen participation in Rwandan local governance between the periods 2011 - 2016.

Specifically, this study intended to:

- 1. Identify and explain the dynamics of direct citizen participation in local agenda setting, budget allocation, implementation and monitoring and evaluation;
- 2. Determine the extent to which the identified citizen participation dynamics link with both national and local priorities as defined by key national and local planning framework;
- 3. Determine which of the existing direct citizen participation channels are most used versus the least used ones and examine why;
- 4. Assess the value and practicability of direct citizen participation in planning, budgeting, programs implementation, M&E, with a strong focus on enabling and hindering factors;
- 5. Identify and explain the implication of the current dynamics of citizen's interests in direct participation on downward accountability and recommend most viable policy actions to improve on current practices.

In addition, this study attempted to answer the main question: What are the dynamics of direct citizen participation in Rwandan local governance between the periods 2011-2016? From the main question, the following sub-questions were formulated:

• What are the dynamics of direct citizen participation in local agenda setting?

- What are the dynamics of direct citizen participation in budget allocation?
- What are the dynamics of direct citizen participation in local government projects or plans implementation?
- What are the dynamics of direct citizen participation in M&E of plans that affect their lives?
- To what extent the identified citizen participation dynamics link with both national and local priorities as defined by key national and local planning framework?
- Which of the existing direct citizen participation channels are most used versus the least used ones and why?
- What is the value and practicability of direct citizen participation in local agenda setting, budget allocation, programs implementation and M&E of plans?
- What are the enabling and hindering factors for direct citizen participation?
- What is the implication of the current dynamics of citizen's interests in direct participation on downward accountability?
- What can be done (strategies) to improve on current practices?

#### **CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

The key terms used in this study, namely the dynamics, governance, local governance, local government and direct citizen participation need to be defined and contextualized for the purpose of clear understanding and appreciation of this study.

## 2.1 Dynamics

The word dynamics refers to people's different views, attitudes, behaviour and ideas that they hold over a given idea and over a given period of time (Ndabaga E. 2004), (Durlauf, Steven, Young and Peyton 2001: 20). The word dynamics implies an idea of something in a perpetual change as opposed to something which is static. In the context of this study, dynamics imply to different forces or factors that stimulate changes in citizens' direct participation interests or preferences over a specific period of time, which is from 2011 to 2016. Those forces include among others; preferences of direct involvement of citizens in various government programmes, their real interests, motivation and eagerness to directly participate

#### 2.2 Governance

There is no universally agreed upon meaning of the word "governance". There are different definitions as there are different authors. According to Bevir and Mark (2013:12), governance is all of the processes of governing, interaction and decision-making among the actors involved in a collective problem that lead to the creation, reinforcement or reproduction of social norms and institutions. In the Rwandan context, governance is an effective way by which the administration achieves goals of social and economic development with respect to basic rights (Office of the Ombudsman 2011: 12). Good governance relies on the quality of the public service and the participation of the citizens in the elaboration of the national policies (Idem).

## 2.3 Local governance

Local governance is a system whereby organized local bodies with clear mandates are generally more efficient and effective in enhancing local democracy and good governance, in delivering services to the local people and in reducing poverty (Novacx 1970: 32). According to MINALOC report (2013:36), local governance is defined as a system of Government at local level through which local people manage their affairs. In line with this view, Rwanda embarked on decentralization of powers from central to local governments in the 2000 as a conscious strategy to enhance local governance, improve service provision and reduce

poverty. The initial focus was on empowering citizens to participate in decisions that affect their localities report (ibid).

## 2.4 Local government

According to Planact (2001:10), a local government is the sphere of government closest to the people, and is therefore better placed than national or provincial government to effectively and efficiently carry out various tasks dealing with services and community development. In decentralized countries such as Rwanda, local government plays a critical role in terms of service delivery. As the sphere of government which is closest to the people, a local government main objective is to complement the activities of national government by performing functions that help to enhance service delivery. Local government is a channelthrough which central government ensures that services are provided and citizens are satisfied.

#### 2.5 Direct Citizen participation

Direct citizen participation is defined as the process by which members of society as citizens share power with public officials in making substantive decisions related to the community (Roberts 2008: 26). In this instance, direct citizen participation involves those members of society who serve without pay and do not have formal governmental decision making authority in the formulation and implementation of public policy (Roberts 2008).

Arnstein quoted by Roberts (2008) states that direct citizen participation involves power and the power is central to the concept of direct citizen participation. Citizen participation requires power sharing among citizens and public officials, and it is totally different from citizen manipulation, co-optation and tokenism (Idem). It is not at all, a form of control that enables those in power or authority to get citizens to do what they want them to do.

Direct citizen participation is embedded in decentralization process. As it is indicated in the National Decentralization Policy, "decentralization was considered to be the main mechanism to promote good governance (through improved participation, promotion of transparency and accountability, and setting up responsive and sensitive decentralized structures), enhance local economic development (through efficient and effective implementation of development programs) and bringing quality and accessible services closer to the citizens. These areas of focus were rooted in the strategic objectives of the Decentralization Policy of 2000 as follows: (i) To enable and reactivate local people's participation in initiating, making, implementing and monitoring decisions and plans

that concern them taking into consideration their local needs, priorities, capacities and resources by transferring power, authority and resources from central to local government and lower levels.

For the National Decentralisation Policy, the "Citizen's participation aspect of political decentralization empowers the local communities and enables them to receive and utilize the powers that are transferred to them especially in problem analysis, priority setting, planning, budgeting and constantly demanding accountability from their local and national leadership or any governance actor at the local level. This aspect of political decentralization is more complex and takes more time to manifest itself. Local governments have the obligation to facilitate and promote the participation of citizens in setting priorities, planning, budgeting and making implementation decisions regarding the services they provide"

The citizens participation can be direct and indirect.<sup>2</sup> Direct citizen participation in decision making can be influenced by different factors. According to Holdar and Zakharchenko (2002:56), citizens get mostly involved in this process when the issue at stake relates directly to them. In addition, awareness is an important factor for citizen participation. It is difficult to participate and contribute on issues you are not aware of. In this regard, Crosby et al. (1986) state that citizen participation usually starts with a diverse group of people, who are informed or who receive information on a particular topic and who subsequently can recommend the policy which they find most appropriate to the relevant authorities in a suitable and organized way. Furthermore, Milakovich (2010) reiterates that citizen participation implies a readiness on the part of both the citizens and government institutions to accept certain pre-defined civic responsibilities and roles. It implies the readiness of citizens to understand and accept their roles in the governance of their country, but also implies the readiness of authorities to understand and to accept that citizens have a role to play in the governance process of the country.

There are many advantages attached to direct citizen participation in governance process. According to Roberts (2008), Paterman (1970) and Salisbury (1975), the following are the benefits of direct citizen participation:

Direct citizen participation. In this mode of participation, citizens are personally involved and actively engaged (Stewart 2003).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Indirect citizen participation or representative democracy. In this mode of participation, citizens elect others to represent them in the decision process.

- **Direct citizen participation is developmental**. It develops the highest human capacities and fosters an active public- spirited moral character. With a system of governance that allows direct citizen participation, people are able to realize their potential and they become confident, independent, self-reliant, good and responsible people;
- **Direct citizen participation is educative**. The more one participates, the more one develops the attitudes and skills of citizenship;
- **Direct citizen participation is therapeutic and integrative**. Many people suffer from alienation and through direct participation they can be made well. Direct participation gives a sense of freedom and control and it creates in someone strong feelings of citizenship;
- **Direct citizen participation is legitimating**. Because citizens participate in governmental affairs and give their consent to decisions, they legitimate those decisions and policies, and the authority that makes them. This legitimacy produces stability within the system;
- **Direct citizen participation is protective of freedom**. It enables people to be and remain their own masters and ensures that no man or group is master of another. Through direct citizen participation, citizens gain freedom and gain a very real degree of control over their lives and their environment;
- **Direct citizen participation is instrumental**. It is an opportunity and a mechanism for those ordinary citizens without power to challenge those who have it. It gives those without power a platform and voice for change and to reduce the tyranny of the haves over the have-nots;
- **Direct citizen participation is realistic**. Today's modern society is complex and therefore, it is impossible to govern without the consent of the governed. In addition, direct citizen participation can be a source of innovative ideas and approaches (Roberts 2008; Paterman 1970; and Salisbury1975).

The above benefits of citizen participation became the foundation and rationale for Rwandan government to devise the system of decentralization through local government in order to facilitate all Rwandans to be part of the decision-making process, particularly for issues that affect their lives directly.

Different channels were established to give opportunities for citizens to directly participate in local affairs that concern them:

#### • Ubudehe Program.

As indicated by Rwanda Governance Board (2014; p 15) in the assessment of the impact of home grown initiative, "Ubudehe was particularly chosen as a reminder that collective action and participatory development are rooted in the Rwandan society" It is a programme allowing to determine that nature and the levels of poverty based on the categorization of citizens in which every household is classified in relation of his/ her living conditions. Ubudehe constitute one of the channels of direct citizen participation in the sense that the mapping of poverty at village level is done by all inhabitants of the village.

## • Umuganda (Community work)

Umuganda or community work refers to doing things together and pooling together the energy to supplement the effort of a person. Umuganda constitutes another mechanism of direct citizen participation in Rwandan local governance. The assessment of the impact of home grown initiatives done by RGB (2014) indicates that Umuganda is one of the precious tools in the Rwandan culture of mutual help. The assessment indicated that Umuganda is enabling local communities to build basic infrastructure such as roads, schools, health facilities and administrative offices. It is also a forum for conviviality and social cohesion, and enables communication between the population in their neighbourhood as well as with the leaders.

Though direct citizen participation presents many advantages, a number of scholars as well politicians regard direct citizen participation with distrust (Roberts 2008). According to Schumpeter quoted by Roberts (2008), the masses are incapable of action and the substantive involvement of citizens in governance is unworkable even if it may be desirable. According to Pateman (1970), Hart (1972), Dryzek (1993), Grant (1994) and Roberts (2008), the following are assumptions that oppose direct citizen participation in decision-making:

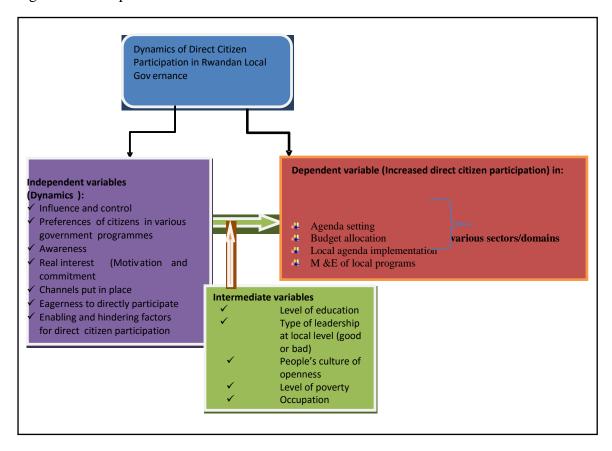
• **Direct citizen participation is based on a false notion**. Human nature is flawed. Citizens are either too passionate and selfish or too passive or apathetic to be directly involved in decision making. Therefore, hence individual citizens cannot realistically be trusted; they need benevolent, but firm guidance for an informed and politically active minority;

- Direct citizen participation is inefficient. Today's society is large and complex. Because management of modern society has become more culturally and technologically sophisticated, it needs to rely on more refined and expert decision-making. Another reason against direct citizen participation is that mass involvement would be too expensive, too slow and too cumbersome to try to get everybody in the act. Again, the average or ordinary citizen does not have the ability to comprehend the management of complex public affairs;
- **Direct citizen participation is politically naive**. Not every member of the community is equally qualified to decide thoughtfully on all issues. When given chance, unskilled citizens can take unworkable decisions. Therefore, governance should rest on informed and knowledgeable elite. A small minority needs to be actively and directly involved in politics;
- **Direct citizen participation is unrealistic**. Direct citizen participation is a luxury that modern society cannot afford. It requires skills, resources, money, and time that most citizens do not have. In this regard, Almond (1989) argues that citizens do not have time to be more actively involved in politics;
- Direct citizen participation is disruptive. Too much citizen involvement heightens political conflict and is dysfunctional. People have different interests and everyone wants to defend and protect his or her interest and this might create interest-conflicts among the members of community; and
- Advanced technology makes difficult direct citizen participation. In today's era of
  information society and knowledge economy, how can average and ordinary citizen
  participate in decision that needs the use of advanced and complex technology? Lack of
  technological skills limits and makes impossible direct citizens participation in certain
  issues and decisions.

In this study, direct citizen participation in local governance involves ordinary citizens assessing their own needs and priorities and participating in local project planning and budgeting, implementation, monitoring and evaluation and by making local leaders accountable to the people. In addition, direct participation happens when citizens are personally and actively engaged in taking decisions that affect their lives.

From the above discussio	ns, a conceptua	l framework	composed	with	independent	variables
was determined:						

Figure 1: Conceptual framework



Source: Researcher's own design

#### **CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY**

According to Mustafa (2010), research methodology refers to a set of methods and techniques the researcher uses while performing a research enquiry. This section presents a detailed description of the methodology followed while executing the study in hand. It covers among others issues of the scope of study, research philosophy underpinning the execution of the study, the research approach and the sampling procedures used and sample size. This section also shows how data were collected and analysed, the data collection instruments, and how validity and reliability were assured.

## 3.1 Scope of study

- **a. Geographically,** the study covered 5 DALGOR beneficiary Districts as follows: Burera, Nyamagabe, Nyamasheke, Gasabo and Ngoma.
- **b. Time scope:** The study about the dynamic of direct citizen participation in Rwandan Local Governance covered the period from 2011 to 2017.

## 3.2: Research philosophy underpinning the study and research approach

The research philosophy or paradigm guides the researcher about how to interpret, understand social phenomena and how to explore the social world. It guides the researcher about the relevant data to be gathered and how to utilise and analyse them (Achemfour 2013). As far as the research philosophy or paradigm for this study is concerned, the post-positivist paradigm assumptions guided the researcher.

The nature of the study required field research and contact between the researcher and the researched in order to know in the most detailed way the knowledge, feelings, interpretations and intentions of citizens toward direct citizen participation in the governance of their entities. In addition, in-depth description, in-depth investigation and in-depth understanding about the dynamics of direct citizen participation in Rwandan local governance could not be done by applying natural science principles or by using only the empirical method (quantitative method). The combined methods approach (triangulation) advocated by post-positivism was critical to collecting both qualitative and quantitative data necessary to achieve the research objectives.

Concerning research approach used in this study, the combination of both qualitative and quantitative approaches known as the mixed methods approach was used. The mixed

methods approach helped the researcher to deeply investigate the topic of the study. In addition, mixed methods approach helped to increase the validity and reliability of research findings, because the data from documentary research and information collected from semi-structured interviews corroborated the data from surveys.

## 3.3 Population and Sampling

The population and sampling procedures are discussed in this section

## 3.3.1. Target population

The target population for this study was all adult citizens of 18 aged and above from five Districts beneficiaries of DALGOR Project. The thematic report on Characteristics of Households and Housing in Rwanda of National Institute of Statistics Rwanda (NISR, 2014) showed the total number of adult population from 18 years old and above in 5 Districts as follows: Burera had 164.549; Gasabo had 317.653; Ngoma had 175.327; Nyamasheke had 196.655; and Nyamagabe had 173.537. Therefore, the target population for the study was the total number of all population from 18 years old and above from 5 Districts which was **1.027.721 citizens.** 

## 3.3.2 Sampling techniques

According to Polonsky and Waller (2011), sampling is defined as the process of choosing a small number of respondents from a larger defined target population, assuming that the results discovered about the small group will help the researcher to make conclusions concerning the larger group. Since the population defined in the sampling frame were equally concerned by the subject under study, the probability sampling was the best indicated to draw the sample. However, because particular categories of people, such as vulnerable people, people with disabilities, etc. should participate in the survey, non-probability sampling technique was also used.

As far as sampling techniques were concerned, two techniques of probability sampling which are "simple random sampling and stratified sampling" and two techniques of non-probability sampling which are "purposive sampling and snowball sampling" were used. Within each village, stratums were established and simple random sampling was applied to have the respondents for the study, but judgemental sampling was also used to make sure that some specific categories of people participate in the survey.

Snowball sampling helped to identify respondents from specific groups of people (disabled and vulnerable people). The usage of multiple sampling methods helped to have different categories of people participating in survey and this helped to have different views coming from various categories of people. In addition, purposive sampling helped to select local leaders to answer the questionnaire reserved for them.

## 3.3.3 Sample size

The sample size refers to the number of items to be selected from the universe to constitute a sample (Kothari 2004). As said earlier, two categories of respondents were targeted.

## a. Sample size for first category of respondents (citizens)

According to Jerrold (1984), when the size of population is greater than 50.000 (considered as infinite) the sample size can be calculated using the statistical formula below:

$$n = \frac{t^2 \times p(1-p)}{e^2}$$

However, as it was possible to stratify at the district level the use of this formula alone could not help to calculate accurately the sample size for each District. Therefore, the calculation of sample size for each district was also based on findings of recent study on citizen participation. The recent study done by RGB (CRC 2016) on citizen participation shows the level of participation in the targeted districts as follows:

Table 1: Level of citizen participation in local affairs that concern them

District	Level of Participation
Burera	56.7%
Gasabo	49.0%
Ngoma	51.5%
Nyamasheke	50.7%
Nyamagabe	58.6%

Source: RGB (CRC 2016).

Using the statistical formula above-mentioned and the findings of recent study on citizen participation, the sample size for each district was calculated in table 2.

Table 2: Sample size for each district

District	Level of Participation	p	n (Sample size)	Surveyed		
District	1 al delpadon			Total	Females	Males
Burera	56.7%	0.57	377	373	180	193
Gasabo	49.0%	0.49	384	379	187	192
Ngoma	51.5%	0.52	383	379	167	212
Nyamagabe	50.7%	0.51	384	375	185	190
Nyamasheke	58.6%	0.59	372	390	183	207
	•		1900	1896	902	994
TOTAL				(99%)		

Source: Researcher's own design

## b. Sample size for second category of respondents (Local government officials)

According to the Law No 87/2013 of 11/09/2013, determining the organization and functioning of decentralized entities, the total number of staff who appears on the job structure of the district is 84 and are distributed in 16 administrative units. The presidential Order No 28/01 of 06/7/2009 modifying and complementing the Presidential Order No 57/01 of 15/10/2006 determining the responsibilities, structure and functioning of Sector, Cell and Village determines the number of administrative staff at Sector level which is 15 and the number of administrative staff at Cell level which is 2. Therefore, the targeted population for the category of local government officials was (84+15+2) \* 5 = 505. Because all staff members at the District and Sector level were not directly concerned with direct citizen participation, judgemental sampling helped to select those members of staff who were considered as key respondents. The table 3 provides the details:

**Table 3: Selected key respondents (Local leaders)** 

Local government level	Number of selected respondents
District	33
Sector	9
Cell	2
Village	1
Total	45

Source: Researcher's own design

The number of selected members of staff who answered to the questionnaire was 45 in each District. Because the study concerned 5 Districts, the total number of respondents for the category of local government officials was 45\*5=225

## 3.4 Data collection techniques

Data for this study were collected through documentary research, structured questionnaire, Semi-structured interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs).

#### 3.5 Data collection procedures

Quantitative and qualitative data were sequentially or chronogically collected.

## 3.5.1. Quantitative data

To ensure accurancy, realibility and obtain real-time results in this research, technology was used as an enabling tool to achieve not only effective and efficient data collection, processing and analysis. The structured questionnaire was digitized into tablets. This system was used to track all data senders or data collectors using geographical information system (GIS) to capture GIS coordinates on spots where data have been collected and sent by data collectors in order to avoid any counterfait of data.

## - Training and Pre-Testing Session

Before going out for fieldwork, 10 experienced enumerators were trained on technology tools to be used (tablets), and were trained on ethical research issues that needed to be considered during data collection. During the training, a testing environment was created on the cloud, where all data collectors were downloading the questionnaire, filling and sending data for the penetration and acceptance testing purpose. In addition, the training allowed data collectors to understand the meaning of each question so that there is no bias in its own interpretation.

## - Administering the questionnaire

Digitalized questionnaire was self-administered. Quantitative data were collected in one week (from 1<sup>st</sup> April to 6<sup>th</sup> April 2017). From a sample size of 1900 citizens, 1896 answered to the questionnaire. This means that a total of 1896 responses were obtained, yielding a response rate of 99.7 %. From a sample size of 225 local leaders, 219 answered to the questionnaire, yielding a response rate of 97.3%. In general, the initial target of interviewees was not reached due to the following reasons (1) some questionnaires were not valid and were not

considered and (2) some leaders were acting in more than one post while other posts were vacant.

#### 3.5.2. Qualitative data

Qualitative data were collected through semi-structured interviews and Focused Group Discussions (FGDs). Participants for both Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and Key Informants' Interviews were selected on the basis of the objectives of the study and the nature and type of data expected from them.

Discussions covered issues raised from preliminary findings from the survey, especially issues raised by the citizens. Five Sectors beneficiaries of DALGOR project were selected and two FGDs were organized in each Sector. The first FGD was composed by 10 persons (4 men and 4 women, 1 boy and 1 girl) aged 18 and above and they were from different categories of Ubudehe. The second FGD was composed by 20 opinion leaders (members of the civil society organizations, academics, representatives of specific groups, etc.) and local leaders. All in all, 150 people participated in FGDs. Focused group discussions were organized and done from 1<sup>st</sup> June to 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2017. Because 5 Sectors were concerned, five research teams were involved. Each team comprised a facilitator and a cofacilitator/notetaker.

Table 4: Decentralised Administrative entities in which FGDs with citizens and local leaders were conducted

Districts	Sectors	Participants
Gasabo	Gikomero	20
Ngoma	Mugesera	20
Nyamagabe	Gasaka	20
Nyamasheke	Gihombo	19
Burera	Gasaka	20
Total	1	99

Source: Researcher's own design

Concerning semi-structured interviews, selection of Key Informants was judgemental and the attention was paid to their roles in participation and/or their assumed knowledge of this area of study, depending on their current or past professional positions. These include representatives of selected government institutions (MINALOC and MINECOFIN),

representatives of Government Agencies (RBG and LODA), representatives of Civil Society Platforms and representatives of Private Sector Federation. All in all, 14 Key Informants at central level and 10 at District level were interviewed. The interviews were scheduled from June to July 2017. In addition, data were collected using a semi structured interview guide in Kinyarwanda.

Table 5: Total number of participants in the study.

Category	Number of
	participants
Respondents to the questionnaire (citizens)	1896
Respondents to the questionnaire ( local leaders)	219
FGDs with opinion leaders and local leaders	99
FGDs with citizens	50
Key Informants interviews (Central Level)	14
Key Informants Interview (Decentralised Administrative Entities)	10
Total	2288

Source: Researcher's own design

#### 3.6 Data analysis

As earlier indicated, a technological tool (tablets) was used to collect quantitative data. The analysis of quantitative data was done using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20.

After collecting quantitative data from the citizens and from local leaders, they were organised, and were cross-checked to find similar and diverging findings. This exercise mainly helped to identify major themes for further discussions in FGDS and with other key informants at national level. After completing interviews and FGDs, qualitative data were organised and matched with the previous ones based on the themes built. Data triangulation helped for in depth-interpretation and analysis.

## 3.7 Data quality control

In any scientific research, the researcher needs to ensure that data collection, organisation, and analysis, as well as the processes and outcomes of the study are trustworthy and believable. In this regard, a number of measures were taken to ensure the quality of data as

follows: First of all, the attention was paid to the measuring instrument (questionnaire) to ensure its validity and reliability.

Inputs from participants during validation of inception report helped to correct and adjust the sample size and the questionnaire. In addition, technical advices from RALGA research team throughout the whole process helped to ensure data quality. Their expertise and experience were vital in operationalizing concepts, fine-tuning the research methodology and data collection tools, as well as in data analysis. In addition, reviewing and validating key steps of the research process by the Coordinator of DALGOR project help to ensure data quality.

Secondly, as was mentioned above, the use of technology in data collection helped to ensure data quality control.

Thirdly, the use of Kinyarwanda language which is native language spoken in Rwanda, helped to ensure the quality of the data. Though the final report is written in English, both interviews and focus group discussions were conducted in Kinyarwanda.

Fourthly, data were collected from diverse sources (Data triangulation) and various methods were used (Questionnaire, FGDs, Key informants' interviews) to enrich the study with different but complementary perspectives.

Fifth, participants were given enough information regarding the research objectives and were asked to voluntarily participate. They were guaranteed anonymity.

#### 3.8 Ethical Considerations

Researching on direct citizen participation in Rwandan local governance may involve discussing sensitive issues which require a number of ethical considerations. This is why due attention was paid to the following: First of all, the principle of informed consent was observed. Secondly, Confidentiality and anonymity were granted. Thirdly, District officials concerned were informed and their permission to conduct research was obtained.

#### CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

This chapter deals with the presentation and discussion of findings. It is structured in accordance with the research objectives. It encompasses demographic and socio economic characteristics of respondents, direct citizens' participation in planning and budgeting, dynamics of citizen participation in link with both national and local priorities, usage of channels for direct citizen participation, values and practicability of citizen participation, factors enabling and hindering direct citizens participation implication of current dynamics of direct citizens participation on downwards accountability and recommendation to improve direct citizens participation.

### 4.1. Demographic and socio-economic characteristics of respondents

The demographic and socio-economic characteristics concern the basic information on respondents such as residence, sex, education, age, poverty level, marital status, physical status and employment.

## 4.1.1. Distribution of respondents by Districts

Respondents to the questionnaire were categorized into rural and urban as two major categories of residence as it is shown in the figure 2.

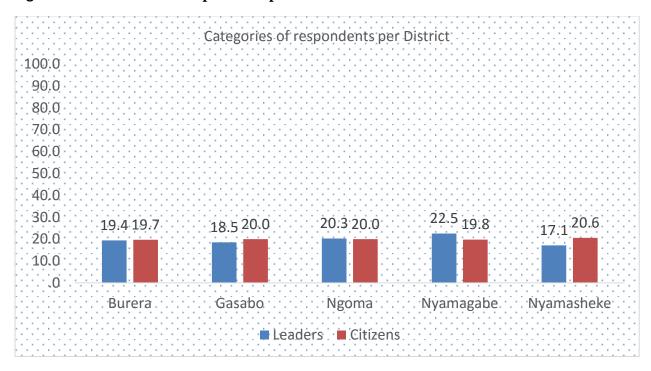


Figure 2: Distribution of respondents per Districts

Source: Field Data, 2017

As it is highlighted in the figure 2, the respondents are classified into two categories: leaders and citizens from Burera, Gasabo, Ngoma, Nyamagabe and Nyamasheke Districts.

Leader respondents represented 19.4% in Burera District, 18.5% in Gasabo, 20.3% in Ngoma, 22.5% in Nyamagabe and 17.1% in Nyamasheke Districts.

As far as citizen respondents are concerned, the figure shows that Burera represented (19.7%), Gasabo (20%), Ngoma (20%), Nyamagabe (19.8%) and Nyamasheke (20.6%).

In the graph above, it is evident that leaders who responded to the questionnaire were less represented in Nyamasheke District (due to the fact that some leaders were acting in more than one post while other posts were vacant) while Nyamagabe District was the most represented. As for citizens in Nyamasheke District they had the highest representation in comparison with other Districts.

### 4.1.2. Residence of respondents

The type of residence has influence on respondents' lifestyle as well as their behavior. The figure 3 displays the type of residence of the respondents (rural and urban area).

Leaders

Urban Rural

56.8

36.9

68.5

70.0

80.0

90.0

100.0

60.0

Figure 3: Distribution of respondents according to their residence

30.0

Source: Field Data, 2017

10.0

20.0

.0

Citizens

Figure 3 indicates that 56.8% of leader respondents lived in urban area while 36% came from rural area. Nevertheless, among citizens, 31.5% of respondents confirmed that they lived in urban area while 68.5% were in rural area.

40.0

50.0

In terms of disagragation of citizens' and leaders'respresentation, the smallest representation of leaders was in rural areas whereas the smallest representation of citizens was in urban area. This could be explained by the fact that majority citizens are mostly small farmers living in

rural areas while majority of local leaders are civil servants deployed at District headquarter. Looking at lived experiences, the tendency is that, rural people (the biggest % of the citizens' rerspondents) tend to have low education level, tend to be open and obedient to laws, poor peasants).

## 4.1.3. Sex of respondents

The sex of respondents is another demographic variable which provides information on how men and women participated in this study. The aim was to get the views from both male and female respondents for fair and gender balance purposes. The distribution of respondents by sex is presented in the figure 4.

100.0 90.0 80.0 67.1 70.0 60.0 52.4 47.6 50.0 40.0 32.9 30.0 20.0 10.0 Citizens Leaders ■ Female ■ Male

Figure 4: Sex of respondents

Source: Field Data, 2017

The figure 4 indicates that male citizen respondents represented 52.4% whereas female respondents were 47.6%. In the same line, male leaders were 67.1% of respondents while 32.9% were females. The proportion of men stands slightly higher than that of women among citizens as well as leaders' respondents. This implies that for leaders, men have more leadership positions than women.

For citizens, the high representation of males among citizens is due to the fact that in most of the cases the respondents were the head of household who could automatically prefer to be interviewed not his wife. This gives clear evidence that patrinial society still have a negative impact on gender balance, inclusiveness and emancipation.

### 4.1.4. Distribution of citizen respondents by age

Among the demographic variable considered in this study, the age of respondents was of a paramount importance as it gave information on how young or old people participated in this study. The age range is presented in the figure 5.

45 39 40 35 30 27.1 26.2 25 21.1 17.9 20 14.3 12.8 14.6 15 11.6 7.7 10 3.9 3.7 5 18-30 31-45 45-65 65+ ■ Females ■ Males ■ Total

Figure 5: Respondents by age

Source: Field Data, 2017

The figure 5 illustrates the frequency of respondents based on their age. Among citizens' respondents, 27.1% are less than 30 years old, 39% are categorised in the age of 31 to 45 years old, 26.2% are between 45 to 60 years, 7.7% of respondents have 60 years and above.

It is clear that participants with age beyond 30 years old are 72.9%. This shows that adults mainly composed the sample. Therefore, it is clear that the respondents did understand what they were talking about hence giving the relevant answers.

# 4.1.5. Categories of Ubudehe

In this study, it was also important to have information on respondents' categories of Ubudehe. The figure 6 presents the distribution of respondents both citizens and leaders with respect to their categories of Ubudehe.



Figure 6: Category of Ubudehe of respondents

Figure 6 illustrates the distribution of respondents based on the category of Ubudehe. The findings revealedthat 40.3% of citizens' respondents were in the category 3 and 39.8% in the second category. For leaders, 87, 21% were in the category 3.

The findings show that the high percentage of leaders' respondents was in the category 3 and no leader respondents in the category 1. This is because there was no leader classified in the category 1 as identified by LODA (2014). As far as the citizen's respondents are concerned, they are classified only in the category, 1, 2, and 3. This is because the majority of citizens are classified in those categories as revealed by LODA (2014),

# 4.1.6. Membership in interest group

The figure 7 illustrates membership of respondents in interest group. Those members were either part of civil society, cooperatives, private sector, public institutions or syndicates.

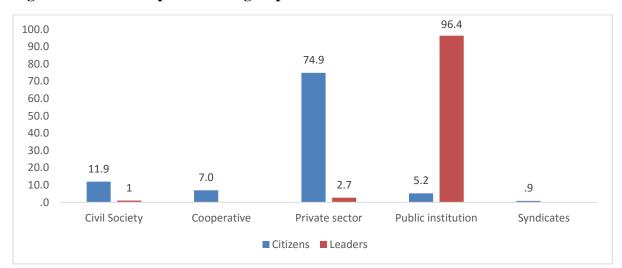


Figure 7: Membership in interest group

Figure 7 indicates that among citizens, 74.9% of respondents reported that they were in private sector (farmers), 11.9% were in civil society, (9%) confirmed being members of syndicates, (7%) were in cooperatives and 5.2% reported to be in public institutions. In the same perspective, among leaders, 96.4% were in public institutions, 2.7% in private sector and 1% in civil society. Thus, the majority of citizen respondents were from private sector (farmers) and very few were from public institutions while the majority of leaders were from public institutions and very few from civil society. These findings clearly show that all categories of citizens were represented in the study.

#### 4.1.7. Marital status

This study also explored the marital status of respondents as it is indicated in the figure 8.

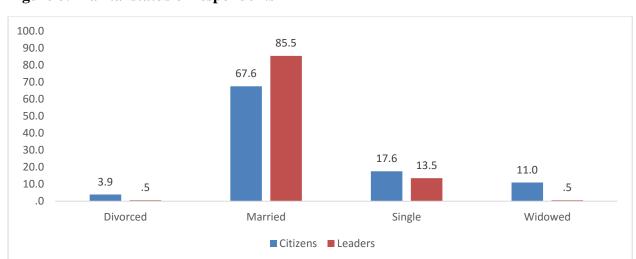


Figure 8: Marital status of respondents

Source: Field Data, 2017

The distribution of respondents by marital status shows that among leaders, the various categories of marital status were identified as follows: married (85.5%), single (13.5%), and divorced (0.5%). The same figure shows that among citizen respondents married were (67.6%), single (17.6%), widowed (11%) and divorced (3.9%).

It is evident that all categories of the population were considered in this study in regards to the marital status. Nevertheless, married people were more represented than other categories among both citizens and leaders' respondents. The high representation of married people in this study is explained by the fact that the target population was citizens above 18 years old and most of these people are married.

## 4.1.8 People with disability

Figure 9 illustrates respondents who had any kind of disability.

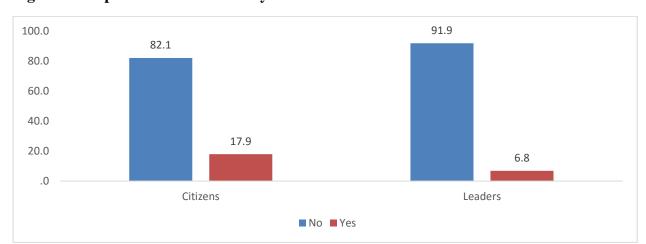


Figure 9: Respondents with disability

Source: Field Data, 2017

Figure 9 depicts that 82.1% of citizens had no disability, while 17.9% of respondents had disability. In the same way, 91.9% of leaders confirmed that they did not have disability while 6.8% were disabled. Though the percentage of people with disability among both citizens and leaders is low, it is proportionate to the statistics of disabled people countrywide and it is evidence that people with disability do exercise their right of direct citizen participation.

#### 4.1.9 Education level

The level of education was an important variable in this study because people with different qualification or level of education can express different point of views on direct citizens' participation in local decentralised entities. Therefore, the aim was to establish the relationship between the level of education of respondents and their direct participation in governance.

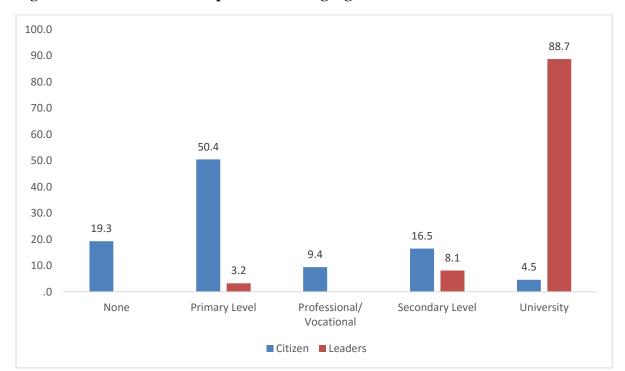


Figure 10: Distribution of respondents having a given educational level

The figure 10 shows that 50.4% of citizen respondents completed primary school while only 16.5% completed secondary level, 9.4% had professional /vocational education and 4.5% completed university level while 19.3% confirmed that they have never attended school.

In regards to the leaders' respondents, 88.7% of respondents completed university level, 8.1% completed secondary education, while 3.2% of respondents have completed primary school. These findings revealed that the big number of leader respondents has completed University level. This is obvious due to the fact that nowadays; it is a requirement to have at least Bachelor's Degree in order to occupy any post of responsibility in local administrative entities especially at District and Sector levels. Those who have secondary and primary level of education were at cell and village levels.

However, among citizen respondents, only 4.5% had university level and 19.3% have never attended school. This shows that illiteracy still exists. Generally, level of education determines largely direct citizen participation in policy-making. In this regard, Rugo (2014) argues that interest to directly participate in policy-making is determined by the level of education that is the higher the number of educated people in the community is, the higher

their level of direct engagement in local affairs that concern them is. However, this hypothesis needs to be verified through this study.

# **4.2.** The Dynamics of direct citizen participation in planning and budgeting, implementation, monitoring and evaluation

The first objective of the study was to determine the dynamics of direct citizen participation in planning and budgeting, implementation of local agenda, monitoring and evaluation. Therefore, this sub-chapter intends to achieve the first objective. Through this sub-chapter, 5 main sections were established:

- Section1deals with citizens' awareness on their right of direct participation in policymaking;
- Section 2 presents the dynamics of direct citizen participation in activities prior to agenda setting (priorities identification and assessment and priorities prioritization. It also presents current status of direct citizen participation in panning and budgeting;
- Section 3 deals with the situation about direct citizen participation in local agenda implementation;
- Section4 of this sub-chapter is concerned with the situation of direct citizen participation in monitoring and evaluation.

### 4.2.1. Citizens' awareness about their right to directly participate in local governance

Citizen participation in local governance is a fundamental right in any democratic government. Direct citizen participation in local governance is the recognition of all citizens by democratic government by offering them opportunities to actively engage in policy making and have a say in public services accountability. Prior to direct citizen engagement in local matters that affect them is access to public information and awareness. In order to make citizen participation in local governance effective, it is critical that the citizens be informed or aware about the constitutional right of direct participation, the benefits and limitations of direct citizen participation. In this way, the figure 11 presents the awareness of citizens and leaders on the right to directly participate in local governance.

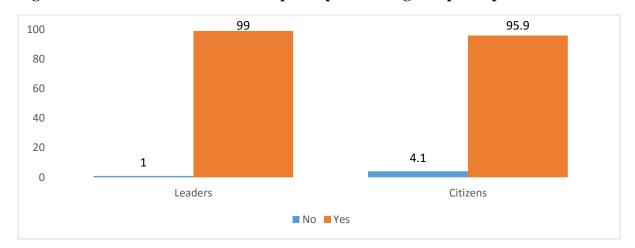


Figure 11: Awareness of citizen direct participation as right of participation

In this study, as it is indicated in figure 11, the level of awareness of citizens about their constitutional right to directly engage in local governance was assessed and the following results were obtained. The majority of citizens (95.9 %) were aware that it is their right to directly engage in community development and service design in local government. Only 4.1 % of respondents had the opposite views on this statement.

During the Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), those who ascertained that it is not their right to actively engage in local governance argued that it is rather the right for those who have a certain level of education and the local leaders, but not the ordinary population.

In the same line, the views collected through FGDs with local leaders on the right of citizens to directly participate in local governance corroborate with the views of citizens. Local leaders highlighted that through decentralization, the government of Rwanda encourages participatory local governance whereby the citizen should be at the centre of decision makers' considerations, not only as beneficiaries, but also as agents.

Overall, the level of awareness of citizens about their right to directly engage in local governance is very high, and this is the foundation amongst others on which democratic and participatory governance in Rwanda should continue to be built upon.

### 4.2.2. Citizen direct participation in preparatory planning and budgeting activities

Agenda setting starts from priorities identification, priorities assessment and their prioritization and then, planning of activities. The citizens should directly engage in this process. However, prior to citizens' engagement in agenda setting is their awareness on the necessity to identify and communicate community priorities to their local leaders.

### 4.2.2.1. Direct citizen engagement in priorities identification

The direct citizen engagement is of paramount importance as it enables citizens to identify community priorities and communicate them to local leaders. The figure 12 highlights the

results from the question whether citizens judged necessary to identify community priorities and communicate them to local leaders.

99.1 97.9 100.0 90.0 80.0 66.7 70.0 51.3 60.0 46.6 50.0 32.4 40.0 30.0 20.0 2.1 1.1 0.9 0.9 1.0 10.0 0.0 0.0 Females Males Total **Females** Males Total Citizens Leaders ■ No ■ Yes

Figure 12:TheNecessity to communicate priorities to local leaders

Source: Field Data, 2017

Figure 12 shows that 97.9% of citizen respondents (where 46.6% are females and 51.3% are males) believed that it is necessary for citizens to directly participate in priorities identification. This reality is also mentioned by local leaders at 99.1% where females represented 32.4% and males 66.7%. The fact that both citizens and local leaders had more or less the same understanding on the necessity for citizens to communicate the priorities identified to local leaders was an indicator that decentralization and democratic governance in decentralised administrative entities is being achieved. However, the low rate of women who said yes was attributed to Rwandan culture, whereby women tend to be shy or less open than men to disclose their emotional state and this requires more gender sensitization while gender inclusiveness is comparatively good.

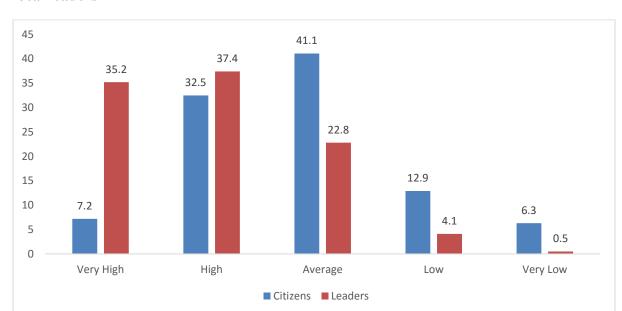


Figure 13:The extent to which citizens communicate their development priorities to local leaders

Figure 13 analyses the extent to which citizens expressed their engagement in communicating identified development priorities to local leaders. It is observable from the findings that 41.1% played this role at average level, 32.5% at high level and only 7.2% at very high level. A significant portion of 19.2% (low and very low) of respondents communicated the identified priorities at low and very low level. In the same context, the results from local leaders revealed that the level of citizens' direct engagement in communicating their priorities is very high at 35.2%, high at 37.4% and average at 22.8%.

The above findings show that there was a significant difference about citizens' views and what local leaders confirmed. This was clarified during FGD where local leaders ascertained that the role and level of direct citizen engagement in identifying community priorities has increased. They explained this by the fact that in every meeting between local leaders and the citizens, the latter are given opportunities to express their needs, complaints as well as the priorities they are facing.

The justification of this discrepancies of views between leaders and citizens in relation to the direct engagement in priorities identification was also echoed during the interview with key informants as per this quotation: "Although there exist different fora in which citizens are engaged in identifying community priorities, in many cases the citizens are not given any feedback related to what he or she has proposed. Thus, I cannot confirm that the citizens' direct engagement in priorities identification is very high".

In addition, one of the key informants started that "Kuba abaturage bataragiye bagira uruhare rugaragara byatewe n'icyari kigamijwe muri buri cyiciro cyo kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi n'ubushobozi, nukuvuga ngo:

- ✓ Mu cyiciro cya mbere (2003-2006), icyihutirwaga cyari gushyiraho inzego;
- ✓ Mu cyiciro cya kabiri (2006-2009), kwari uguha ingufu izo nzego;
- ✓ Icyiciro cya gatatu (2010 kuzamura,) nibwo batangiye gushyira ingufu mu guha uruhare abaturage mu bibakorerwa kuko inzego zari zimaze kubona ubushobozi"

This literally means that the reasons behind the low level of citizens' participation were due to the process of dentralization which was to be implemented in phases:

- For the first phase, the focus was to put in place local government structure and institutions:
- The second phase, the focus was to build the capacity of established local institutions;
- Third phase the focus was to promote citizen participation in local governance"

Overall, the extent to which local community is directly engaged in identifying and communicating their priorities needs to be improved. Therefore, efforts of sensitization should be increased in order to improve the level of direct citizen participation in communicating their priorities to local leaders.

### 4.2.2.2. The Frequency of communicating identified priorities to the local leaders

The frequency of which people may be willing and motivated to directly engage in identifying and communicating the identified priorities to their local leaders depends on some factors, among them the trust between citizens and local leaders, the possibility that the exposed problem or issue to local leaders will be solved on time and without cost, the willingness of local leaders to receive and solve the priorities of citizens, the level of freedom of expression and the nature of their previous engagements with government.

This study has explored the frequency of citizens directly engagement in identifying the priorities and communicating them to their local leaders. Two periods or terms were compared to see if there should be any significant dynamics. The first period was from 2011 to 2015 and the second term was from 2016 up to 2017. The findings are collated in the Figure 14.

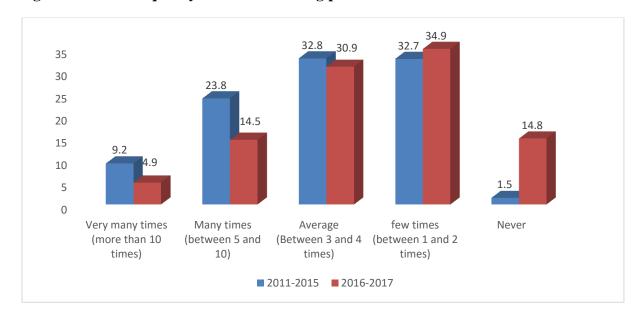


Figure 14: The Frequency of communicating priorities to the local leaders

From 2011 to 2015, the results in the figure 14 demonstrated that 32.7% of respondents communicated priorities to local leaders in rare occasions (between 1 and twice) and 32.8% between 3 and 4 times.1.5 % confirmed that they have never directly engaged in priorities identification and have never communicated to local leaders their priorities. A portion of 16.5 % of respondents and 9.2% explained that at many occasions and very many times respectively, they have directly expressed the community priorities to their local leaders.

From 2016 to 2017, the results in the figure 14 illustrates that 34.9% of respondents communicated priorities to local leaders in rare occasions (between 1 and twice). 30.9% communicated at the average level (between 3 and 4 times). 14.8 % of respondents said that they have never directly engaged in priorities identification and have never communicated their priorities to local leaders. Only 14.5% of respondents highlighted that at many occasions they have directly communicated community priorities to their local leaders. In general, 65.8% were communicated their priorities to their leaders in the satisfactory manner during 2011-2016 and 50.3% from 2016-2017 which this is a good trend for improving that communication.

Considering frequencies of direct citizen engagement in identifying and communicating priorities to their local leaders between 2011-2015 and between 2016 up to 2017, one can simply realize that there was no difference between these two terms. Nevertheless, there was small regression, because the percentage of respondents who have never directly communicated their priorities to local leaders between 2011 -2015 and between 2016 up to 2017 increased from 13% to 14%. These figures may bring one to think and doubt about the relationship and trust that exist between the citizens and their local leaders.

However, during FGDs the interviewees said that trust and good relationships exist between the citizens and their local leaders, and their priorities are communicated indirectly through their representatives. On this point, one of the key informants reported that: "Citizens may not communicate their priorities to their local leaders, because once those priorities are not implemented, they have not received feedback related to the priorities they expressed. Thus, this lack of feedback discourages citizens".

## **4.2.3.** Sectors of identified priorities

In local communities there are different sectors in which citizens can identify priorities and communicate them to local leaders in order to find solutions. The table 6 illustrates those sectors.

Table 6: Sectors from which citizens identify priorities and communicate them to local leaders

	Citizens 2011-2015							Leaders 2016-2017							
	Femal	es	Males		Total		Females		Males		Total				
	Fc	%	Mc	%	Тс	%	Fc	%	Mc	%	Тс	%			
Agriculture	377	20.1	443	23.6	820	43.6	30	13.7	70	32.0	100	45.7			
Health	401	21.3	385	20.5	786	41.8	42	19.2	52	23.7	94	42.9			
Infrastructure	146	7.8	245	13.0	391	20.8	28	12.8	86	39.3	114	52.1			
Security	150	8.0	204	10.9	354	18.8	4	1.8	24	11.0	28	12.8			
Education	164	8.7	160	8.5	324	17.2	25	11.4	42	19.2	67	30.6			
Animal husbandry	126	6.7	186	9.9	312	16.6	19	8.7	40	18.3	59	26.9			
Housing	104	5.5	106	5.6	210	11.2	11	5.0	31	14.2	42	19.2			
Injustice/ Violence	88	4.7	77	4.1	165	8.8	12	5.5	19	8.7	31	14.2			
Hygiene and sanitation	69	3.7	59	3.1	128	6.8	10	4.6	11	5.0	21	9.6			
Governance	51	2.7	60	3.2	111	5.9	3	1.4	25	11.4	28	12.8			
Entrepreneurshi p	49	2.6	54	2.9	103	5.5	7	3.2	19	8.7	26	11.9			
Transport/ road/ public transport	29	1.5	64	3.4	93	5.0	9	4.1	29	13.2	38	17.4			
Commerce	28	1.5	46	2.5	74	3.9	1	0.5	4	1.8	5	2.3			
Justice	22	1.2	45	2.4	67	3.6	3	1.4	0	0.0	3	1.4			
Arts	26	1.4	37	2.0	63	3.4	8	3.7	15	6.9	23	10.5			
Environment protection	16	0.9	33	1.8	49	2.6	19	8.7	52	23.7	71	32.4			
Disaster Management	14	0.8	16	0.9	30	1.6	2	0.9	6	2.7	8	3.7			
ICT	10	0.5	11	0.6	21	1.1	2	0.9	10	4.6	12	5.5			
Unity and reconciliation	13	0.7	7	0.4	20	1.1	2	0.9	2	0.9	4	1.8			
Genocide ideology	9	0.5	9	0.5	18	1.0	2	0.9	1	0.5	3	1.4			
Corruption	5	0.3	10	0.5	15	0.8	1	0.5	3	1.4	4	1.8			

Source: Field Data, 2017

It was revealed in Transparency International Rwanda study, (2014) that citizen participation was larger in the health and education sector than in the agriculture sector. However, the findings from this survey demonstrated that the top 5 domains whereby priorities or issues identified and communicated by the citizens to local leaders were related largely to agriculture (43.6%), health sector (41.8%) and infrastructure (20.8%), security (18.2%) and education (17.2%). The 5 domains where the priorities or issues were less communicated were linked with corruption (0.8%), genocide ideology (1%), Unity and reconciliation (1.1%), ICT (1.1%) and disaster management (1.6%).

These findings corroborate the results from local leaders who confirmed that the top 5 domains where priorities or issues were communicated to them by the citizens are largely located in the infrastructure sector, especially water and electricity (52.1%), agriculture sector (45.7%), health (42.9%), environment conservation and protection (32.4%) and education (30.6%). The 5 domains where priorities and issues were less communicated to the leaders were related to genocide ideology (1.3%), unity and reconciliation (1.8%), justice (1.3%), Commerce (2.2%) and disaster management (3.6%).

Overall, the findings from both citizens and local leaders showed that the priorities or issues communicated to local leaders by the citizens were mainly related to infrastructure, health, agriculture and education and environment conservation and protection while the less communicated priorities were related to corruption, genocide ideology, unity and reconciliation, ICT, disaster management, justice and commerce.

The FGDs have revealed that people are interested in issues that directly affect their lives, among them, agriculture, health, education, infrastructure such as water and electricity. In agriculture, citizens revealed that they identify and communicate priorities related to access to seeds, fertilisers and plant diseases. In health, the priorities identified and communicated were related to community health insurance. In education, the priorities identified and communicated were largely related to school feeding, contribution of parents in education of their children and earlier/ teenager pregnancies. In environment protection and conservation, priorities identified and communicated were related to erosion, wetland management. On this point, one of interviewee in FGDs said: "We are not allowed to harvest our trees and we did not get the land title for our wetlands. Therefore, we have many priorities related to environment protection to communicate to local leaders".

The FGD participants highlighted that people do not communicate the issue related to the genocide ideology and corruption because those are critical issues and very sensitive. This came out in a number of discussions with participants in the study, as exemplified by the following quotation: "You cannot be aware of the person who is giving bribes or receiving them, it is not done in public. It is an issue we do not discuss; we have not direct control and no decision to it."

As far as the disaster management is concerned, one of the respondents declared: "We seldom talk about it, because they occur in the rare situations, during the rain season." Furhermore, Table 6 shows different of opinions between males and females on the sectors from which citizens identify priorities and communicate them to local leaders. It shows that females (both citizens and local leaders) directly participated in identifying and communicating to

local leaders the community problems and priorities related to health (21.3%), while community problems and priorities identified and communicated to local leaders by males were related to agriculture (23.6%). As matter of fact, females are preoccupied with health issues, especially family planning and children health care, while males are preoccupied with food production in order to feed the family (agriculture).

# 4.2.4. The local government levels in which the citizens more communicate their priorities

The findings on the local government levels in which the citizens mostly communicate their priorities are illustrated in the figure 15:

80 74.8 74.05 70 60 50 40 30 17.39 20 15.2 7.2 10 5.92 2.5 2.63 0 Planning at Village level Planning at Cell level Planning at Sector level Planning at Distict level

Figure 15: The local government levels in which the citizens mostly communicate their priorities

Source: Field Data, 2017

As it is highlighted in the figure 15, from 2011 to 2015, the priorities faced by the citizens were largely communicated at village level (74.8%), at cell level (15.2%), at sector level (7.2%) and at district level (2.5%).

**2011-2015 2016-2017** 

From 2016 up to 2017, the priorities faced by the citizens were largely communicated at village level (74.05%), at cell level (17.39%), at sector level (5.92%) and at district level (2.63%).

It is very clear from the figure 15 that citizens mostly communicate their priorities at village level. The figure from this study is not far from the figure obtained by RGB in Rwanda

Governance Scorecards where 84.3% of citizens have expressed their satisfaction in their participation in giving suggestions and options during village committees.<sup>3</sup>

The reason behind is that the law n°87/2013 of 11/09/2013 determining the organisation and functioning of decentralized administrative entities in its article 217 states that a village is the local administrative entity, basic unit for mobilization and interaction of the population. It is an entity in which population participate directly to their development.

The direct participation of citizen decreases with the level of administrative entity. In this way, the interaction between citizens and the Cell decreases due to the service it provides. The 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 in its 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 other administrative entities. This justifies that the direct citizen participation at District level is very low compared to the village due to the limited interaction between citizen and the District.

In addition, it was shown that citizens communicate most their priorities to the executive committee, namely Coordinator of the Village, Executive Secretary of Cell, and Executive Secretary of Sector and to the Mayor of the District rather than to the consultative committee and other specific committees. During FGDs, respondents said that they prefer to communicate their priorities to the coordinator of the village and Executive Secretary of cell, because the citizens are in touch with them and they are easily reached.

Furthermore, citizens used to contact more executive committee than consultative committee. In fact, members of executive committee are permanent staff of local government; they have offices and can be contacted anytime, whereas members of consultative committee meet just once per month or once per two months and most of them do not have offices where you can meet them.

This point was made clear by a citizen during the FGD in Nyamagabe District in the following terms: "Members of Executive committee are closer to us, we find them easily when we want to express our claims and complaints, as far as consultative committee members are concerned, they are not permanent staff, we meet them in very rare circumstances"

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Rwanda Governance Board (2016). Rwanda Governance Scorecard 2016, the state of governance in Rwanda.

Furthermore, during the FGD discussions, majority of interviews echoed strong ideas concerning trusting leaders. They ascertained that: Trust is an instrumental aspect of any human relationship. The amount of trust and respect influences the quality of individual participation or that of a specific category in governance. Generally speaking, Rwandans used to communicate their priorities to leaders whom they most trusted and who were easy to find (easy accessibility) and whom they believed could solve their priorities. Therefore, in case of lack of trust and respect between local leaders and citizens; citizen participation can hardly be achieved (One of the interviewees).

### 4.2.5. Determining the magnitude and prioritization of citizens' needs.

Citizens are the ones who are in the best position than anyone else to know the priorities they want, the urgency of their own concerns, and the relevance of the matters to be addressed. Therefore, citizens should be active actors in determining the magnitude of their priorities and in deciding which ones need urgent intervention and solutions. Failing to directly engage citizens in priorities identification and prioritization, creates most of the time the failure of not addressing the real and genuine priorities faced by the citizens.

The findings demonstrate that 56% of citizen respondents (females 25% and 31% males) confirmed that local leaders approach them in order to debate and decide on the magnitude of the priorities faced in the community. A significant portion of 44% said that local leaders decide on behalf of the citizens and determine the list of priorities to put on agenda.

As far as the local leaders are concerned, 72% (32.4% females and 39.6% males) explained that citizens are directly engaged not only in identification of their needs, but also their prioritization. The urgent priorities in agenda are decided by the citizens most of time. However, they said that they have discretion prerogative or power to change the list of priorities and the agenda according to the circumstances and available budget. A portion of 28% of local leaders mentioned that some citizens are not approached and associated in deciding the magnitude of priorities.

During FGDs, some citizens said that they have voted their representatives whom they trust and who should decide on their behalf. This was highlighted by one of the participants who pointed out: "Twarabatoye kugira ngo baduhagararire, n'ibyo baduhitiyemo turabyizera biba bidufitiye akamaro" We have elected them so that they may represent us, and when they decide on our behalf, we accept and trust in them because they target what is important for us"

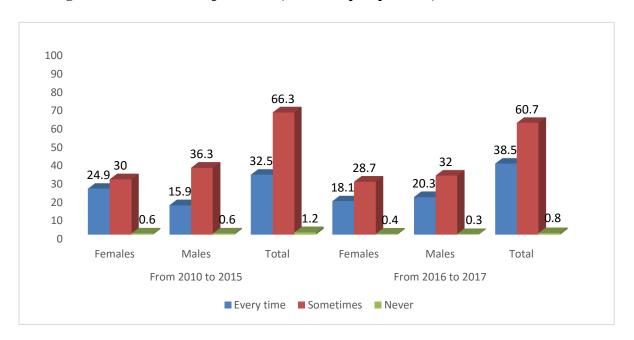
# 4.2.6. The Frequency of local leaders meeting the citizens to assist them in deciding the magnitude of their local priorities

In participatory and democratic governance, voices of citizens on issues that affect their community should always be heard. Engaging the citizens directly in identifying priorities for

themselves and share in decision-making, creates ownership of solutions and more responsibility for their implementation. In all situations, except some particular cases due to specific circumstances, citizens should be directly engaged in identifying their priorities and deciding on their ranking.

In this study, the frequency leaders approach the citizens to decide the magnitude of priorities was assessed and the results are presented in the figure 16.

Figure 16: The Frequency of local leaders meeting the citizens to assist them in deciding the magnitude of their local priorities (Citizens' perspectives)



Source: Field Data, 2017

As it is highlighted in the figure 16, between 2011-2015, a portion of 66.3% of citizen respondents (females 30% and 36.3% males) said that sometimes they were approached by local leaders in order to decide the magnitude of priorities, 32.5% (females 24.9% and males 15.9%) mentioned that every time they were approached and were directly involved in deciding the magnitude of priorities. Finally, 1.2% explained that they have never been directly involved in deciding and determining the magnitude of priorities.

From 2016 to 2017 a portion of 60.7% (28.7% females and 32% males) of citizen respondents said that *sometimes* they are approached by local leaders in order to decide the magnitude of priorities. 38.5% (females 18.1%) and 20.3% males) stated that every time they were approached and are directly involved in deciding the magnitude of priorities. Finally, 0.8 % said that they have never been directly involved in deciding and determining the magnitude of priorities (priorities).

Comparing the two periods, one can see that there is no significant difference. The majority of respondents said that they were/ are sometimes directly engaged in identifying the

priorities. However, in democratic local governance, citizens need to be always directly engaged in identifying their priorities and determining their ranking.

In the same line, the study has identified the perception of local leaders on frequency they approach citizens to decide the magnitude of citizens needs and their prioritization

100.0
90.0
80.0
71.6
70.0
60.0
50.0
46.5
40.0
30.0
25.1
20.0

7.0

1.4

Never

0.0

1.4

Figure 17: The Frequency of local leaders meeting the citizens to assist them in deciding the magnitude of their local priorities (Local leaders' perspectives)

Source: Field Data, 2017

**Always** 

10.0

0.0

The above findings demonstrate that 71.6% (25.1% females and 46.5% males) of local leaders confirmed that citizens are always engaged in deciding and determining the list of priorities, while 26.1 % (7% females and 19.1% males) said that citizens are sometimes engaged. 0.9% explained that citizens are rarely directly engaged, whereas 0.9% agreed that citizens are never directly engaged in deciding the magnitude of priorities and the priorities.

Sometimes

■ Females ■ Males ■ Total

The data collected through FGD revealed that for some respondents it is difficult for citizens to have a common understanding and a consensus on the list of priorities, due to the area of interest of everyone. Therefore, the privilege to list the priorities are sometimes left to local leaders.

During an interview with one of the key informants, he said that: "Hari aho uruhare rwabo rugaragara, birakorwa ariko hari igihe batanga ibitekerezo byabo, ibyifuzo byabo bikazamuka, ariko kubera ibikorwa n'imishinga biba byihutirwa mu rwego rw'igihugu, ibitekerezo by'abaturage byitabwaho ni bike cyane, kandi abayobozi ntibagaruke ngo bababwire impamvu ibitekerezo byabo bititaweho" literally "Sometimes their participation is

visible, but in some situations, citizens express their views on priorities, but due to many projects and activities that need to be undertaken at national level, the citizens 'concerns or priorities that are selected are very few. The major issue is that local leaders do not give feedback to the citizens in order to let them know why their priorities were not taken into consideration"

# 4.2.7. The Level of citizens' satisfaction on their direct involvement in identifying the magnitude of their priorities

The involvement of citizens in identification of their priorities and determining the solutions to those priorities is one of the motives for citizens' satisfaction. This study has investigated the level of citizens' satisfaction on their direct engagement in identifying the magnitude of priorities and the results are presented in the figure 18.

100 90 80 70 60 50 42.9 40.2 37.9 38.1 40 30 18.2 20 10.7 8.3 10 0 n 0 Very high High Very Low Average Iow ■ Citizens ■ Leaders

Figure 18: The Level of citizens' satisfaction on their direct involvement in identifying and communicating the magnitude of their priorities to local leaders

Source: Field Data, 2017

From the figure 18, it was found that among the citizen respondents, 42.9% said that they were highly satisfied with their direct engagement; 38 % were moderately satisfied; 10.7% were very highly satisfied while 8.3% expressed their low satisfaction.

In the same context, 40.2 % of local leaders were highly satisfied with the way the citizens are directly engaged in identifying their priorities and deciding their magnitude; 37.9 % were very highly satisfied with the way citizens are directly engaged; 18.3% of local leaders were moderate satisfied, whereas 3.7% expressed their low satisfaction with the way their citizens are directly engaged.

Overall, the level of satisfaction for the citizen is around 72.6% while for local leaders is scored 87.2%. The CRC 2016 survey conducted by RGB showed the perception of citizens on their participation and the net level of satisfaction was 58.9% countrywide. This difference between the findings from CRC 2016 and this might be that indicators surveyed are different. In addition, the impact of DALGOR project cannot be ignored in explaining this discrepancy.

### 4.2.8. Direct Citizen Participation in Planning and Budgeting

This study explored whether citizens directly participate in planning and budgeting local development activities of their community. Figure 19 shows the participation of citizens in planning and budgeting of activities of their community.

95.0 100 90 78.3 80 63.5 70 60 50 42.1 36.2 40 31.5 30 21.7 20 11.4 10.3 5.0 4.1 10 0.9 0 Females Males Total **Females** Males Total Citizens Leaders ■ No ■ Yes

Figure 19: Direct Participation of Citizens in Planning and Budgeting of Local Development Activities of their Community.

Source: Field Data, 2017

Figure 19 indicates that 78.3% of citizen respondents do not directly participate in planning and budgeting of local development activities, while 21.7% agreed that they actively and directly engage in planning and budgeting of local development activities that concern them in the decentralised administrative entities. The majority of citizens reported that they do not directly participate, because they think that it is the duty and responsibilities of local leaders (Executive committee) and their representatives to plan for the citizens. This statement corroborates with the results from Rwanda Scorecard 2016 where the % of citizens who are satisfied in their participation in preparation of district budget and plans is scored very low at 7.4%. In addition, the % of citizens satisfaction in their participation in performance contract

(Imihigo) is evaluated at 27.3%.<sup>4</sup> From those figures, there is a need to strengthen citizen participation especially in planning process.

One interviewee declared "When I vote for councillor, I directly understand that he or she must represent me in everything and everywhere, I do not think that my views will be necessary for any local government activity or program".

From this interviewee statement, one can realise that the mindset is one of the hindering factors for direct citizen participation. In this regard, CRC(2016) showed that the hindering factors for citizen participation were among others: (i) the persistence of mindsets where culturally, some Rwandans follow their leaders' plans, consequently, the citizens's role is limited to the execution of what the leaders have planned; (ii) the centralism which has characterized Rwanda's leadership (colonial period and post-colonial period before 1994) constituted another limitation to the citizens' participation; and (iii) limitating attitudes and wrong sayings such as "this was dictated from high authorities" (Byavuye hejuru); "it is the leaders' responsibility, they are the ones who know"(Abayobozi nibo babizi, nibo babishinzwe), etc.

However, local leaders disagreed with the above findings and confirmed that citizens participate in planning and budgeting. During FGDs, local leaders said that citizens directly participate in planning and budgeting of activities without knowing it. For instance, when citizens express and deliberate their concerns together with their leaders, they do not know that they are directly participating in planning of activities.

In the same line, local leaders from Mugesera Sector explained that citizens meet together at the Village level and elaborate a list of 10 priority needs. Those expressed needs at village are sent to the cell level, where 10 activities are selected from all villages. The selected activities in all cells are brought to the Sector level, and only 10 most priorities are selected. Therefore, this practice gives opportunities to citizens to directly participate in agenda setting. It is important to note that this best practice is prevailing in all Districts and it is one of the ways that enable citizens to directly participate in agenda setting at grassroots level.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Rwanda Governance Board (2016). Rwanda Governance Scorecard 2016, the state of governance in Rwanda. Developed under the direction of Prof. Shyaka Anastase and Dr Usengumukiza Felicien.

# 4.2.8.1. Drivers for direct citizen engagement in planning and budgeting at Decentralised administrative entities.

The study tried to find out the possible drivers that may contribute to the direct citizens' engagement in planning and budgeting. Respondents identified different reasons as highlighted in the Table 7.

Table 7: Possible Drivers for direct citizens' engagement in planning and budgeting

Reasons	Femal	es	Males		Total	
	Fc	%	FC	%	Fc	%
It is my responsibility as a citizen	123	29.9	181	43.9	304	73.8
Having sufficient information related to that activity	123	29.9	181	43.9	304	73.8
Participation in activities which may affect me in the future	117	28.4	168	40.8	285	69.2
Curiousity to know activities for which I will be the beneficiary	63	15.3	125	30.3	188	45.6
Having knowledge and skills in planning related activities	74	18.0	84	20.4	158	38.3
To avoid being in conflicts with authorities/ Avoid conflict with authorities	17	4.1	25	6.1	42	10.2
Not having other choice /alternative	1	0.2	5	1.2	6	1.5

Source: Field Data, 2017

In this study, drivers or motives that have pushed citizens to directly engage in planning and budgeting of their local government activities have been investigated and the following results were obtained: 73.8% of citizens confirmed that they understand very well that it is their role and responsibilities to participate in socio-economic development of local government and they had enough information related to the activities. In addition, 69.2% of respondents said that they were motivated to directly participate in planning and budgeting, because they understood that the activities being planned will affect directly or indirectly their lives. Therefore, they wanted to take part in planning and budgeting of those activities. Additionnally, 45.6% of respondents said that they have participated, because they were curious to know the activities to be put in agenda and how those activities will affect their lives in the future. In addition, it was realised through findings that a small percentage of citizens do not directly participate in planning and budgeting in order to avoide being in conflicts with authorities (10.2%) or because they did not have another choice or alternative (1.5%).

By comparing the perceptions of females and males onthedrivers of direct citizen engagement in planning and budgeting, one can simply see that there was no significant difference of opinions. Having sufficient information about the activities being planned was the first driving factor for direct citizen participation cited by both males and females

In order to have an optimum participation in planning and budgeting, citizens should continuously be sensitized on their role and responsibilities in local governance and the benefits associated with.

During FGDs, one interviewee said: "If citizens are enough sensitized on their role and responsibilities in planning and budgeting, and if they are given clear information and on time, nothing will limit them to directly participate". In addition, participants in FGDs have revealed that their direct participation in planning and budgeting is mainly observed during Imihigo planning, whereby each family has its Imihigo notebook. They participate also in Imihigo setting at village level.

# 4.2.8.2. Domain of activities in which citizens have directly participated in planning and budgeting

The disposition and knowledge of citizens about the domain or sector of activities is a major determinant for their direct engagement. In addition, citizens' perception on the urgency of their concerns and the relevance of the matter being addressed or planned are other determinant factors for their direct participation. This study tried to find out the possible activities domains in which citizens have directly participated in planning and budgeting.

Table 8: Activities Domains in which citizens have directly participated planning and budgeting

	2011-2015						2016-2017						
	Females		Males		Total		Females		Males		Total		
	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	
Agriculture	349	18.4	405	21.4	754	39.8	349	18.4	405	21.4	754	39.8	
Health	242	12.8	271	14.3	513	27.1	242	12.8	271	14.3	513	27.1	
Infrastructure	180	9.5	295	15.6	475	25.1	180	9.5	295	15.6	475	25.1	
Security	172	9.1	277	14.6	449	23.7	172	9.1	277	14.6	449	23.7	
Education	215	11.3	223	11.8	438	23.1	215	11.3	223	11.8	438	23.1	
Hygiene and sanitation	96	5.1	108	5.7	204	10.8	96	5.1	108	5.7	204	10.8	
Housing	82	4.3	84	4.4	166	8.8	82	4.3	84	4.4	166	8.8	

	2011-2015					2016-2017							
F		Females		Males		Total		Females		Males		Total	
	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	
Governance	55	2.9	78	4.1	133	7.0	55	2.9	78	4.1	133	7.0	
Entrepreneurship	49	2.6	56	3.0	105	5.5	49	2.6	56	3.0	105	5.5	
ICT	47	2.5	52	2.7	99	5.2	47	2.5	52	2.7	99	5.2	
Injustice	48	2.5	42	2.2	90	4.7	48	2.5	42	2.2	90	4.7	
Environment conservation and protection	40	2.1	46	2.4	86	4.5	40	2.1	46	2.4	86	4.5	
Transport	36	1.9	50	2.6	86	4.5	36	1.9	50	2.6	86	4.5	
Disaster Management	38	2.0	39	2.1	77	4.1	38	2.0	39	2.1	77	4.1	
Commerce and trade	26	1.4	42	2.2	68	3.6	26	1.4	42	2.2	68	3.6	
Technical and vocational	26	1.4	36	1.9	62	3.3	26	1.4	36	1.9	62	3.3	
Unity and reconciliation	34	1.8	25	1.3	59	3.1	31	1.6	24	1.3	55	2.9	
Fighting against corruption	22	1.2	29	1.5	51	2.7	22	1.2	29	1.5	51	2.7	
Justice	16	0.8	21	1.1	37	2.0	19	1.0	22	1.2	41	2.2	

Between 2011 – 2015, the top 5 domains in which citizens have directly participated in planning and budgeting were agriculture with 39.8%% of respondents among them 18.4% were females and 21.4 males, health with 27% (12.8% females and 14.3% males), infrastructure with 25.1% of respondents (9.5% females and 15.6% males), (4) security with 23.7% of respondents (9.1% females and 14.6% males) and education with 23.1% of respondents (11.3% females and 11.8% males).

The activities domains or sectors where citizens demonstrated less interest were scored under 10% as it is indicated in the table 9. Those domains are (1) justice with 2% of respondents, (2) fighting against corruption with 2.7% of respondents, (3) technical or vocational activities with 3.3% of respondents (4) commerce and trade with 3.6% and disaster management with 4.1% (5) transport (4.5%), (6) Environment conservation and protection (4.5%), (7) Injustice (4.7%), (8) ICT (5.2%), (9) Entrepreneurship (5.5%), (10) governance (7%) and housing (8.8%).

Considering the period between 2016 and 2017, there was no change of score in terms of involvement of citizens in planning and budgeting. In addition, when females and males are compared, it can be seen that there is no significant difference, because both males and females confirmed that the first sector or domain in which they have directly participated in planning and budgeting was agriculture.

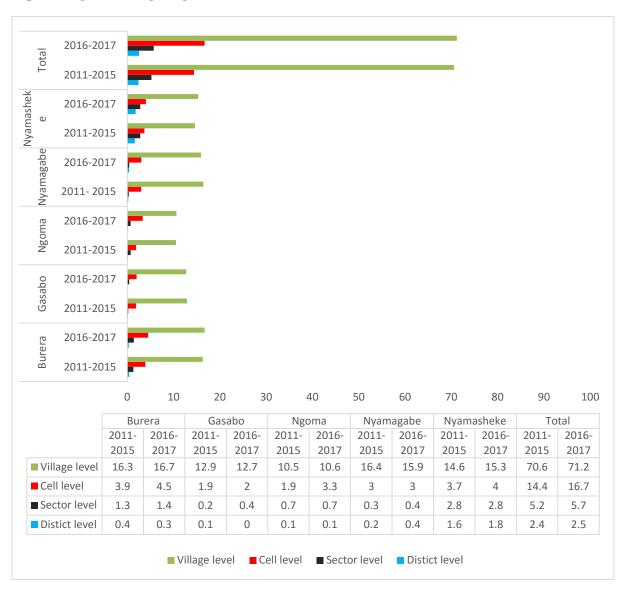
Findings from FGDs revealed that citizens are interested in participating in planning and budgeting of activities that may directly affect their life. Besides, they can give views or ideas on what they know and do. Furthermore, they may be motivated to directly participate to find solution to issues that are threating.

During FGDs, one interviewee pointed out: "My concerns as an ordinary citizen are to satisfy basic needs namely food, education and health, water and electricity and the security of my family members especially my children. Therefore, any invitation for a meeting that aims to plan activities related to these domains, I will respond to it positively and willingly. ICT is not my concern and corruption is not a problem for me, because I have never been asked to pay for any service I deserve".

To find out the reasons why citizens have shown less interest in participating in planning and budgeting of activities related to fighting corruption, nepotism and favouritism and injustice, CRC (2016) was consulted and it was shown that these issues are not a preoccupation or concern for citizens. As matter of fact, RGB (CRC 2016:39) showed that nepotism and favouritism exist at local government at 31.1%, corruption at 27.7%, and injustice at 32.5%. Thus, corruption, nepotism and favouritism and injustice are not considered as real threats for citizens.

# 4.2.9. The local government levels in which the citizens have directly participated in planning and budgeting

Figure 20: The local government levels in which the citizens have directly participated in planning and budgeting.



### Source: Field Data, 2017

The findings highlighted in the figure 20 demonstrate two periods that were compared and it was shown that citizens confirmed having directly participated in agenda setting at their Villages, cells, Sectors as well as at their Districts.

**Between 2011-2015**, it was shown that 70.6% of citizens have directly participated in agenda setting for their Villages, 14% of respondents have participated in agenda setting of their Cells, 5% of citizens have participated in agenda setting of their Sectors, while only 2% of

respondents said that they have directly participated in planning and budgeting of their respective Decentralised administrative entities.

Between 2016-2017, it was found out that 71% of citizens have directly participated in planning and budgeting for their Villages, 17% have participated in planning for their Cells, 6% confirmed having participated in planning of their Sectors, while only 3% of respondents have directly participated in planning of their Districts. From these findings, it is evident that there was no significant improvement if one compares the period 2011-2015 and 2016-2017. However, a slight improvement was observed, because percentage of citizens who have directly participated in planning at village level increased from 70.6% to 71%, from 14% to 17% at cell level and from 5% to 6% at Sector level.

In the same line, 27% of local leaders confirmed that citizens have directly participated in planning of Villages, 58 % stated that citizens have participated in planning of Cells, 13 % argued that citizens have directly participated in planning of Sectors, while only 9% confirmed that citizens have directly participated in planning of Districts.

Overall, both citizens and local leaders confirmed that the majority of citizens have directly participated in planning of Villages and Cells. When asked why citizens have largely participated at village and cell level rather than at Sector and District level, respondents explained that it was easy to get to the village and Cell, and to know easily what is happening there.

Nevertheless, the Sector and the District are perceived by ordinary citizen as the highest level and therefore, it is difficult to have access and much more difficult to have any influence.

In this regard, one interviewee in Burera District said "Myself I can count how many times I went to the Sector, but I cannot remember how often I went to the village and to the Cell office. Therefore, for several times I visit and talk to the coordinator of the village and to the Executive Secretary of the Cell. This makes me feel comfortable to directly participate in planning of village and Cell rather than of Sector or District"

Although citizens directly participate in planning and budgeting at village level more than at Sector and District level, it is quite normal because at these levels (Sector and District) citizens indirectly participate through their representatives (councillors). In this regard, however, it is recommended that councillors should communicate and interact with citizens as many times as possible to ensure that the citizens' voices are heared and their needs and

priorities taken into consideration in the planning and budgeting process at Sector and District level.

# 4.2.10. Direct citizen participation in implementation of the planned activities

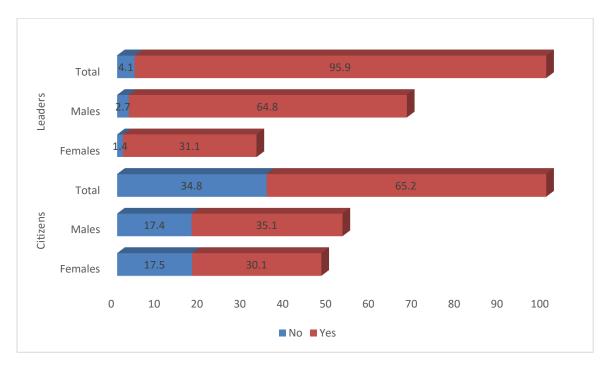
The government of Rwanda through home grown solutions is encouraging all Rwandans to be the drivers or captains of their destiny. They should know their priorities and be able to solve them using the opportunities they possess in all domains. Thus, Rwandan citizens should not wait for other people from outside to solve their priorities. Citizens should directly participate in identifying priorities, but they should also directly participate in implementation of proposed solutions or activities.

This study seeks to find out the level of direct citizen participation in implementation of planned activities in local government.

# 4.2.10.1. The Extent of Citizen Direct participation in the Implementation of the Planned Activities

When citizens were asked if they have directly participated in the implementation of planned activities in the local government, the following results were given as they are highlighted in the figure 21.

Figure 21:The Citizens Direct Participation in the Implementation of the Planned Activities from 2011-2015



From 2011-2015, it is demonstrated in figure 21 that 65.2% of citizens have directly participated in the implementation of planned activities in the local government, while 34.8% explained that they have not directly participated in the implementation of planned activities. As far as local leaders are concerned, 95.9% confirmed that citizen participated in the implementation of planned activities, while only 4.1% declared that citizens did not participate directly in the implementation of planned activities.

From 2016- up to 2017, a portion of 66% of citizens confirmed having directly participated in the implementation of planned activities in the local government; while 34% said that they have not directly participated in the implementation of planned activities in the local government.

In order to collect reliable data, the same question was asked to local leaders and the following results were obtained: 96% of local leaders said that citizens participated directly in the implementation of planned activities, while only 4% argued that citizens did not participate in the implementation of planned activities. Overall, majority of citizens and local leaders confirmed that citizens directly participated in the implementation of planned activities.

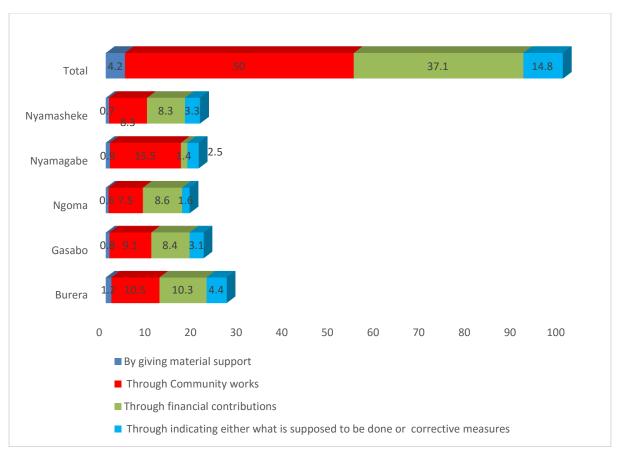
During the FGDs, a practical example was given in Mugesera Sector whereby citizens themselves without any kind of influence realised that their Cell was lacking a working office, and decided to construct the modern one for the Cell. Besides, citizens themselves noticed that the post of police in their Sector was too old and they decided to build a new one. These are few amongst many examples which show how citizens are directly engaged in the implementation of activities in local government. Furthermore, one local leader in Gasaka Sector commented and said:

"Here in this Sector, when citizens are informed and sensitized about the activity and the benefits (direct or indirect) they will gain from such activity, they will directly and massively engage. In addition, the level of direct engagement in the implementation will increase if the same people were directly engaged in identifying the problem (s) and if the activities being implemented are in the domains that interest citizens most, such as agriculture, health, education and security".

# 4.2.10.2. The Means and Mechanisms of Direct Citizen Contribution in the Implementation of the Planned Activities in Local Government

Citizens can directly participate in the implementation of planned activities in various ways. The figure 22 describes various means and mechanisms used by citizens to directly participate in the implementation of planned activities in local decentralised entities.

Figure 22: Mechanisms through which citizens directly participate in the implementation of planned activities (citizens 'perspective)



Source: Field Data, 2017

Total Nyamasheke Nyamagabe Ngoma Gasabo Burera 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 Total Burera Gasabo Ngoma Nyamagabe Nyamasheke ■ Through material support 37.6 10 8.1 3.3 6.7 ■ Through financial contributions 13.3 15.7 12.9 9 61 ■ By giving advice and corrective 9 12.9 5.7 4.8 7.6 40.5

Figure 23: Mechanisms through which citizens directly participate in the implementation of planned activities (Local leaders' perspective)

■ Community works

measures

Figure 22 and 23 highlight ways or mechanisms used by citizens to directly participate in the implementation of activities. It was found that 50% of citizens have directly participated in the implementation of planned activities in local government through community work (Umuganda), 37.1% of citizens have directly participated by contributing financially, and 14.3 % have directly participated by giving advices or orientations, while only 4.2% have directly participated by providing materials. It is observable from the figure 27 that citizens from Nyamagabe contribute much more through Umuganda, while in Gasabo the financial contribution is the most important.

19

18.6

12.4

16.2

84.8

17.1

In the same line, 81% of local leaders agreed that citizens directly participated in the implementation of planned activities in carrying out community work (Umuganda), 58% said that citizens participate through their financial contribution, 57% stated that citizens were directly participating in the implementation by giving advices on how things should be done, and 34% said that citizens directly participated in the implementation by giving materials.

In general, citizens directly participated in the implementation of planned activities through three leading ways, namely Umuganda, financial contribution and providing advices. Umuganda as the main channel used by the citizens to directly participate in implementation was also shown by CRC (2016) whereby 63.3% attend umuganda. Financial contribution is one of the mechanisms used by the citizens in implementation of planned activities and it is linked to Kwigira (Self –relience) which is considered as home-grown solutions. This financial contribution is mainly based towards local development activities, for instance schools' construction, bridges, health centres etc.

## 4.2.10.3. Domains or sectors of activity in which citizens directly participate in implementation

The willingness of citizens to directly engage in the implementation of planned activities in local government depends on the activity being implemented (if it falls under the domain of citizens' interests), their awareness about the activity, level of sensitization by local leaders, perceived difficulties in the implementation and the level of government commitment about the implementation of the activity. In this study, the domains of activities in which citizens have directly participated in the implementation are identified in table 9.

Table 9: Sector of activities in which citizens directly participate in implementation

Domain	Females		Males		Total	
Domain	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%
Agriculture	275	22.2	319	25.8	594	48.1
Infrastructure	191	15.5	283	22.9	474	38.3
Security	194	15.7	253	20.5	447	36.2
Health	218	17.6	217	17.6	435	35.2
Education	171	13.8	182	14.7	353	28.6
Animal husbandry	108	8.7	141	11.4	249	20.1
Housing	59	4.8	77	6.2	136	11.0
Hygiene and sanitation	73	5.9	63	5.1	136	11.0
Governance	40	3.2	62	5.0	102	8.3
Transport	34	2.8	35	2.8	69	5.6
Environment conservation and protection	34	2.8	30	2.4	64	5.2
Injustice	30	2.4	29	2.3	59	4.8
Disaster management	29	2.3	24	1.9	53	4.3
ICT	21	1.7	31	2.5	52	4.2
Commerce and trade	17	1.4	21	1.7	38	3.1

Domain	Females		Males		Total	
Domain	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%
Entrepreneurship	15	1.2	23	1.9	38	3.1
Justice	17	1.4	16	1.3	33	2.7
Unity and reconciliation	15	1.2	10	0.8	25	2.0
Technical and vocational	11	0.9	11	0.9	22	1.8
Fighting against corruption	8	0.6	7	0.6	15	1.2

In fact, 48.1% of activities in which citizens have directly participated in the implementation were related to agriculture, 38.3 % were linked to infrastructure, 36.2% concerned Security, 35.3% were connected to the domain of Health and 28.6% of highlighted activities were related to education. Activities for which citizens showed less direct engagement in their implementation were related to ICT (4.2%), commerce and trade (3.1%), Entrepreneurship (3.1%), justice (2.7%), fighting against corruption (1.2%) as well as unity and reconciliation (2%). In this regard, during the FGDs one interviewee in Rugarama Sector pointed out that:

"As you can see us here, the majority are ordinary citizens, staying in rural areas relying on agricultural activity. Therefore, citizens are largely worried about agriculture, health, education, infrastructure and security. Other domains such as ICT, governance, environment protection and conservation can worry us, but not much as agriculture, health, education and security. By saying so, we are more eager to directly engage in the implementation of activities related to agriculture, health, education, infrastructure and security rather than other activities".

It is important to note that on this question, views of local leaders were corroborating the ones given by citizens.

## 4.2.10.4. Driving factors of direct citizen participation in the implementation of planned activities

This study analysed driving factors for direct citizen participation in the implementation of planned activities. The table 10 shows the findings of driving factors that impulse citizens to directly participate in implementation of activities in local administrative decentralised entities.

Table 10: Driving factors of citizens' direct participation in implementation of activities

Duiving featons	Fema	les	Male	s	Total	
Driving factors	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%
Understanding my contribution in building the country	422	34.1	474	38.3	896	72.5
Mobilization of local authorities	334	27.0	351	28.4	685	55.4
Understanding well my role to participate in implementation of activities.	173	14.0	176	14.2	349	28.2
Sufficient funds for the planned activities	111	9.0	142	11.5	253	20.5
Having knowledge of the implemented activities	37	3.0	40	3.2	77	6.2
To avoid being in conflicts with authorities	26	2.1	33	2.7	59	4.8
Having financial means	17	1.4	21	1.7	38	3.1

It is evident that 72.5% of citizens have directly participated in implementation of activities, because they have understood that they must contribute to the development of the country, 55.4% of citizens confirmed that they have been sensitized and mobilized by their local leaders to directly participate in the implementation of activities. Furthermore, 28.2% of citizens said that they have understood that taking part in the implementation of activities is of paramount importance, because it positively affects their lives. In the same perspective, 20% of citizens have directly participated in the implementation after realizing that there is sufficient budget for the activities. When citizens are aware that the budget is available, they are motivated to contribute for the remaining part. Nevertheless, when there are no financial resources for a certain activity, and citizens are asked to contribute the whole amount of the budget, they are discouraged and they withdraw from the implementation.

As far as direct participation in the implementation of the agenda is concerned, it was found that reasons such as avoiding conflicts with local leaders is less mentioned as reason that would have pushed citizens to directly participate in the implementation of the agenda. In addition, it was found out that there was no difference of views between females and males on driving factors for citizens' direct participation in implementation of activities. Both males and females confirmed that the first driving factor that pushed them to directly participate in implementation was an understanding of their contribution in building the country.

Table 11: Perceptions of local leaders on the driving factors of direct citizen participation in the implementation of activities

Driving factors	Females		Males		Total	
	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%
Personal responsibility as a Rwandan citizen	33	15.71	66	31.43	99	47.14
Protecting public benefits/interests	22	10.48	53	25.24	75	35.71
Eagerness for the development of their village, cell, sector, district	21	10.00	49	23.33	70	33.33
Leaders' sensitization and mobilisation	15	7.14	43	20.48	57	27.14
Good cooperation and trust between leaders and citizens	9	4.29	30	14.29	39	18.57
To avoid being in conflicts with authorities	8	3.81	17	8.10	25	11.90
Having knowledge in the activities planned for the community	5	2.38	18	8.57	23	10.95
Avoiding conflicts with local leaders	3	1.43	10	4.76	13	6.19
Availability of funds	2	0.95	7	3.33	9	4.29
Strictness and dictatorship of leadership	0	0.00	8	3.81	8	3.81
Having no alternative /choice	0	0.00	5	2.38	8	3.81

The findings in the table 11 highlighted that 43% of local leaders emphasized on the citizens' understanding of their civic role and responsibility as the main driving factor, 28% of local leaders said that citizens were eager to directly participate in the development of their Villages, Cells and Sectors.In line with these findings, one local leader in Gikomero sector explained:

"Due to the performance contracts and the ranking system where the best performing village, Cell, Sector as well as District are recognized and awarded for their performance, citizens are more eager than before in participating in the implementation of performance contracts (local government agenda).

In addition, one interviewee in FGDs in Gihombo Sector said: "The mindset of citizens has changed. Now, citizens understand that they do not have to sit and wait for everything from the government, but they must stand-up, work hard and contribute to the development of their Villages, Cells, Sectors and Districts".

## 4.2.10.5. Extent to which citizens are satisfied with their direct participation in the implementation of local agenda

Figure 24 presents the extent to which citizens are satisfied with their direct participation in the implementation of local government agenda.

50 44.3 45 40 35 30 27.6 ■ Females 22.2 25 22.1 Males 20 Total 13.6 14 12.5 15 8.2 10 7.4 6.5 4.2 3.6 3.8 5 Very high High Average Low Very Low

Figure 24: Extent to which citizens are satisfied with their direct participation in the implementation of planned ativities

Source: Field Data, 2017

From the findings in the figure 24, it is observable that 44.3% of citizens expressed high level of satisfaction vis-  $\dot{a}$  -vis their direct participation in the implementation of local government agenda, 27.6 % of citizens showed average level of satisfaction, 12.5% of citizens demonstrated low satisfaction, 8.2% of citizens showed very high level of satisfaction, while only 7.4 % showed very low level of satisfaction vis-  $\dot{a}$  -vis to their direct participation in the implementation of local government agenda. In general, sum up those who are very high, high and average satisfaction, the level of citizens' satisfaction is scored 80.1%.

During FGDs in Gihombo Sector, one local leader said "As local leader in the Cell, I can testify on behalf of the people that they actively engage in the implementation of all activities that concern them". However, in the same FGDs, one interviewee (citizen) said "Here, citizens are highly satisfied with their level of direct engagement in the implementation of local government agenda, but our level of direct engagement in identifying and deciding on the role or contribution of the citizen in order to implement local agenda is very low. I take

this opportunity to ask our local leaders to actively and directly engage us in deciding the role or contribution of citizens for the implementation of local agenda".

### 4.2.11. Direct Citizen Participation in Monitoring and Evaluation

In the democratic governance, citizens are the first beneficiaries of government policies and programs. Citizens are not only beneficiaries, but they are also stakeholders or co-producers of government policies and active participants in the implementation of government programmes through tax money they pay. Therefore, as direct beneficiaries of government policies and participants in the implementation, they should actively and directly engage in monitoring and evaluation of government policies and programmes. In this regard, Roberts (2004) argues that lack or passive citizen participation in monitoring and evaluation of local government programmes implementation, results to embezzlement, misuse of money and failure of programmes. In this study, the level of direct citizen participation in monitoring and evaluation was assessed.

### 4.2.11.1. Citizens Direct Participation in Monitoring and Evaluation

Once local administrative entities have implemented tha planned activities, there should be monitored so that the leaders can identify to what extent progress and achievement of objectives.

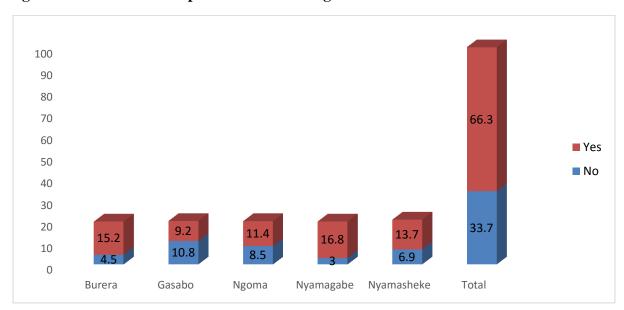


Figure 25: Citizens Participation in Monitoring from 2011 to 2017

Source: Field Data, 2017

The findings in the figure 26 show that between 2011-2015, a portion of 66.3% of citizen respondents agreed that they have directly participated in monitoring of implemented local

government programmes, while 33.7% did not directly participate in monitoring of implemented local government programmes.

79.6 80 70 60 50 No 40 Yes 30 20.4 17.6 16.3 16.9 15.9 20 13 6.7 3.7 3.1 3 10 0 Nyamasheke Gasabo Nyamagabe Total Burera Ngoma

Figure 26: Citizens Participation in Monitoring from 2016 to 2017

Source: Field Data, 2017

**Between 2016 - 2017**, it was found that only 20.4 % of citizens directly participated in monitoring of implemented local government programs, while 79.6 % of citizens did not directly participate in monitoring of implemented local government programs. This big percentage of citizens who said that they did not participate in monitoring since 2016 to 2017 is due to the fact that only one year was assessed (2016-2017) and yet most of the local government programmes are not implemented or are in process of implementation.

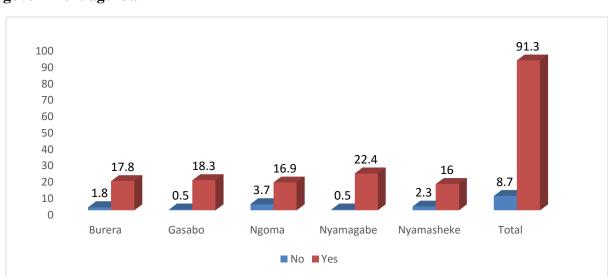


Figure 27: Local leaders' views on Direct citizens' Participation in Monitoring of local government agenda

From figure 28, it is shown that 91.3% of local leaders affirmed that citizens directly participate in monitoring related activities. This high level of direct involvement of citizens in monitoring relies on monitoring of Imihigo at village level, as well as Imihigo at family where members of the family participate in self—assessment of imihigo achievement.

### 4.2.11.2. Direct Citizen Participation in Evaluation

Citizens should also be directly involved in evaluation of implemented activities. The figure 29 shows the involvement of citizens in evaluation of Imihigo.

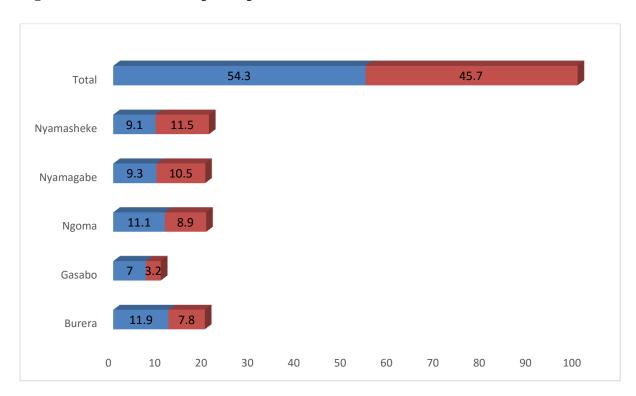


Figure 28: Direct citizens' participation in evaluation from 2011to 2015

Source: Field Data, 2017

From the findings of figure 29, it is clear that between 2011-2015 a portion of 45.7% of citizen respondents have directly participated in evaluation of implemented local government programs or projects, whereas 54.3% of citizen participants did not directly participate in evaluation of implemented local government programs or projects.

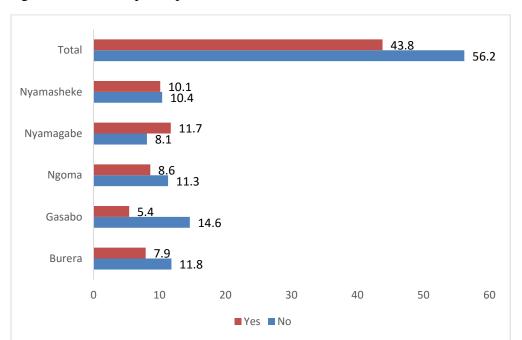


Figure 29: Citizens participation in evaluation from 2016 to 2017

Between 2016-2017, it was found out that 56.2% of citizens did not directly participate in evaluation of implemented local government programs or projects, whereas 43.8% of citizens have directly participated in evaluation of implemented local government programs or projects. The level of direct citizen participation in evaluation was and is still low.

## 4.2.11.3. Leaders's views citizens participation in evaluation of implemented activitiess

This study assessed the perception of local leaders on direct citizen participation in evaluation of implemented activities

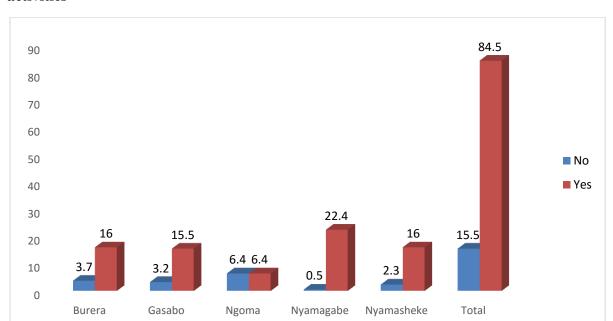


Figure 30: Leaders's views on citizens participation in evaluation of implemented activities

From the findings, one can realize that there was no significant difference between the level of direct citizen participation in monitoring and evaluation between the two terms (2011-2015 and 2016-2017). However, there was significant difference between the percentage of people who participate in monitoring and those who participate in evaluation. The findings revealed that people were likely to directly participate in monitoring than in evaluation. One of the reasons is that monitoring is done during implementation, and people are interested to know and observe what is being implemented.

As evaluation is done after the implementation, it is unlikely that people will take courage to visit and evaluate the implemented projects. On this point, one interviewee in Rugarama sector said "Generally speaking, many citizens can easily participate in the implementation of local government programs or projects via umuganda, contributing money or providing materials, but very few know that they have to monitor how the project is being implemented or come after to evaluate if project was implemented and met the standards. I think that it is the responsibility of local leaders and the councillors (our representatives)".

Local leaders and civil society organizations should multiply their efforts in order to mobilize to play significant role in monitoring and evaluation of implemented activities.

## 4.2.11.4. Role played by the citizens who have participated in monitoring and evaluation

The role of citizens who directly participated in monitoring and evaluation is presented in the table 12.

Table 12: Role played by citizens in monitoring of development activities

	Burer	a	Gasal	00	Ngoi	ma	Nyan	nagabe	Nyam	asheke	Total	
	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%
I gave advice on what is to be corrected and how it can be corrected	55	14.2	43	11.1	53	13.7	68	17.6	45	11.6	264	68.2
I participated in monitoring of implemented activities	44	11.4	55	14.2	34	8.8	61	15.8	54	14.0	248	64.1
I have directly participated in security management and maintenance of previous activities performed	33	8.5	39	10.1	54	14.0	71	18.3	33	8.5	230	59.4
Indicating what is supposed to be done or corrective measures	66	17.1	17	4.4	71	18.3	9	2.3	66	17.1	229	59.2
I indicated the errors done and those who had a stake in them	17	4.4	27	7.0	22	5.7	22	5.7	20	5.2	108	27.9
I contributed to the security assurance and maintenance as well as effective management of the implemented activities	3	0.8	12	3.1	8	2.1	9	2.3	13	3.4	45	11.6

Source: Field Data, 2017

From the table 12, it is shown that 68.2% of citizens participated in monitoring of LG agenda by advising on what is to be corrected and how it can be corrected, 64.1% participated in monitoring of implementation of activities,59.4% participated in monitoring by taking part in security

management and maintenance of previous activities performed and 59.2% participated by indicating what is supposed to be done or corrective measures.

Table 13: Perceptions of local leaders on role played by citizens in monitoring of planned activities

	Bure	ra	Gasal	bo	Ngo	ma	Nyan	nagabe	Nyam	asheke	Total	
	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%
They participated in monitoring process in line with planned activities	28	15.1	34	18.3	26	14.0	31	16.7	22	11.8	144	77.4
They participated in evaluation process in line with planned activities	22	11.8	18	9.7	26	14.0	17	9.1	21	11.3	107	57.5
They played a direct role in the security and protection of the implemented activities	22	11.8	13	7.0	11	5.9	10	5.4	20	10.8	77	41.4
They provided advice on what and how should activities carried out and some corrective measures	20	10.8	17	9.1	8	4.3	14	7.5	16	8.6	75	40.3
They identified errors committed	24	12.9	12	6.5	11	5.9	5	2.7	18	9.7	71	38.2

Source: Field Data, 2017

The role played by the citizens in monitoring is appreciated by local leaders as follows: 77.4 % confirmed that citizens have directly visited and monitored the projects in implementation. 57.5% mentioned that citizens have directly participated in evaluation process in line with planned activities, 41.4% agreed that citizens participated in security and protection of the implemented activities, 40.3% agreed that citizens participated by advising on how activities should be carried out and some corrective measures to be taken. Finally, 38.2% confirmed that citizens have identified errors and those who had a stake in them.

During FGDs, one opinion leader said: "Today's citizens are quite different from citizens in 10-20 years ago. Now, citizens are aware that they are the first beneficiaries of government or local government projects. Therefore, they monitor to make sure that everything is done correctly. If there are errors in the implementation (stealing materials, using fake materials, misuse of money etc.) citizens are the first ones to denounce. However, I cannot say that every citizen is aware of that, some or even the majority thinks that it is the responsibility of councillors and National police".

### 4.2.11.5. Partial conclusion

The first objective of the study was to assess the dynamics of direct citizen participation in agenda setting, budgeting, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. The main findings showed that citizens directly participate in identifying priorities and communicating them to their leaders. However, the extent to which it is done needs to be improved. Concerning the agenda setting, direct citizen participation is not satisfactory from the perspective of citizens. Therefore, more efforts need to be employed to change the statuquo.

As far as direct participation in budgeting was concerned, the findings showed that the level was still low (48.2% have never participated in budgeting). The level of direct citizen participation in implementation of local agenda was at 66%. However, it needs to be improved in order to reach at least 90% in the following five years. Finally, the findings showed that the level of direct citizen participation in monitoring and evaluation is less than 40%. Therefore, more efforts of sensitization need to be undertaken in order to improve direct citizen participation in monitoring and evaluation.

## 4.3. Implication of the current dynamics of citizen's interests in direct participation on downward accountability

Many societies which have experienced lack of accountability remain prone to poverty, exclusion, nepotism, clientelism, corruption which, in turn, pave the way to political instability and various forms of violence (Never Again 2016). Accountability is all about being called to account for one's actions. For example, A is accountable to B when A is obliged to inform B about A's (past or future) actions and decisions, to justify them, and to suffer punishment in the case of eventual misconduct. Accountability cannot exist without proper accounting practices and eventual punishments. The task to promote accountability in local government concerns everyone, including the citizens.

In this study, the level of citizen direct participation in promoting accountability in local government was assessed and the findings are presented 31.

### 4.3.1. Direct Citizen Participation in holding local leaders Accountable

Accountability is one of the mechanisms used to reinforce direct citizen participation. In this way, the GoR is committed to strengthening public accountability, transparency and efficiency in deploying resources and delivering services. As it is stipulating in EDPRS II, a more citizenship contribute to the demand-side of accountability for the accountable governance theme. Th following paragraph explores the engagement of citizens to directly participate in holding local leaders accountable.

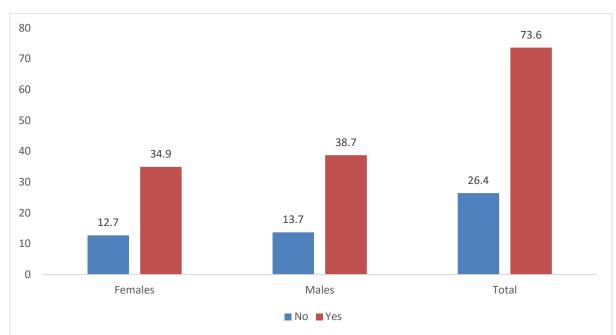


Figure 31: Whether Citizens Directly Participate in holding local leaders accountable

Source: Field Data, 2017

It was found out that 73.6% of citizens have directly participated in calling their local leaders to account for their actions. 26.4% of citizens did not directly participate in calling their local leaders to account for their actions. When the same question was asked to local leaders, the following findings were shown: 94.6% of local leaders confirmed that citizens have directly participated in calling local leaders to account for their actions, while only 4.11% of local leaders said that citizens didn't directly participate in calling their local leaders to account.

Holding leaders accountable is also assessed by Rwanda Governance Board and the findings revealed that citizens are satisfied with holding leaders accountable at 81.6%.<sup>5</sup>

From the findings above, it can be seen that there is significant disagreement between citizens and local leaders. To find out more clarification, a question was asked in FGDs on this divergence and the following explanations were provided: Citizens in FGDs said that for local leaders whom they have directly voted, for instance the Coordinators of villages, they can call them to account. But, for those appointed local leaders, such as executive secretary of Cell, secretary executive of Sector and the Mayor of the District, it is difficult for citizens to call them to account. On this point, one interviewee said "I only hear that X or Y executive secretary of Cell or Sector was dismissed or he or she was asked to resign, but I have never seen or experienced a case where citizens have directly called the executive secretary of Cell or Sector to account. However, I do agree that citizens sometimes can directly participate in disclosing mistakes and misconducts of those authorities, but not to call them to account. In addition, every citizen wants to be in good relationship with local leaders, none wants to be in conflicts with them. You may want local leader to account by disclosing their mistakes or misconducts and nothing is done against him or her (especially those appointed). In that case, you will be troubled by that local leader. To avoid such kind of conflicts, myself I prefer to keep quiet".

The above views were substantiated by the views from the opinion leader interviewed who said "Well, I can't say that citizens directly participate in calling local leaders to account, because a leader is always a leader and some citizens still fear to accuse openly their local leaders. But, I can confirm that local leaders at village level are accountable to citizens, citizens call them to account and there are many cases whereby citizens suspended or fired them"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Rwanda Governance Board (2016). Rwanda Governance Scorecard 2016, the state of governance in Rwanda. Developed under the direction of Prof. Shyaka Anastase and Dr Usengumukiza Felicien.

### 4.3.2. Citizens' satisfaction on direct participation in local governance

The GoR takes the citizens' participation as requirement for good governance. One of the pillars of EDPRS II is the promotion of accountable governance that emphasizes citizen participation in all process of decision making since planning of activities and their implementation to monitoring and evaluation. This section assesses the level of citizens' satisfaction on direct participation in local governance.

100 90 80 59.1 56 70 60 40.9 34.6 50 40 30 11.6 9.5 20 10 0 Males Total **Females** ■ No ■ Yes

Figure 32: Citizen's atisfaction on direct participation in local governance

Source: Field Data, 2017

The findings on this question showed that 59.1% of citizens were satisfied with current level of direct citizen participation in local governance, while 40.9% of citizens were not satisfied. To supplement this information, citizens and local leaders in FGDs were asked to make more comments. Citizens said that though the level is still low, they are happy that today because they can be invited and sit together with local leaders to set an agenda of activities or projects. Today, citizens can be asked to determine their priorities and sometimes those priorities expressed are taken into consideration in agenda. On this point, an interviewee in FGDs said "sometimes local leaders invite us, but because the majority are busy, we do not attend those meetings where decisions are taken. In addition, most of us think that councillors whom we have voted can be there on our behalf".

On the same point, local leader in FGDs said "Direct citizen participation in local governance is determined by two factors: (i) readiness and eagerness of citizens to directly participate, (ii) readiness and willingness of local leaders to directly engage the citizens in decision- making, and (iii) facilitating conditions, such as channels and laws or regulations. When I examine these factors, I can simply see that laws and regulations are clearly defined; there is nothing to claim about. However, the problem is still at those two first factors, whereby some citizens are not ready and willing to directly participate, and some local leaders who are not yet ready and willing to directly engage the citizens in local governance. Limitations to direct citizen participation in local governance are mainly due to individual factors rather than organizational and regulatory framework".

## 4.4. LINKAGEBETWEEN NATIONAL AND LOCAL PRIORITIES AS DEFINED BY KEY NATIONAL AND LOCAL PLANNING FRAMEWORK.

Local administrative entities implement national programs and policies defined in various strategic sectors. All these national programs and policies aim to enhance socio-economic development of citizens. Local administrative entities should establish enabling mechanisms allowing effective implementation of those government policies and programs. Direct citizen participation is one of those mechanisms that enable them to identify local priorities, but in line with national priorities.

## 4.4.1. Sector of activities in which citizens orient their priorities

In general, citizens orient their priorities in sectors that affect directly their life. The table 14 shows the domains in which citizens have oriented their priorities.

Table 14: Domain in which citizens assess and analyse the community priorities

	Citize	en					Lead	lers				
	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%
Agriculture	342	18.0	390	20.6	732	38.6	35	15.98	85	38.81	120	54.79
Health	293	15.5	284	15.0	577	30.5	34	15.53	54	24.66	88	40.18
Infrastructure	161	8.5	206	10.9	367	19.4	42	19.18	91	41.55	133	60.73
Security	115	6.1	200	10.5	315	16.6	11	5.02	35	15.98	46	21
Education	137	7.2	154	8.1	291	15.3	30	13.7	54	24.66	84	38.36
Animal husbandry	123	6.5	152	8.0	275	14.5	24	10.96	45	20.55	69	31.51
Housing	69	3.6	93	4.9	162	8.6	13	5.94	34	15.53	47	21.46
Hygiene and sanitation	67	3.5	84	4.4	151	8.0	10	4.57	28	12.79	38	17.35
Injustice	58	3.1	63	3.3	121	6.4	4	1.83	15	6.85	19	8.68

	Citize	en					Lead	lers				
	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%
Entrepreneurship	38	2.0	35	1.8	73	3.9	4	1.83	21	9.59	25	11.42
Commerce	31	1.6	34	1.8	65	3.4	4	1.83	16	7.31	20	9.13
Governance	26	1.4	35	1.8	61	3.2	7	3.2	18	8.22	25	11.42
Arts	32	1.7	28	1.5	60	3.2	3	1.37	12	5.48	15	6.85
Transport	19	1.0	39	2.1	58	3.1	8	3.65	32	14.61	40	18.26
Justice	20	1.1	35	1.8	55	2.9	2	0.91	15	6.85	17	7.76
Unity and reconciliation	21	1.1	23	1.2	44	2.3	6	2.74	15	6.85	21	9.59
Disaster management	17	0.9	20	1.1	37	2.0	7	3.2	15	6.85	22	10.05
ICT	9	0.5	17	0.9	26	1.4	1	0.46	12	5.48	13	5.94
Environment conservation and protection	12	0.6	13	0.7	25	1.3	7	3.2	21	9.59	28	12.79
Corruption	8	0.4	3	0.2	11	0.6	2	0.91	11	5.02	13	5.94

The table 14 presents the sectors in which citizens oriented their priorities. It is shown that citizens orient their priorities in 5 main sectors: 38.6% of citizen respondents orient their priorities in Agriculture, 30.5% in health, 19.4% in infrastructure, 16.6% in security, while 15.3 in education.

In agriculture sector, one of the national priorities is to increase agricultural production and productivity through programs such as; land use consolidation on priority crops, use of fertilisers and improved seeds, soil erosion control and irrigation.

From FGDs, it was revealed that citizens through TWIGIRE MUHINZI, discuss on those national priorities linking them with local priorities. There is a kind of ownership of those national priorities whereby the citizens at grassroots level are adopting strategies such as the use of improved seeds, fertilisers, control of erosion and land use consolidation in order to increase production and productivity. Therefore, national priorities in agriculture domain meet and inspire local government and citizens' priorities. They are not contradicting, but complementing.

In health sector, among the national priorities is promoting access to health care. One of programs to achieve this is access to community health insurance. At grassroots level, citizens' priorities are discussed in Villages Saving Loan Associations (VSLAs). Through VSLAs, citizens discuss and adopt strategies to promote health in community, whereby they buy to each community health insurance. Therefore, community health insurance which is national priority is at the same time the citizens' priority.

There is a link between key national and local planning framework in the sense that the Ministry of Economic Planning (MINECOFIN) provides guidelines which are discussed

through Imihigo at grassroots level. These key guidelines from MINECOFIN arrives indirectly even at the very low level (family) through Imihigo of family (Imihigo y'umuryango)

As far as the local leaders are concerned, they confirmed that the 5 top sectors in which citizens like to largely engage in are: infrastructure (60.7%), agriculture (51%), Health (40.2%), education (38.4%) and animal husbandry (31.5%). In contraly, the 5 sectors for which citizens show less interest are: (1) ICT and (2) corruption with 5.9% respectively, (3) arts with 6.9%, (4) justice 7.8% and injustice with 8.7%. In general, there is no difference between findings from the citizens and those from local leaders.

The 5 top sectors for citizen and leaders are almost similar. 4 sectors (agriculture, health, infrastructure and education) were targeted by citizens and leaders. In addition, among 5 sectors where citizens show less interest, ICT and Corruption were selected by both citizens and leaders.

All of them argued during FGDs that citizens used to directly engage in things they do and in matters can affect their lives directly. Issues related to corruption, genocide ideology, disasters do not occur often and do not affect them. For ICT, they all argued that citizens do not have knowledge about it, and therefore not interested.

The following views from FGD illustrate this point:" *Ibi bikorwa bindi (ikoranabuhanga, kurwanya ruswa, kubungabunga ibidukikije...) akenshi abaturage benshi ntibabisobanukiwe.* Kuba abaturage bihugiyeho muri gahunda z'ubuzima bwa buri munsi, bituma ubuhinzi, ubworozi, uburezi n'ubuzima ari byo bibandaho kurusha ibindi kuko ari byo bibaha inyungu zifatika."

Those other domains such ICT, fighting against corruption, Environmental protection, the citizens do not haveenough knowledge on them. The fact that the citizen are struggling for their dairly subsistence explains their interest in domains related to agriculture, health, education, because the benefits from them are tangible"

# 4.4.2. Development activities package in reflecting and addressing the concerns and priorities of citizens

A question was asked to determine if what is considered in agenda (Agenda package) reflects the demands and priorities as expressed by the citizens.

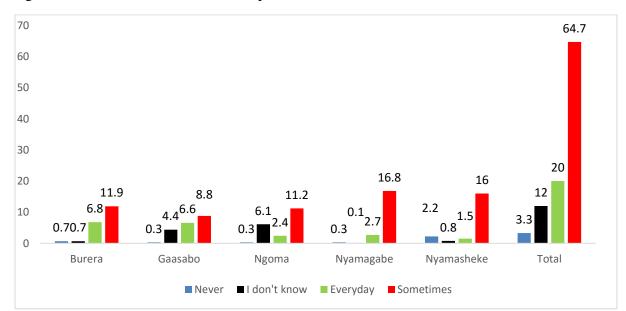


Figure 33: Reflection of demands and priorities

The following views were expressed by the citizens' respondents: 64.7% confirmed that the development activities sometimes reflect the demands and priorities expressed by the citizens, 20% argued that the agenda package always reflects the demands and priorities expressed by the citizens, while 3% said that it never reflects the demands and priorities expressed by citizens.

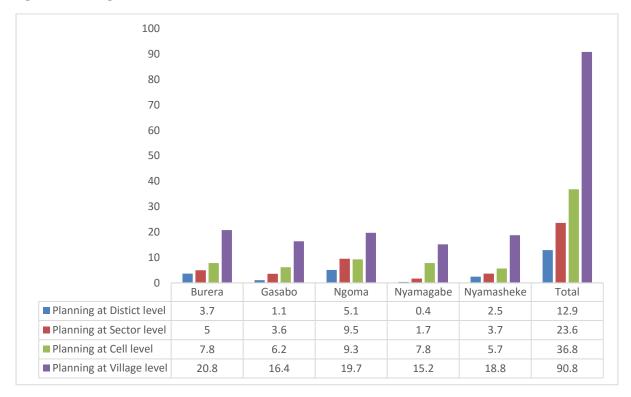
In the same context, 57% of local leaders confirmed that the agenda package of local government always reflects the demands and priorities expressed by the citizens, 41% said that the agenda package sometimes reflects the demands and priorities expressed by the citizens, while 0.4% stated that the agenda package never reflects the demands and priorities as expressed by the citizens. As it can be realized, there is significant difference between the findings from citizens and those from local leaders.

In order to find out more clarification, respondents during FGDs indicated that it is difficult even impossible to take into consideration all the demands of citizens in the agenda. As explained earlier, citizens express their demands and priorities at village level and all expressed demands in the villages are scrutinized at Cell level and only 10 priorities are chosen. This means that if 50 demands are expressed in all villages of the Cell, only 10 demands will be chosen at cell level. Therefore, if citizens realize that their demands are not considered, they automatically conclude that the agenda package does not reflect the demands and priorities of citizens.

# 4.4.3. Level of local administrative entities where citizens would like to directly participate in planning and budgeting in the future

A question was asked to citizens to determine their wishes about the level of local government they would like to have direct participation in the future. The figure 34 illustrates the findings.

Figure 34: Level of administration where citizens would like to directly participate in its agenda setting in the future



Source: Field Data, 2017

When respondents were asked local government level where they would like to directly participate in its agenda setting in the future, 90.8% of citizens (20.8% in Burera District, 16.4% in Gasabo, 19.7% in Ngoma, 15.2% in Nyamagabe District and 18.8% in Nyamasheke District) reported that they would like to have more direct participation in agenda setting at village level, 36.8% of respondents (7.8% in Burera, 6.2% in 9.3% in Ngoma, 7.8% in Nyamagabe and 5.7% in Nyamasheke District) preferred to have more direct participation in agenda setting at Cell level, 23.6 % expressed their preference to have more direct participation in agenda setting at Sector level, and only 12.9% would like to have

direct participation in agenda setting of the District. Thus, citizens want to participate directly in agenda setting at grassroots level.

During FGDs, one opinion leader said "Direct citizen participation in agenda setting of the Sector and the District is practically impossible. At those two levels, indirect citizen participation through councillors is the best option for ordinary citizens".

Considering the findings presented in the figure 34, the point of view of the researcher is that citizens should be more directly engaged in agenda setting of the Village, Cell and even the Sector. At District level, indirect citizen participation might be the best option as suggested by one of the opinion leaders in Nyamasheke District.

### 4.4.4. Partial conclusion

From the findings, it was shown that the top 5 domains in which citizens show more interest to directly engage are agriculture, health, education, infrastructure and security. This coincides with national priorities as defined in EDPRS. Again, it was found that priorities of District as defined in performance contracts (imihigo) coincide with citizens'priorities. Last but not least, it was shown that the level of local government in which citizens directly participate and wish to participate in the future is Village level. This goes in line with government commitment to empower the population to participate in the decision making over issues that affect them, making the village level (Umudugudu) a solid local government level for service delivery, capable of resolving issues and conflicts, and a place where the population participate directly in the governance of the country (MINALOC, 2013). All in all, it was found that citizen participation dynamics link to some extent with both national and local priorities as defined by key national and local planning framewok.

### 4.5. CHANNELS USED FOR DIRECT CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Effective direct citizen participation in local governance requires the government to put in place approaches and channels that should allow and facilitate the citizens to directly participate in local governance. The existence of those channels is one thing, but citizens' awareness about the channels and the utilisation of those channels is another important thing. Thus, the citizens had to use effectively these channels in order to participate in local governance.

This sub-chapter analyses the existing channels for direct citizen participation. It further presents the mostly used channels and less used and why.

## **4.5.1.** Channels used by citizens to exercise their rights of direct citizen participation in local governance.

The figure 35 highlights different channels used for citizens to exercise their right of direct citizen participation in local governance.

100 90 74 80 66.5 70 62.6 60 53.4 50 39.3 37.4 40 30.4 26.526.5 30 21.3 17.8 20 10.1 5.3 10  $0.3^{\ 2.7}$ 0.9 Community When Suggestion Leadership Community Meeting Parents Open days assembly works organised by Evening Leaders pay Boxes retreat Leaders **Programmes** us visit ■ Citizen ■ Leader

Figure 35: Channels used by citizens to exercise their direct participation in local governance

Source: Field Data, 2017

The results from the survey showed that the channels for direct citizen participation in local governance exist and the mostly known and used by citizens were: Community assemblies (Inteko z'abaturage) at 66.5%; meetings organized by local leaders at 37.4%; parents' evening forums (Umugoroba w'ababyeyi) at 30.4% and community work (Umuganda) at 21.3%. The least known and used channels are: suggestion boxes (5.3%), National Leadership retreat (0.3%) and open day (0.9).

The results from local leaders corroborated the data obtained from citizens in line with channels for direct citizen participation in local governance. From local leader's perspective, it was shown that community assemblies are the mostly known and used channels for direct citizen participation at 74%, followed by community work (62.6%), meetings organized by local leaders (53.4%), and parents 'evening forum (39.3%). The least known and used channels are: suggestion boxes (17.8%), open day (10.1%) and National leadership retreat (2.7%).

The results from this study show that community work is appreciated by citizens as one of the channels used to engage citizens to participate in local government agenda. This also was one

of the findings from RGB during Rwanda Goverance Scorecard 2016 whereby 84.3% of repondents were satisfied with their participation in community work activities.<sup>6</sup>

During the FGD, it was revealed that the community assemblies, meeting organised by leaders and community work are commonly used channels for direct citizen participation in local governance. In fact, they are organised regularly and they constitute a way of interaction between citizens and leaders. On the contrary, there are other channels which are not often used by citizens. For instance, during the FGDs the citizens confirmed that they cannot use suggestion boxes for different reasons. This was made clear by one participant from Gasaka Sector who declared: "Abayobozi nibo baba bafite imfunguzo z'udusanduku kuburyo ibyo babonye bibashyira mu majwi ku mikorere mibi cyangwa ibyo bagomba gukosora, ntibabyitaho." Literally "Leaders are the ones who keep keys to suggestion boxes, if the complaints do not meet their interests or if there is something blaming them, they do not care about that".

Thus, to make this channel effective, citizens suggest that the boxes can be opened by another authority on the hierarchy rather than the one who put it in place.

### 4.5.2. Channels through which citizens communicate their priorities to local leaders

This study has analysed the perception of citizen respondents as well as the perceptions of leaders on the channels through which citizens communicate their priorities to the leaders. The table 15 illustrates the details.

Table 15: Channels used by citizens to communicate their priorities to local leaders

	Citize	ns					Local leaders					
	Femal	es	Males	S	Total		Fema	ales	Male	es	Total	
	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%
Community assemblies	558	29.4	612	32.3	1170	61.7	54	24.7	109	49.8	163	74.4
Community work	487	25.7	636	33.5	1123	59.2	13	5.9	30	13.7	43	19.6
Meetings organized by leaders	299	15.8	369	19.5	668	35.2	23	10.5	70	32	93	42.5
Evening Parents' forum	211	11.1	182	9.6	393	20.7	14	6.4	41	18.7	55	25.1

<sup>6</sup>Rwanda Governance Board (2016). Rwanda Governance Scorecard 2016, the state of governance in Rwanda. Developed under the direction of Prof. Shyaka Anastase and Dr Usengumukiza Felicien.

	Citize	ns					Loca	ıl leade	rs			
	Femal	es	Males	S	Total		Fema	ales	Male	es	Total	
When leaders on the National level visit the village	114	6	143	7.6	257	13.6	11	5	28	12.8	39	17.8
Suggestion boxes	44	2.3	47	2.5	91	4.8	8	3.7	16	7.3	24	11
Ubudehe	37	2	46	2.4	83	4.4	2	0.9	15	6.9	17	7.8
ICT	8	0.4	11	0.6	19	1	3	1.4	8	3.7	11	5
Open day	8	0.4	9	0.5	17	0.9	8	3.7	15	6.9	23	10.5
National dialogue council	7	0.4	5	0.3	12	0.6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Media	3	0.2	7	0.4	10	0.5	11	5	27	12.3	38	17.4

It is obvious from the table 15 that the top 5 channels frequently used by citizens to communicate their priorities to the leaders were (i) community assemblies (61.7%), among them 29.4% are females and 32.3% are males, (ii) community work with 59.2% among them 25.7% and 33.5% are respectively females and males, (iii) meetings organized by local leaders with 35.2% among them 15.8% and 19.5% are respectively females and males, (iv) parents' evening forum with 21% whereby 11.1% are females and 9.6% are males. Finally, the fifth channel mostly used by citizens is when leaders at the National level visited their locality (13.6%) among them 6% are females and 7.6% are males.

The 5 less used channels were: media (0.5%), national dialogue council with 0.6%, open day (0.9%), and ICT (1%).

Likewise, the local leaders were asked to determine channels used by citizens to communicate their priorities, and the following answers were reported: community assemblies with 74.4% where 24.7% are females and 49.8% are males, meetings organized by local leaders at 42.5% where 10.5% females and 32% males, parents' evening forum 25.1% among them 6.4% females and 18.7% are males, community work at 19.6%% where 5.9% and 13.7% are respectively males and females and finally when leaders visit their locality (17.8%) with 5% and 12.8% respectively males and females.

In the same way, the 5 channels less used by citizens to communicate their priorities to leaders as perceived by local leaders were: ICT at 5%, ubudehe at 7.8%, open day at 10.5%, suggestion boxes (9%) and media 17.4%.

In order to find out why community assemblies and community work are mostly used than other channels, participants in FGDs revealed that community assemblies are organized every week in each village and every person is requested to attend. In community assemblies, people have enough time and feel free to express their priorities, debate them and deliberate on those priorities.

This point was made clear by one participant in FGD in the following terms: "The community assemblies are effective channels granted by the Government to enable us to solve our priorities with the support of our leaders. Anyone with a particular issue presents it during the community assembly, and before the leaders conclude on the issue, citizens express their views on that concern, because they know very well the person. In fact, all priorities are solved in a public and in transparency. Citizens themselves help the leaders to handle the issue"

The Community work (*Umuganda*) is also perceived as a channel through which citizens express their issues. Participants in this study said that *Umuganda* is one of the channels which is mostly used by citizens to solve community issues and to implement government policies.

However, the time allocated to the debate and deliberation on community issues is not enough and the environment is not conducive, because citizens discus on community issues after having carried out the community activities, thus the time given to interaction is limited and people are sometimes tired and hungry. Parents' evening forum was also cited as channel used, but the issues debated are mostly related to family conflicts rather than general issues. Another channel used is meeting organised by local leaders. As matter of fact, after transmitting the key message, citizens are given opportunities to present their complaints and priorities.

Nevertheless, though Rwandan Government is emphasising on promoting ICT, this channel is not commonly used by the citizen to transmit their priorities to the local leaders. One of possible explanations was provided by a key informant who made this point: "Abakuze (ababyeyi) nibo bakunze kuba batanga ibitekerezo ku bibakorerwa ariko ntibazi gukoresha ikoranabuhanga, cyangwa ntibanagira n'ibyo bikoresho by'ikoranabuhanga. Bahitamo rero kujya kureba umuyobozi kugira ngo bavugane imbona nkubone" Literally "Flankly speaking, the old persons (parents) are the ones who frequently give /express ideas on activities for which they are beneficiaries but they do not have knowledge and skills in ICT or even they do not possess ICT tools. Intead of using ICT tools to express their priorities to local authorities, they go to interact with them physically (face to face).

Last but not the least; it is worth to indicate that there were different views between males and females on the channels used by citizens to communicate their community priorities to local leaders. For females, the mostly used channel was community assemblies, whereas for males was community work. This difference was explained during the FGDs whereby respondents reiterated that females do not attend community work (umuganda) regularly as males do. Different reasons were cited such as pregnancy, breastfeeding, taking care of children, etc. which is why the preferred channel for them to interact and communicate with local leaders is community assemblies (Inteko z'abaturage) rather than community work (Umuganda).

Furthermore, there is a wrong understanding about Umuganda whereby some citizens think that when the husband attends umuganda, the wife should not attend. This was revealed by one respondent who said: "Ntabwo twese twata urugo ngo tugiye mu muganda. Akenshi iyo nagiyeyo umugore asigara mu rugo" Literally "Both man and woman from the same family cannot attend community work and leave the house alone. When I attend umuganda, my wife stays at home looking after the children". In this regard, it is worth to recommend that communities should be sensitized about the law which stipulates that umuganda is compulsory for all Rwandans above 18 years.

# 4.5.3. Channels mostly used by the citizens to directly participate in identifying the magnitude of priorities and their prioritization.

The study analysed the channels mostly used by the citizens to directly engage in priorities identification and prioritization. The table 16 portrays those channels.

Table 16: Channels mostly used by the citizens to directly participate in identifying the priorities and deciding their magnitude

	Citizens	S					Lead	lers				
	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%
Community assemblies	544	28.7	600	31.6	1144	60.3	50	22.8	94	42.9	144	65.8
Community work	536	28.3	630	33.2	1166	61.5	9	4.1	28	12.8	37	16.9
Meeting organized by authorities	194	10.2	293	15.5	487	25.7	24	11.0	72	32.9	96	43.8
Parents's evening forum	249	13.1	238	12.6	487	25.7	22	10.1	38	17.4	60	27.4
When leaders have paid us a visit	92	4.9	112	5.9	204	10.8	9	4.1	26	11.9	35	16.0
Media	86	4.5	115	6.1	201	10.6	9	4.1	16	7.3	25	11.4

	Citizens	S					Leaders					
	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%
Ubudehe	55	2.9	51	2.7	106	5.6	5	2.3	14	6.4	19	8.7
Suggestion box	34	1.8	33	1.7	67	3.5	8	3.7	17	7.8	25	11.4
ICT	14	0.7	14	0.7	28	1.4	1	0.5	9	4.1	10	4.6
Open day	2	0.1	3	0.2	5	0.3	9	4.1	28	12.8	37	16.9

The table 16 analyses the perceptions from citizens and leaders in line with channels mostly used by citizens to directly participate in identifying the priorities and deciding their magnitude

From citizens' perspective, 5 channels mainly used were: community work (Umuganda) with 61.5% among them 28.3% are females and 33.2% males), community assemblies with 60.3% where 28.7% are females and 31.6% males), meetings organized by local leaders with 25.7% (10.2% females and 15.5% males), Parents' evening forum with 26% among them 13.1% females and 12.6% males and finally visits of leaders from national level to community with 10.8%. Less used channels were: open day with 0.3%, ICT with 1.4%), suggestion boxes with 3.5%, Ubudehe with 5.5% and media with 10.6%.

From local leaders' perspective, the findings confirm that the top 4 channels mainly used were: community assemblies (65.8%), meetings organized by local leaders (43.8%), parents' evening forum (27.4%), and community work with 16.9%. The less used channels were: ICT with 4.6%, Ubudehe with 8.7%, suggestion boxes with 11.4%.

During the FGDs, citizens clarified that ICT is not commonly used in rural areas, because all population do not have enough knowledge for its utilisation. In addition, they cannot afford ICT tools (smart phone, computers, etc.) and the related network. In the same line, in some remote areas where there is no electricity, it becomes difficult to use ICT.

This was confirmed by one of the key informants during an interview when made this point clearly that: "In some remote areas, there is no internet access and that situation limits usage of new technology mainly IREMBO and other services which are currently used to access various services. Ubudehe is less used, because not every citizen feels concerned by Ubudehe. People think that Ubudehe concerns poor people who need government support".

With regards to Ubudehe program, the citizen respondents confirmed that they have a bad experience due to the injustice and corruption related to it. Others may not attend because they think that the issue to be discussed in Ubudehe concern poor and vulnerable people. Therefore, those who feel not concerned, do not attend.

About media, participants in FDGs said that programs of at the Radio and TV are predefined and therefore citizens cannot interrupt.

### 4.5.4. Channels used by the citizens to directly participate in agenda setting

Different channels were established to allow citizens to directly participate in local agenda setting. However, some are mostly utilised while others are less or not utilized. In this study, channels used by the citizens in order to directly participate in agenda setting were investigated and the findings are highlighted in the figure 36.

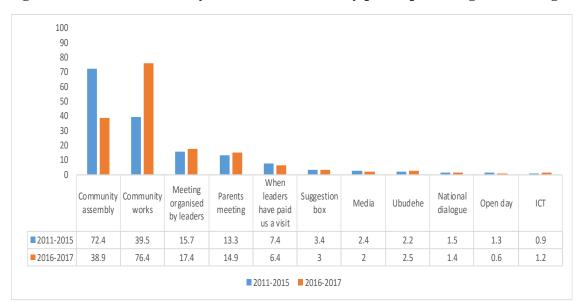


Figure 36: Channels used by the citizens to directly participate in agenda setting

Source: Field Data, 2017

Between 2011-2015, the figure 36 indicates that 72.4% of respondents said that community assemblies were used in order to directly participate in agenda setting; 39.5% of respondents said that community work was used; 15.7% of respondents directly participated and appreciate public meetings organized by local leaders, and 13.3% of respondents participated through parents' evening forum. The less used channels were: ICT (0.9%), open day (1.3%), National dialogue (1.5%), Ubudehe (2.2%) and Media (2.4%).

Between 2016-2017, community work (umuganda) was used at 76.4% and was the channel mostly used by the citizens to directly participate in agenda setting. Community assemblies were used at 38.9%, public meetings organized by local leaders were utilised at 17.4%, while parents 'evening forum was utilised at 14.9%.

## 4.5.5. Preferences of citizens about the channels to be used in the future while assessing and analysing community priorities

The channels mostly preferred by the citizens in order to directly participate in identifying priorities and their magnitude is identified in table 17.

Table 17: Preferred channels to be used in future for joint priorities identification

	Leader						Citizens					
Channels	Females		Males		Total		Females		Males		Total	
	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%
Community assemblies	47	21.5	95	43.4	142	64.8	47	21.5	95	43.4	142	64.8
Meeting organized by local authorities	24	11.0	62	28.3	86	39.3	24	11.0	62	28.3	86	39.3
Parents' evening forum	15	6.9	31	14.2	46	21.0	15	6.9	31	14.2	46	21.0
Community work	8	3.7	28	12.8	36	16.4	8	3.7	28	12.8	36	16.4
Media	9	4.1	20	9.1	29	13.2	9	4.1	20	9.1	29	13.2
When leaders have paid us a visit	10	4.6	17	7.8	27	12.3	10	4.6	17	7.8	27	12.3
Suggestion box	9	4.1	15	6.9	24	11.0	9	4.1	15	6.9	24	11.0
Open day	8	3.7	14	6.4	22	10.0	8	3.7	14	6.4	22	10.0
Ubudehe	5	2.3	16	7.3	21	9.6	5	2.3	16	7.3	21	9.6
ICT	5	2.3	10	4.6	15	6.8	5	2.3	10	4.6	15	6.8

Source: Field Data, 2017

From the table 17, the most preferred channels to be used in the future were: community assemblies (69%), community work (54%), meetings organized by local leaders (31%), and parents' evening forum (26%). According to local leaders, the most preferred channels were: community assemblies (73%), open day (51%), parents' evening forum (23%), media (19%), community work (19%) and meetings organized by leaders (15%).

In line with legal framework, Inteko z'abaturage (community assemblies) were proposed in National Legal Aid Policy defined by MINIJUST in 2014 as one of the strategies for establishment of a referral system. About Umuganda, it is a consulatative mechanism used between leaders and citizens to participate in community development activities. In this regards, the article 8 of the law n° 53/2007 of 17/11/2017 precises that: "after consultation with the population, community works supervising committee at each level specify activities to be carried out in the general interest, the place where they are to be carried out and the equipment to be used and thereby notifying the population through different channels including posted notices at village office if any or at any other public place at least 7 days

before community works are carried out. This provision of law is not frequently respected and this requires the increasing awareness towards local leaders.

In general, community assembly is the most preferred channel by both citizens and local leaders. During FGDs, participants explained that community assemblies are preferred because every adult person is invited and the attendance is compulsory.

In addition, community assemblies are preferred, because people are prepared in advance, they have enough time and they are free to debate and express on issues they are facing.

However, one interviewee wished that community assemblies should be reinforced and more compulsory, because it was realized that some people, especially educated and rich people in the community and even some local leaders (members of consultative committee) do not attend as ordinary people do.

One of the key informants justified why suggestion boxes are not among the preferred channels to be used in the future. He said: "Complaints and priorities of citizens expressed via suggestion boxes are rarely taken into consideration. Suggestion boxes can be a good channel if boxes containing those demands and priorities expressed by the citizens are opened and red by the authority from higher level (Province or Ministry). Otherwise, at local level, suggestion boxes are not helping, because the accused authority most of the time is the one who opens and the one who decides or makes decision. Concerning ICT (Twitter and Facebook etc.), I can tell you that even some local leaders do not use them, how then ordinary citizen like me, can use them? Not now, may be our generation in the future".

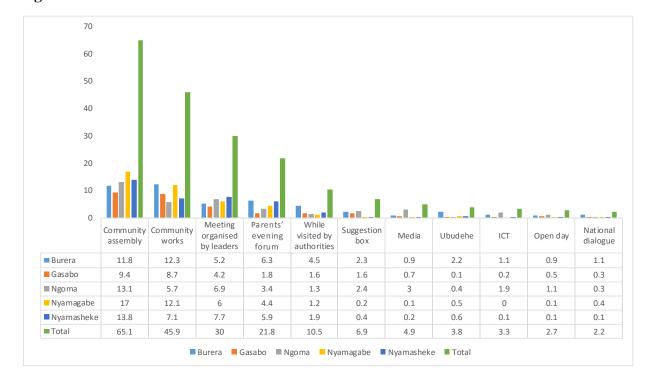


Figure 37: Preffered channels to be used in the future

The figure 37 indicates that 65.1% of respondents said that the preferred channel to be used and reinforced in the future is community assemblies. Moreover, 45.9% preferred community work as the best channel to be used in the future, 30% meeting organized by leaders and 21.8% parents' evening program. Those 4 channels can be reinforced by local authorities and can constitute the best way to engage citizens in local agenda setting.

One of the interviewees in Ngoma District said "Community assemblies is my preferred channel, because every issue is brought in, deeply discussed and everyone is free to say what he or she thinks about the problem to be analysed. Besides, issues which were unresolved at village and cell level, usually find solutions in community assemblies. Furthermore, community assemblies are held every week, while other channels such as umuganda, you have to wait for the whole month although you may have an urgent issue which needed to be discussed and resolved".

## 4.5.6. Channels through which citizens directly participate in calling local leaders to account for their actions or inactions

Direct citizen participation in promoting accountability in local government is impossible unless there are mechanisms or channels in place to facilitate such participation. In this context, citizens revealed the mechanisms or channels through which they pass to call local

leaders to account for their actions. The findings show that community assemblies are mostly used channels (46.5%), meetings of stakeholders (11.7%), community work (10.7%), and open days (9.8%). The findings show that Media, visits of members of parliament, visits of the President of the Republic are less used channels. This contradicts to some extent previous findings (CRC 2015) which showed that the visits of the President of the Republic to local governments is mostly used channel by the citizens in calling their local leaders to account for their actions and in actions. In this regard, citizens in FGDs said that before citizens could wait for the visit of the President in order to make their priorities known and therefore, call local leaders to account.

But today, citizens do not need to wait for the visit of the President, because through community assemblies people can call a local leader to account for his or her actions. On this point, an interviewee in Gikomero Sector said "what I am asking is to reinforce community assemblies and make sure that every category of citizens attends, and most importantly the presence of police and army. Those are the institutions we trust, and the presence of their members in community assemblies is critical. In addition, it will be better if we can have at least once per year the presence of the Mayor and the Governor in community assemblies in the village."

The channels used by the citizens in calling local leaders to account their actions as expressed by leaders were community assemblies (59.7%), community work (19.6%), visit of the President of the Republic (21.6 %), meetings of stakeholders (31.05), open day (37.44%), and visit of members of parliament (19.66%). Less used channels were ICT, National dialogue and media.

As one can realize, community assemblies is cited by both citizens and local leaders as most used channel. However, though visit of the President was not mentioned by the citizens as mostly used channel, local leaders agreed that is among the used channels. Another observation is that, while media should be among the most used channels, it was shown that they are less used. When asked why? An interviewee in FGDs said "when journalists come and visit people in the villages, people can talk and disclose information against any local leader who misconducts, but taking initiative to go to the Radio, write in newspapers and even to telephone is not for ordinary citizen like me"

### 4.5.7. Partial conclusion

From the findings, the most channels used by citizens for direct citizen participation in priorities identification and prioritization, local agenda setting, budgeting, implementation and M& E were: community assemblies, community work, meetings organized by local leaders and parents' evening forum. The less used channels by the citizens were: ICT, ubudehe, suggestion boxes, open day, National dialogue council and media.

### 4.6. Value and practicability of direct citizen participation in local governance

This sub-chapter determines whether citizens consider direct citizen participation in local governance as something of value and desirable. It also analyses whether citizens consider direct citizen participation in local governance as practical.

### 4.6.1. Value and practicability of direct citizen participation in local governance

The study determines whether citizens consider direct citizen participation as of paramount importance and practical.

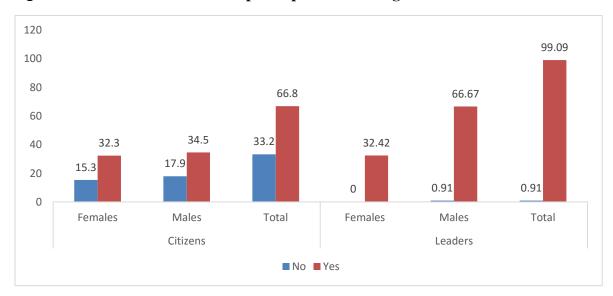


Figure 38: Whether direct citizen participation in local governance is valuable

Source: Field Data, 2017

From the figure 38, it is shown that 99,09% of local leaders said that direct citizen participation in local governance is of paramount importance, while 0.9 % argued that it is not of value and not desirable. On the other hand, 66.8% of citizen respondents confirmed that direct citizen participation in local governance is of value, while 33.2% said the contrary. From these findings, one can simply realize that local leaders appreciate positively the value

and the importance of direct citizen participation than citizens. This is due to the fact that local leaders have more knowledge on democratic governance than citizens.

Table 18: Citizens' Perceptions on the importance of direct citizen participation

Importance	Female	s	Males	S	Total	
Importance	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%
It allows experience sharing and increases the skills and knowledge of citizens.	132	10.5	139	11.0	271	21.5
It allows dialogue between people and therefore increases unity and reconciliation among citizens	89	7.1	107	8.5	196	15.5
It allows citizens to feel free and to have freedom and rights for expressing their opinions	81	6.4	96	7.6	177	14.0
It increases the feelings of having rights like others	51	4.0	65	5.2	116	9.2
Develop ownership in all activities	51	4.0	53	4.2	104	8.2
It allows citizen to develop self- confidence in decision making	45	3.6	48	3.8	93	7.4
It increases good relationship between citizens and leaders	38	3.0	35	2.8	73	5.8

Source: Field Data, 2017

The findings from Table 19 show that 21.5% of citizen respondents said direct citizen participation allows experience sharing and increases the skills and knowledge of citizens, 15.5% of citizen respondents said direct citizen participation allows dialogue between people and therefore increases unity and reconciliation among citizens, and 14% of citizen citizens asserted that direct citizen participation allows citizens to feel free and to have freedom and rights for expressing their opinions.

**Table 19:** Local leaders' Perceptions on the importance of direct citizen participation

Importance	Females		Males		Total		
Importance	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	
Citizens have freedom and rights for expressing their opinion	25	11.5	56	25.8	81	37.3	
It provides to citizens self-confidence and increase awareness on his/her role to develop the country	63	29.0	121	55.8	184	84.8	
Experience sharing with others and increasing of skills and knowledge.	40	18.4	82	37.8	122	56.2	
It allows citizen to develop ownership in all activities	24	11.1	67	30.9	91	41.9	
It allows dialogue and dialogue increases unity and reconciliation among citizen	31	14.3	54	24.9	85	39.2	
It increases relationship between citizens and leaders	15	6.9	58	26.7	73	33.6	
It allows the citizen developing self- confidence in decision making	13	6.0	41	18.9	54	24.9	
It allows the expression of citizen's rights	12	5.5	40	18.4	52	24.0	

Source: Field Data, 2017

Table 20 presents the opinion of local leaders on the benefits from direct citizen participation. 84.7% of local leaders think that direct citizen participation in local governance increases self-confidence of citizens. In the same perspective, 56.2% think that direct citizen participation in local governance allows people to exchange ideas and that would increase their knowledge and skills. Additionnally, 41.9% of local leaders think that direct citizen participation enables citizens to identify priorities for themselves and share in decision-making, thereby assuming more ownership of solutions and more responsibility for their implementation. Furthermore, 39.17% of local leaders think that direct citizen participation allows dialogue and dialogue increases unit and reconciliation among citizens while 33.6% of local leaders think that direct citizen participation improves relationship that exists between citizens and local leaders.

In general, local leaders know more the advantages of direct citizen participation than citizens. This put more responsibilities on local leaders who should sensitize and mobilize citizens in order to increase their awareness of the benefits of direct citizen participation.

# 4.6.2. Appreciation of citizens on the practicability of direct citizen participation in local governance

This subsection deals with the practicability of direct citizens' participation in Rwandan local governance.

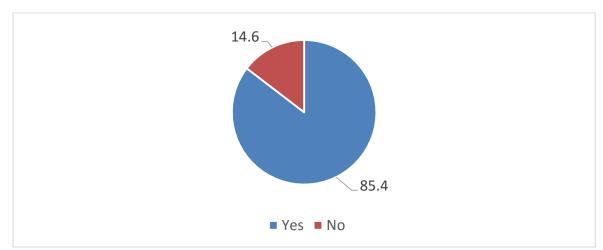


Figure 39: Practicability of direct citizens participation in local governance.

The practicability of direct citizen participation in local governance was assessed and 85.4% of local leaders said that it is practical, while only 14.6% said that it is not practical in today's context of local governance in Rwanda.

Table 20: Citizens' appreciation of the practicability of direct citizen participation in local governance

	Females	Females			Total	
	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%
Citizens have various opinion and divergent interest so that to have a common understanding is very difficult.	9	18.4	8	16.4	17	34.7
Citizens do not have enough time	5	10.2	6	12.2	11	22.4
They have other business to do.	5	10.2	6	12.2	11	22.4
Citizen do not have sufficient knowledge in new technology used in planning, monitoring and evaluation	0	0.0	10	20.4	10	20.4
Citizens do not have skills for the new developmental environment need	4	8.1	6	12.1	10	20.3

Source: Field Data, 2017

Table 21 presents the factors which make direct citizen participation in local governance unpractical. In this study, 34.7 % of citizen respondents said that citizens have various opinions and divergent interests and to have a common understanding is very difficult, 22.4% said that citizens do not have enough time to directly participate in local governance, and they are busy in making life while 20, 4% of citizen respondents said that lack of sufficient knowledge and skills by citizens makes unpractical direct citizen participation in local governance.

During FGDs, one interviewee argued: "Lack of awareness on the benefits of direct citizen participation and lack of sensitization and mobilization of citizens by local leaders are factors that might limit the practicability of direct citizen participation. When citizens are very aware and mobilized, lack of time cannot be a reason".

#### 4.6.3. Partial conclusion

Findings on how both citizens and local leaders appreciated the value and practicability of direct citizen participation showed that majority of citizens consider direct citizen participation as very important factor of democratic governance. However, factors such as illiteracy of citizens, lack of time, lack of sensitization and mobilization might limit the practicability of direct citizen participation in local governance.

#### 4.7. Hindering factors to direct citizen participation

Some focators can hinder direct participation as it is indicated in this section.

#### 4.7.1. Challenges to direct citizen participation in agenda setting

According to OECD (2012), direct citizen participation depends largely on citizens' socialization and education. Citizen direct engagement in local governance is more likely to arise where people have enjoyed freedom of expression, and where the culture of debating, discussion of preferences and ideas is developed. In addition, the level of direct citizen participation in local governance is likely to decline when citizens are lacking the capabilities, knowledge, skills, dispositions that would readily enable them to enter into dialogue and sustained deliberation with public servants and other professionals.

Table 21: Citizens' Perceptions on challenges to direct citizen participation in planning and budgeting of local development activities

Reasons	Femal	es	Males		Total	
	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%
I am not invited in planning of those activities	136	9.2	123	8.3	259	17.5
I cannot be involved in politics related activities because of my belief.	0	0.0	2	0.1	2	0.1
I do not have the required knowledge and skills	102	6.9	101	6.8	203	13.7
I do not have time	24	1.6	10	0.7	34	2.3
It is done during the working hours	16	1.1	12	0.8	28	1.9
It is not my responsibility to participate in planning of those activities	18	1.2	16	1.1	34	2.3
It is the responsibility of authorities because they are paid for it.	18	1.2	10	0.7	28	1.9
What we suggest to do, is not considered in planning	5	0.3	5	0.3	10	0.7

Source: Field Data, 2017

The findings of the study revealed the reasons that might have prevented some of the respondents from directly participating in agenda setting: 0.5% of citizens confirmed that they are not invited to participate in agenda setting while 13.7% said that they do not have enough knowledge and skills that would readily enable them to enter into dialogue and sustained deliberation with their local leaders.

In expressing their views on factors that limit citizens, 66% of local leaders argued that ordinary citizens do not have required knowledge and skills.

As it can be seen from the table 21, not being invited to agenda setting meetings is the main hindering factor cited by the citizens, while lack of knowledge and skills is cited as the main hindering factor by local leaders. This contradiction incited the researcher to find more clarification from FGDs. Participants in FGDs explained: Citizens are invited, but some do not attend because they do not fully understand their role and responsibility of direct participation in local governance. Others attend but they are inactive participants or simple observers, especially women and young people. They are shy to directly engage".

Another interviewee declared "Citizens may be discouraged to directly participate in agenda setting. In this way, one opinion leader said during FGDs "The majority of citizens live from subsistence agriculture (simple farmers), some are not educated and others have only primary level of education. Therefore, because of the low level of education, they may be intimidated by those with higher level of education and think that only educated people can directly participate". He continues by saying "Citizens may be well or poorly disposed to engage depending on many factors, such as the urgency of their own concerns and the relevance of the matter being addressed".

# 4.7.2. Hindering Factors of directcitizen participation in the implementation of local government agenda.

This study presents hindering factors which prevented citizens from directly participating in the implementation of local government agenda.

Table 22: Factors that prevent citizens from participating in implementation of LG agenda

	Burn	era	Gas	abo	Ngo	ma	Nyam	agabe	Nyama	asheke	Total	
	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%
Lack of information on what is supposed to be done	42	8.5	29	5.9	23	4.7	25	5.1	22	4.5	141	28.6
Lack of information on the contribution of the citizen	33	6.7	22	4.5	15	3.0	23	4.7	23	4.7	116	23.5
Insufficient financial means	36	7.3	19	3.9	13	2.6	16	3.2	10	2.0	94	19.1
Insufficient time	8	1.6	7	1.4	4	0.8	11	2.2	7	1.4	37	7.5
Citizens do not have sufficient knowledge and skills	6	1.2	3	0.6	6	1.2	5	1.0	5	1.0	25	5.1
Citizens do not see the importance of the activities being done	10	2.0	5	1.0	1	0.2	4	0.8	5	1.0	25	5.1

	Burrera		Gasa	Gasabo		Ngoma		Nyamagabe		asheke	Total	
	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%
Citizen mindset that it is the responsibility of the government to do everything	6	1.2	4	0.8	1	0.2	3	0.6	7	1.4	21	4.3
It is the responsibility of the citizens because they are paid for it	2	0.4	6	1.2	4	0.8	2	0.4	3	0.6	17	3.4
Lack of willingness	4	0.8	6	1.2	2	0.4	2	0.4	3	0.6	17	3.4

Source: Field Data, 2017

The findings from the table 23 revealed different reasons: 28.6% of citizens said that there was lack of clear information about what was supposed to be done, 23.5% of citizens stated the lack of clear information about what was supposed to be the direct role and direct contribution of citizens in the implementation and 19.1 % of citizens mentioned insufficient funds. Among other factors include insufficient time, insufficient knowledge and skills, citizens do not see the importance of the activities being done, mindset that it is the responsibility of the government to do everything and finally the lack of willingness to implement the planned activities.

In order to corroborate the information collected from the citizens, a question was asked to local leaders (those who were not satisfied with the level of direct citizen participation in the implementation) to find out what they think about the reasons which might have limited some citizens to directly participate in the implementation of local agenda.

Table 23: Perceptions of leaders on factors that hinder citizen participation in implementation of LG agenda

	Burera		Gasabo		Ngoma		Nyamagabe		Nyamasheke		Total	
	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%
Total dependence on government to do everything for local citizens	2	22.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	22.2
Lack of sufficient information on what was planned	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	11.1	1	11.1	0	0.0	2	22.2
A belief that it is the responsibility of leaders who are paid for it.	1	11.1	1	11.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	22.2

	Burera		Gasabo		Ngoma		Nyamagabe		Nyamasheke		Total	
	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%	Fc	%
Insufficient funds	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	11.1	0	0.0	1	11.1
Insufficient information/knowledge of citizens' role and right	0	0.0	1	11.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	11.1
Lack of commitment /engagement	1	11.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	11.1

Source: Field Data, 2017

The table highlighted 24 the following main reasons: 22.2% of local leaders respectively said that some citizens are limited by their wrong belief according to which they must totally rely on the government that has to do everything for them, lack or insufficient information about the activity and direct contribution of citizens in the implementation might be the reason and wrong belief that the implementation of local agenda is only the business of local leaders who are monthly paid.

In the FGDs, one interviewee in Gasaka Sector commented about direct citizen participation in the implementation of local agenda and she said "None can refuse or resist participating in the implementation of local government agenda, the problem is that we are not given clear and enough information about the agenda and our direct role in the implementation".

In general, the findings from both citizens and local leaders showed that the reasons of nondirect participation in the implementation of local agenda are mainly due to lack or insufficient of information about the agenda, about the implementation process and on the direct role of citizens in the implementation, rather than lack of money and citizens' willingness.

# 4.7.3. Factors which might have limited citizens to directly participate in monitoring and evaluation of implemented activities in local government

As the findings showed, the number of citizens who did not directly participate in monitoring and evaluation is significant. Therefore, a question was asked to find out the factors or causes which might have limited them to directly participate.

The following reasons were mentioned: 21% of citizens said that lack of information or lack of awareness was the cause, 10.4% of citizens said that lack of clear information about the activity to monitor and evaluate and how it should be the factor, 6.6% of citizens said that

lack of money (poverty) was the cause, while 3.5% said that lack of sufficient knowledge and skills was the factor.

Overall, lack of awareness and lack of clear information on activities to monitor and evaluate are the main factors that have limited citizens to directly participate in monitoring and evaluation. Lack of citizens' willingness and lack of citizens' interest in activities being implemented scored very low percentage (0.5% and 0.3%). This is to say that citizens are willing, but they are not aware that they have to directly participate in monitoring and evaluation. In this regard, local leaders and civil society organizations have the task to teach people about their right to directly participate in monitoring and evaluation of activities or projects being implemented in the local government.

During FGDs, one interviwee in Gasaka Sector said "I didn't know that I have to directly participate in monitoring and evaluation of activities or projects being implemented in our Vallage, Cell or Sector. But, I will do it, because now I know"

#### 4.7.4. Partial conclusion

Direct citizen participation in local governance might be hindered by various factors. In this study, factors that have limited some of the citizen respondents to directly participate in agenda setting, budgeting, implementation, M&E were identified. In general, three main hindering factors namely lack or insufficient knowledge and skills of citizens, citizens who are not invited in meetings, lack or insufficient information about the undertaken activities in local government, and wrong belief that government should do everything for the citizens. It was shown however, that lack of willingness and lack of citizens' interests were not the hindering factors. Citizens are willing to directly participate, but the issue is that they are not invited and are not enough aware of decision-making process

#### 4.8. Strategies to improve direct citizen participation in Rwandan local governance

Democratic or participatory governance is a process as it is for direct citizen participation in local governance. Based on findings, the following can be done to improve direct citizen participation in local governance.

#### 4.8.1. Trust and respect between local leaders and citizens

From FGDs, some participants revealed that they are sometimes discouraged to get involved in the decision-making because sometimes the feedback they get from local leaders is criticism or reprimand. However, trust and respect are considered to be crucial for direct citizen participation in local governance. Indeed, direct citizen participation in local

governance can hardly be achieved when there is no trust in leaders and when citizens are still characterized by the fear of the leaders.

### 4.8.2. Increasing access to information

From FGDs and Key informants' interviews, it was revealed that one of the hindering factors to direct citizen participation is low level of awareness regarding government policies and programs and planned activities in local government. However, when citizens are not aware of local government policies and programs and existing mechanisms of direct participation, they can hardly influence policy-making. Lack of awareness brings about resistance in policy implementation, because citizens do not understand the benefit.

#### 4.8.3. Education and socialization

Direct citizen participation in local governance should be a culture. Culture is about attitudes and skills development. Because of bad governance that characterised the country for many years, it made Rwandans to develop a culture of blind obedience. Citizens were instructed never to challenge their leaders, but only to obey. Changing from blind obedience to culture of participation requires time and members of society to be educated properly so that they can actively participate in the governance of their country. In this regard, the socialization agents such as Media, Government, school, civil society organizations, family and religious institutions have a critical role to play in shaping citizens' attitudes towards direct participation. Socialization should start in the families and schools. When children are instructed in the families to express and participate in family matters, they grow up with culture to openly express even in the public. But, when in the families, children are instructed never to challenge parents and the elderly; they may grow up with that culture of blind obedience (Ceceka nkuyobore).

In addition, from nursery school to the University level, an education system that promotes participation and critical thinking should be put in place. This system prepares the ground and plays a critical role in shaping and developing the attitudes of openness and participation in the governance of the country.

#### 4.8.4. Providing feedback to citizens

For communication to be effective, feedback is very critical. Without feedback, communication is incomplete. The findings of this study showed that giving feedback to

citizens was still problematic. However, citizens like and appreciate local leaders who give feedback on the outcomes of their suggestions. Lack of feedback affect negatively the level of trust and relationship between citizens and local leaders and in the long run it results to discouragement and passive citizen participation.

#### 4.8.5. Promoting a conducive environment for direct citizen participation

Effective direct citizen participation in governance requires a conducive environment for participation. Citizen participation cannot be effective in an environment where citizens are not free to give ideas on matters that concern them, are fearful to criticize and appreciate. It was revealed from FGDs that citizens are reluctant to call local leaders to account for their actions or inactions because of fear of any consequence. In addition, the use of language and body gestures by local leaders when interacting with citizens should be characterised by love and empathy. Authoritative and intimidating language should be avoided.

#### 4.8.6. Promoting active citizen participation

When citizens have opportunities to actively participate, they become responsible for the implemented activities. When they are not actively involved, they lose interest. Local leaders should be trying to work closely with citizens and take into account their views in planning, budgeting, implementation and M&E of policies and program. And, always provide feedback to citizens on ideas or priority that were not retained.

#### 4.8.7. Independent oversight mechanisms to enforce direct citizen participation rights.

Direct participation is citizen' rights and it is firmly grounded in law. The GoR have put in place various mechanisms that strengthen the enjoyment of those rights. In order to be more effective, there should be independent oversight mechanisms to enforce these rights at local government level. Therefore, there is a need for proper and regular evaluation of the performance of local government in effecting direct citizen participation either by RALGA, RGB or MINALOC.

#### 5. Conclusion

One of the key governance priorities of the government of Rwanda is to promote participatory governance at all levels of government, including Dentratralised Administrative Entities. As sphere of government where government policies are implemented and public services delivered, local government should be the starting point or the centre for democratic and participatory governance.

The fact that citizens are first beneficiaries of government programs and the fact that no person can pretend knowing better the community problems than the members of that community, direct citizen participation in local governance is imperative and key factor for democratic governance. In this regard, direct participation of citizens in policy-making was a top governance priority for Rwanda to such extent that it is a constitutionally protected civil and political right.

In fact, article 48 of the 2003 Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda as revised in 2015, provides for the right of every Rwandan to directly and or indirectly involve in the governance and development of his or her country. Furthermore, the national decentralization policy adopted in 2000 and revised in 2013 was established with the aim of enabling and stimulating citizens' interest to be directly involved in initiating, making, implementing, monitoring and evaluating decisions and programs that affect them.

Many researches have been undertaken to assess the state of citizen participation in the governance of the country. However, it was realised that most of those assessments were largely quantitative and did not provide enough clarification on the current dynamics of direct citizen participation in the governance of the country, and in decentralised administrative entities in particular. There were critical knowledge and data gaps that needed to be filled-in. It was from this context that Rwanda Local Government Associations decided to conduct in depth research in order to assess the dynamics of direct citizen participation in Rwandan local governance. The study concerned 5 Districts beneficiaries of DALGOR project.

As far as the representation in the study is concerned, the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of respondents such as residence, sex, education level, age, poverty level, marital status, physical disability and employment were considered. This was done to ensure that all categories of citizens participate in the study. About the education level of

respondents, it is worth to note that 19.3 % of citizens were illiterate, while 3.2 % of local leaders had primary level and 8.1% secondary level.

The analysis of the results was done in line with the 5 specific objectives of the study. On the citizens' awareness of direct citizen participation in local governance as rights, the findings showed that 95.9% of citizens consider direct citizen participation in local governance as their rights, while 99% of local leaders consider direct citizen participation in local governance as citizens' rights. Overall, the level of awareness is very high. On the question regarding whether citizens find that it is necessary to communicate community problems and priorities to their local leaders, 97.9 % said that it is necessary. This was also confirmed by local leaders at 99%. However, it is worth to say that 3% of citizens and 1% of local leaders who are not aware, represent a portion which should not be neglected and therefore more sensitization needs to be done.

The findings about the extent to which citizens directly participate in identifying community development issues and priorities, 66% of citizen respondents said that sometimes local leaders go to citizens and meet to determine together the magnitude of community priorities. About the sectors from which citizens identify community priorities and communicate them to their local leaders, findings showed that the 5 top sectors identified were namely agriculture (43.6%), health (41.8%), infrastructure (20.8%), security (18.8%) and education (17.2%). The less identified and communicated community priorities belonged to the sectors, such as genocide ideology (1.4%), unity and reconciliation (1.8%), corruption (1.8%) and ICT (5.5%). This is a matter of concern and a particular attention should be put on those sectors.

The findings on the local government levels in which the citizens communicate their community problems and priorities most, showed that identified community challenges and priorities are communicated to the village level at 74.8%. This is a good result because the governance commitments of the Government's program 2010-2017 is to continue empowering the population to participate in the decision making over issues that affect them, making the village level (Umudugudu) a solid local government level for socio-economic development, where the population participate directly in the governance of the country. However, it was revealed that citizens prefer to communicate their community problems and priorities to the executive committee (Nyobozi) rather than the council (Njyanama). The study analysed the level of direct citizen participation in planning and budgeting for

activities. It was shown that 78.3% citizen respondents have not directly participated in planning and budgeting for activities in their local administrative entities. Only 21.7 % said that they have directly participated.

The findings in this study do concur with the results from Rwanda Scorecard 2016 where the percentage of citizens who are satisfied with their participation in preparation of district budget and plans is scored very low at 7.4%. In addition, the percentage of citizens' satisfaction in their participation in performance contract (Imihigo) is evaluated at 27.3%. This is an issue of concern due to the fact that if citizens are not directly engaged in planning and budgeting, it is unlikely that they will be directly engaged in other phases (implementation and M&E).

Concerning the domain of activities in which citizens have directly participated in planning and budgeting of activities, it was shown that the top 5 domains were: agriculture (39.8%), health (27.1%), infrastructure (25.1%) security (23.7%), and education (23.1%). This entails that citizens do not pay much attention to other sectors. This is a matter of concern due to the fact that, though the 5 sectors (of which citizens consider as most important) are among the priorities of the government, there are other priorities for the government, such as ICT, fighting corruption, fighting genocide ideology and promoting unity and reconciliation. It will be challenging for the government to meet the target set in these sectors or domains if citizens continue to under-considering them.

The study assessed the dynamics of direct citizen participation in implementation of planned activities. It was shown that 95.9% of citizen respondents directly participated in implementation of planned activities while 4.1% did not. This is not a percentage to ignore as long as every Rwandan should participate in socio-economic development of his or her administrative entity in particular and of the country in general. The level of direct citizen participation in monitoring and evaluation of planned activities was also assessed. On this point, it was shown that 66.3% have directly participated in monitoring and evaluation, while 33.7 did not participate. This is a matter of concern in the sense that if citizens are eager to directly participate in implementation, but less motivated to monitor and evaluate what have been implemented is a problem. Lack of direct citizen engagement in monitoring and evaluation gives opportunities to those who want to misuse public funds by providing poor or under- standard services.

After realizing that the level of direct citizen participation in local governance is still low, the hindering factors to direct citizen participation were assessed. It was shown that hindering factors to citizen participation in planning and budgeting of activities were: citizens are not invited (53%), citizens do not have knowledge and skills (51%) citizens do not find it necessary (6.6%). Hindering factors for implementation were: Lack of information about the activities (28.6%), lack or insufficient of information on the role of the citizens in implementation (23.5%) and wrong belief that it is the government responsibility and task of local leaders who are monthly paid (22.2%).

Hindering factors for monitoring and evaluation were insufficient information about the activities (21%) and limited knowledge and skills among others. Overall, the hindering factors to direct citizen participation were mainly related to insufficient information provided to citizens, low level of local leaders' willingness to invite citizens and insufficient knowledge and skills of citizens (low level of literacy).

Concerning the mostly used channels by the citizens for direct participation either in planning and budgeting, implementation or in M&E, the findings show that community assemblies (Inteko z'Abaturage), community work (Umuganda), meetings organized by local leaders (Inama z'Abayobozi) and parents' evening forum (Umugoroba w'Ababyeyi) were mostly used. Other established channels for direct citizen participation were less used. The least used channels include ICT, suggestion boxes and ubudehe. Putting in place mechanisms or channels for direct citizen participation is one thing, but ensuring that they are used by intended users is another important thing. Therefore, the fact that some established channels, especially ICT are not known and used is a matter of concern that needs to be addressed.

The perceptions of citizens on the value and practicability of direct citizen participation in Rwandan local governance were assessed. It was found that 66.8% of citizens believe that direct citizen participation is of value, while 33.2% don't believe so. Citizens who do not understand the importance of direct citizen participation in local governance is significant. This is because, the more you don't understand the value of direct citizen participation, the more you are reluctant to participate and the more you may discourage others to participate.

One of the objectives of the study was to analyse how citizen participation dynamics is linked with both national and local priorities as defined by key national and local planning frameworks. On this point, it was revealed that the 5 top domains in which citizens show more interest to directly engage in are agriculture, infrastructure, education, health and

security and they coincide with national priorities as defined in EDPRS. Again, it was found that priorities of District as defined in performance contracts (imihigo) coincide with the 5 top domains where citizens show more interests either in planning, implementation and monitoring and evaluation. This coincidence and complementarity is very good indication of democratic and good governance whereby government activities and programs respond to the needs and expectations of citizens.

Last but not least, the study analysed the implication of the current dynamics of citizen's interests in direct participation on downward accountability. It was shown from the findings that 73.6% of citizen respondents directly participated in calling their local leaders to account for their actions. It is worth to mention here that local leaders who were held accountable by the citizens were those elected, especially members of village committee. Those leaders who are recruited, citizens had limited prerogatives to hold them accountable. On the point regarding whether citizens have directly participated in suggesting measures against local leaders who fail to execute their responsibilities, 55.3% said that they did not participate. This is a matter of concern in the sense that the role of citizens should not be only to inform about mistakes and misconducts of local leaders, but should be engaged in suggesting measures against their local leaders who fail to accomplish responsibilities or who misbehave.

#### 6. Recommendations

Based on the findings from the survey entitled "Dynamics of Direct Citizen Participation in Rwandan Local Governance", the following recommendations are suggested:

#### Issue:1

It was shown that low level of direct citizen engagement in agenda setting and budgeting was due to lack of awareness about the agenda and invitation to directly participate that comes late to citizens, etc. On this issue, it is recommended to increase awareness on citizens' direct participation

#### Issue: 2

It was shown from the findings that low level of direct citizen engagement in agenda setting and implementation was due to the fact that citizens are invited to directly participate in matters which do not affect them directly or where their real interests do not lie. On this issue, it is recommended to continue to build the capacity of local leaders on the role of direct citizen participation

#### Issue: 3

It was shown from the findings that low level of direct citizen engagement in local governance in general, was mainly due to low level of literacy of citizens, lack or low level of civic skills and personal capabilities to directly participate in dialogue. On this issue, it is recommended to continue the programme of adult literacy undertaken and provide all information in a language understood by all local citizens that is kinyarwanda;

#### Issue: 4

It was shown from the findings that one of the factors which might have limited citizens to actively engage in decision-making is lack of feedback on the inputs they have made or contributions (money) they have paid for activities. Lack of feedback on their inputs discourages to some extent. On this issue, it is recommended to put in place mechanisms enabling citizens to directly participate in any local government activities

#### Issue: 5

It was shown from the findings that ICT is not utilised as a channel that would facilitate direct citizen participation in local governance. Some reasons were raised, namely lack or low level of ICT literacy for citizens, and even for local leaders at Village, Cell and Sector

level; lack of infrastructure (Internet connectivity and telephone network and electricity); and low financial capacity to afford the price of modern ICT devices (smartphones, tablets etc.). On this issue, it is recommended to increase the infrastructure allowing citizens to use ICT devices (Internet connectivity, Telephone network and electricity), especially in rural and remote areas in order to easily have access to new service provided by using new technology (online services).

#### Issue: 6

It was shown from the findings that the level of direct citizen participation in holding accountable local leaders is low. The factors behind were that citizens are shy to call local leaders to account, others believe that it is not their responsibility, while others believe that they cannot call leaders whom they did not participate in their nominations or appointments to account. On this issue, it is recommended to organize a sensitization campaign on their civic responsibilities to promote accountability in local government on quarterly basis.

#### 7. Studies to be carried in the future

Some aspects that can optimize direct citizen participation were out of the scope of this study and can be more explored in the future researches. The following are among others:

- (1) The role of Civil Society Organization (CSO) to optimize direct citizen participation
- (2) Involvement of community based structures (National Women Council, National Youth Council and National people With Disability Council) on eagerness of direct citizen participation.

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## Annex. Questionnaire.

### **ANNEX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CITIZENS**

Questionnaire Code																		
Enumerator's Name					Date	of Int	erview	//2017										
Supervisor's Name					Time	Starte	ed											
Interview Date:/	/2017				Starti	ng tin	ne											
District		Cod	de		Secto	r	Code											
Burera			1		Gatek	e	1											
					Rugar	ama	2											
Nyamagabe			2		Gasal	а	3											
					Muga	no	4											
Nyamasheke			3		Gihor	Gihombo		Gihombo		5								
				В				6										
Gasabo			4		Kimir	onko		7										
					Gikon	nero	8											
Ngoma			5		Reme	ra		9										
					Muge	sera		10										
1.2.1 Respondent's Residence	Urban		1	1.2.2	Gender		Male	1										
Residence	Rural		2				Female	2										
1.2.3 Age- Range/Age bracket	Code	1.	.2.4 Poverty I	evels	Code	1.2.	5 Membership rest groups	Code										
18-30	1	Ci	Category I		1	Civi	society	1										
31-45	2	C	Category II		Category II		Category II		Category II		2	Private sector		Private sector		Private sector		2
45-65	3	C	Category III		Category III		Category III		3	Cooperatives		Cooperatives		Cooperatives		3		
65+	4	C	Category IV		4	Syndicates		4										

1.2.6 Marital status		1.2.7	o yo	u have any disabilit	:y?
	Code				Code
Single	1	Yes			1
Married	2	No			2
Divorced	3				
Widowed	4				
1.2.8 Education level		1.2.9 E	mplo	yment	
	Code				Code
Primary level	1			Not employed	1
Professional/ Vocational	2			Self-employed	2
Secondary	3			Civil servant	3
University	4			Work for NGO	4
None	5			Work for private	5
				Self-employed	6
				Retired	7
1.2.10. Employment					
	Code				Code
Agriculture farming	1		Tec	hnolo gy	8
Lifestock or Animal husbandry	2		Loca	al Government	9
Health	3		Sec	urity	10
Education	4		Con	nmerce	11
Construction	5		Technical and vocational		12
Justice	6		Communication		13
Transport	7		Media		14

Domestic work

### **SECTION II : QUESTIONS**

IF CITIZENS ARE AWARE OF THEIR RIGHTS IN DIRECT PARTICIPATION IN DIFFERENT SOCIO-ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES CARRIED OUT BY THEIR LEADERS

Q1	Do you think it is your right activities carried out by local a		articiµ	oate i	in desig	ining diff	erent socio-e	econ	omic
	Yes	1	No					2	
Q 2	If yes, which mechanisms designing socio-economic acti	•			e your	direct p	articipation	righ	it in
	Community works	1	Par	ents'	evening	forum			6
	Community Assembly	2	Me	etings	s organi	zed by led	aders		8
	Suggestions boxes	3	Ор	en da	y				9
	When leaders pay us a visit	4	Lea	dersh	ip retre	at		` '	10
Q <b>3</b>	Do you think it is necessary to	communicat	e pro	blem	s that y	our local	community f	aces	s to
	local authorities?			<b>-</b>					
	Yes	1			No		2		
	4.4								
Q4	/If yes, to what extent is your	ı							
	Very High	1	Hig		2		Average		3
	Low	4	Ver low		5				
Q 5	Approximately, how many time your local leaders since the beg	•		to no	w?			muni	ty to
	Between 2011-2015			Froi	n 2016	until now	′		
	Very many times (more than 10	0 times)	1	Ver	y often (	more tha	nn 10 times)		1
	Many times (between 5 and 10	))	2	Mai	ny times	(betwee	n 5 and 10)		2
	Average (Between 3 and 4 time	es)	3	Ave	rage (Be	etween 3	and 4 times		3
	Few times (between 1 and 2 tir	nes)	4	Few	time (i	between .	1 and 2 times	s)	4
	Never		5	Never					5

Q In all those cases where you communicated your village problems to local authorities, among the provided categories below, in which category did they belong? (More than one answer is possible).

20	)11-20	015		2016 -2017						
Agriculture	1	Housing	12	Agriculture	1	Housing	12			
Animal husbandry	2	Environment conservation and protection	13	Animal husbandry	2	Environment conservation and protection	13			
Health	3	Unity and reconciliation	14	Health	3	Unity and reconciliation	14			
Education	4	Corruption	15	Education	4	Corruption	15			
Infrastructure (Water and electricity)	5	Commerce	16	Infrastructure (Water and electricity)zi)	5	Commerce	16			
Arts	6	Genocide ideology	17	Arts	6	Genocide ideology	17			
Transport/ road/ public transport	7	Hygiene and sanitation	18	Transport/ road/ public transport	7	Hygiene and sanitation	18			
Entrepreneurship	8	Disaster Management	19	Entrepreneurship	8	Disaster Management	19			
ICT	9	Justice	20	ICT	9	Justice	20			
Governance	10	Injustice/ Violence	21	Governance	10	/Injustice/ Violence	21			
Security	11			Security	11					

Among local administrative levels provided below, which one did you prefer to communicate your village problems most between 2010-2015?

7	between 2011-2015

District		Sector		Cell		Villag	e
Level	Code	Level	Code	Level	Code	Level	Code
District Executive Committee	1	Executive Secretariat	1	Executive secretary	1	executive committee of village	1
District Consultative council	2	Sector Consultative council	2	Consultative council	2	People in charge of community policing	2
District Security Organ	3	Sector Security Organ	3	Executive committee of National Youth Council	3	Abunzi	3
Executive secretariat	4	National Youth Council Executive committee	4	National Women Council Executive committee	4	National Youth Council Executive committee	4
National Youth Council Executive committee	5	National Women Council Executive committee	5	National Council for people with disability Executive committee	5	National Women Council Executive committee	5
National Women Council Executive committee	6	National council for people with disability.Executive committee	6			National council for people with disability Executive committee	6

District		Sector		Cell		Village		
Urwego? level	Code	Urwego/ level	Code	Urwego/ level	Code	Urwego/ level	Code	
District Executive Committee	1	Executive Secretariat	1	Executive secretary	1	Executive Council	1	
District Consultative council	2	Sector Consultative council	2	Consultative council	2	In charge of community policing	2	
District Security Organ	3	Sector Security Organ	3	National Youth Council Executive committee	3	Abunzi	3	
Executive secretariat	4	National Youth Council Executive committee	4	National Women Council Executive committee	4	National Youth Council Executive committee	4	
National Youth Council Executive committee	5	National Women Council Executive committee	5	National Council for people with disability Executive committee	5	National Women Council Executive committee	5	
National Women Council Executive committee	6	National council for people with disability. Executive committee	6			National council for people with disability Executive committee	6	

Q 8	Among the mechanisms provided below, between 2010-2015, which one did you prefer to use more often to communicate your local problems to your local authorities?													
	Community work	1	Evening Parents' forum	5	National dialogue council	9								
	Community Assembly	2	Electoral commission	6	media	10								
	Suggestion boxes	3	Meetings organized by leaders	7	ICT	11								
	When leaders on the National level visited our village	4	exbitions	8	Ubudehe	12								
Q9	Approximately, how many times did you communicate problems of your local community to your local leaders since the beginning of 2016 up to now													
	Very many times (more than 10 times)	1	Many times (between 5 and 10)	2	Average (Between 3 and 4 times)	3								
	Few times or Rarely (between 1 and 2 times)	4	None	5										

Q10	In all those cases where yo	u con	nmunicated your village prob	lems t	o local authorities,	
	among the provided categor	ries b	elow, in which category did tl	hey be	long? (More than o	ne
	answer is possible). ? (Mor	e thai	n one answer is possible).			
	Agriculture	1	Entrepreneurship	8	Corruption	15
	Animal husbandry	2	ICT	9	Commerce	16
	Health	3	Governance	10	Genocide ideology	17
	Education	4	Security	11	Hygiene and sanitation	18
	Infrastructure (Water and electricity)	5	Housing	12	Disaster Management	19
	Arts	6	Environment conservation and protection	13	Justice	20
	Transport/ road/ public transport	7	Unity and reconciliation	14	Injustice/ Violence	21

Q11.	Among local administr	ative	e levels provide	d belo	ow, w	hich (	one did you pre	fer to
	communicate your village	e pro	blems most from	<b>2016</b> ι	ıp to no	ow?		
	a) Akarere/ District		b) Umurenge/ S	ector			c) Akagali/ cell	
	Mayor	1	Executive Secre	tary		6	Executive Secretary	11
	Executive Committee	2	Sector council P	residen	t	7	President of Cell Council	12
	District Council	3	Sector Councillo	rs		8	Councillors	13
	Councillors	4	In charge of sec	urity		9	d) Village	14
	In charge of Security	5					Coordinator	1
							Village committee	2
Q 12	After communicating you so that together you asse						•	to you
	Yes	1			No			2
Q 13.	If yes, to what extent is it	done	??					
	Betwee	n 20:	11-2015			fro	om 2016 until now	
	Every time		1		Eve	ry time	2	1
	Sometimes		2		Sor	netime	25	2
	never		3		Nev	ver		3
THE R	OLE OF A CITIZEN IN PLAN	NING	OF LOCAL ACTIV	ITIES A	AND BU	IDGETI	G	
Q14	Apart from communicating is necessary to directly problems?	• .					•	
	Yes			1		No		2
Q 15	Have you ever directly po your community problems		pated in planning	ı, analy	zing an	nd asse	essment and budge	ting of

	Yes				1		No		2
Q 16	• •			ate you	ır direct po	articipa	tion in	planning and ass	sessment
	of your commu	nity p	roblems?						
	Very High		1 High			2	Ave	erage	3
	Low		4 Very low			5			
Q 17	Among the asse	essme	l   ent and analysis c	of your	communit	ty probl	ems y	ou directly partici	pated in,
	to which catego	ories p	provided below di	id prole	ms belong	15			
		2011	- 2015				201	6 -2017	
	Agriculture	1	Habitat	11	Agricultu	ıre	1	Habitat	11
	Animal husbandry	2	Commerce	12	Animal husband	lry	2	Commerce	12
	Health	3	Hygiene and sanitation	13	Health		3	Hygiene and sanitation	13
	Uburezi /Education	4	ICT	14	Educatio	on	4	ICT	14
	Infrastructure	5	Corruption	15	Infrastru	cture	5	Corruption	15
	Arts	6	Injustice	16	Arts		6	Injustice	16
	Transport	7	Environment conservation and protection	17	Transpoi	rt	7	Environment conservation and protection	17
	Entrepre- neurship	8	Disaster management	18	Entrepre neurship		8	Disaster management	18
	Governance	9	Unity and reconciliation	19	Governa	nce	9	Unity and reconciliation	19
	Security	10	Justice	20	Security		10	Justice	20

Q 18	,	your	analyzing your community local leaders, which channe is possible)	•	<del>-</del>
	Community work	1	Parents's evening forum	6	Others Specify
	media	2	ICT	7	, ,
	Community Assembly	3	Ubudehe	8	
	Suggestion boxes	4	Meeting organized by authorities	9	
	When we are visited by	5	Open day	10	

	authorities								
Q 19	In line with as	sessii	ng and analyzing yo	ur comn	nunity p	roble	ms and indica	ting	their
	magnitude, whic	ch cha	nnel among these pr	ovided b	elow do	you th	nink is the best	to us	ed?
	Community	1	Parents' evening	5	Ubudel	ne			8
	work		forum						
	Community	2	Meetings	_					
	Assembly		organized by	6	media				9
			leaders						
	Suggestion box	3	Open day	7	ICT				10
	When leaders	4							
	have paid us a				Others.				
	visit								
THE RC	DLE OF CITIZENS' DI	IRECT	CITIZEN PARTICIPATION	ON IN PL	ANNING	, BUD	GETING,		
IMPLEI	MENTATION, MON	ITORI	NG AND EVALUATION	l					
Q 20	Do you directly	partio	cipate in planning so	ocio-ecor	nomic de	evelop	ment activities	s of	your
	community?								
	Yes			1	No				2
	163			1	700				
Q 21	If the answer is n	o, am	ong the reasons provi	ded belo	w, which	ones	do you think a	lo pre	event
	you from exercisir	ng you	ır direct participation	right in	designing	g of s	ocio-economiod	acti	vities
	of your communit	y?							
	I am not invited	1	It is not my	4	It is the	respo	nsibility of	7	
	in planning of		responsibility to		authori	ties b	ecause they		
	those activities		participate in		are pai	d for i	t.		
			planning of those						
-			activities						
	I do not have	2	I do not have time	5		_	gest to do, is	8	
	the required				not con	sidere	rd in planning		
	knowledge and skills								
	SKIIIS								
	It is done during	3	I cannot be	6					
	the working		involved in politics		Others				
	hours		related activities						
			because of my						
			belief.						

Q 22			•		w, which ones do you thir of socio-economioc activi							
	As a citizen, it is my re	espons	ibility			1						
	I have sufficient infor	mation	related to that activity	•		2						
	I have knowledge and		3									
	I am curious to know	activit	ies for which I will be th	e ben	eficiary	4						
	I must participate in a	activitie	es which may have cons	equer	nces for me in the future	5						
	To avoid being in conflicts with authorities											
	Avoiding punishments											
	Being interested in meeting with others and exchange ideas											
	Not having other choice /alternative											
	Other specify											
Q 23	Among planning related activities in which you had direct participation, which provided below, did they belong? (More than one response is possible).											
	Agriculture	1	Housing	9	Hygiene and sanitation	17						
	Animal husbandry	2	Infrastructure	10	Environment conservation and protection	18						
	Health	3	Technical and vocational	11	Disaster Management	19						
	Education	4	Transport	12	Unity and reconciliation	20						
	ICT	5	Entrepreneurship	13	Justice	21						
	Governance	6	Fighting against corruption	14	Others Specify							
	Security	7	Commerce and trade	15								
	Injustice	8	Infrastructure	16								

Q 24	While planning /means is used?	for lo	cal economic	acti	vities	, which one an	nong	the following o	hannels
		011 - 2	2016				2016 ·	-2017	
	Community work	1	exbitions	7	Co	ommunity work	1	National dialogue	7
	Community	2	National dialogue	8	Co	Community Suggestion box		media	8
	Suggestion box	3	media	9	Si			ICT	9
	While visited by authorities	4	ICT	10		hile visited by othorities	4	Ubudehe	10
	Parents meeting forum			11		rents meeting rum	5	Others Specify	11
	Meeting prepared by leaders	6	Others Specify	12	pr	leeting epared by aders	6	National dialogue	12
Q 25	When you and you activities and how the best to employ Community work	w the by in ti	budget would		хеси			•	
	Community Asset		;	2	No		8		
	Suggestion boxes	5		3	М	edia		9	
	While visited by	authoi	rities	4	ICT				10
	Parents' evening	forum	ı	5	U	budehe			11
	Meetings organiz	zed by	authorities	6	ot	hers			
Q 26	On which local go		nent level hav	е уо	ı moi	e often participa	ited in	planning of loc	al socio-
	Betw	veen 2	2011- 2016			F	rom 2	016 -2017	
	Planning at Disti	ct leve	I		1	Planning at Dis	tict le	vel	1
	Planning at Secto	or leve	I		2	Planning at Sec	tor le	vel	2
	Planning at Cell I	evel			3	Planning at Cel	l level		3
	Planning at Villag	ge leve	el		4	Planning at Vill	age le	vel	4

	Everyday		1	Sometimes	2	Never		3			
Q28		hich los					u vour rolo n				
<b>4</b> _0	_			t planning level wo							
	Planning at Dist	tict leve	1	Planning at Sec level	ctor 2	Plannii	ng at Cell lev	el 3			
	Planning at Ville	age leve	el 4								
DIREC	T CITIZEN PARTIC	CIPATIC	N IN IMPLEM	ENTATION OF THE	PLANN	ED ACTIV	ITIES				
Q29	From 2011 up to	o 2016,	have you had	direct participatior	n in the i	mplemen	tation of pla	nned			
	activities of you	ır local ı	community?								
	Yes		1		^	Vo 2					
ე 30	If yes, how did y	ou play	your role?		I			1			
	Through financi	ial cont	ributions					2			
	Through Comm	unity w	ork					3			
	Through indicat	ting eith	ner what is sup	posssed to be done	or corr	ective me	easures	4			
	By giving material support										
	Other contributions (List them)										
	Among the activities provided below, which ones did you directly participate in its implementation?										
Q 31	Agriculture	1	Housing		9	Hygie. sanita		17			
	Animal husbandry	2	Infrastructure	е	10	conse	onment rvation rotection	18			
	Health	3	Technical activities	and vocation	nal 11		ter gement	19			
	Education	4	Transport		12	,	and ciliation	20			
	ICT	5	Entrepreneur	rship	13	Justice	e	21			
	Governance	6	Fighting again	nst corruption	14	Touris	sm	22			
	Security	7	Commerce a	nd trade	15						
	i		!	<u> </u>	16	Other					

Q 32	Which mechanism did you use in the implementation of your local community budget?											
	Financial contributions	1										
	Community activities (Umuganda) 2											
	Giving ideas on how things should be done or corrective measures 3											
	Giving material support 4											
	Others (List them)											
Q 33	What channels did you use in deciding how citizens should exercise d											
	participation in implementation of the planned activies?											
	Community work	1	Parents's evening forum	5	med	dia	9					
	Community assembly	2	/Meetings organized by authorities	6	ICT		10					
	Suggestion boxes	3	Open days	7	Ubu e	ıdeh	11					
	While visited by		National dialogue	8	Oth	er						
	authorities	4	council		(list	)						
						,						
Q34	Among the reasons provided below, which ones do motivate or motivated you to directly participate in the budget implementation?											
	Sufficient funds for the planned activities											
	Mobilization by authorities  Having a clear idea of my role in nation builing  Having a clear idea of all activities that may impact my life.  Having financial means											
	Having knowledge and	vities	s									
	Avoiding punishments											
	Other reasons, (List them)											
Q 35	To what extent were you satisfied with your direct participation in the implementation of the planned activities?											
	Very high	1	High		2	Aver age	6					
	Low	4	Very low		5							

Q 36	If the answer is no, among the reasons provided below, which ones mayhave								
	prevented you from directly participate in the implementation of the planned								
	activities?								
	Lack of sufficient information on what was planned								
	Lack of sufficient information related to the contribution /participation of the citizens								
	Insufficient funds								
	Lack of commitment /engagement								
	People's mind set to understand that the government can do everything fo						5		
	the citizens								
	Lack of time						6		
	Citizens do not have sufficient knowledge and skills						7		
	Citizens do not see any gains in either implemented or future activities						8		
	Thinking that it concerns only leaders who are paid for that						9		
	Others, list them								
Q 37	From 2011 to 2015, did yuu directly participate in monitoring of the planned and								
	budgeted activities for your community?								
	Yes	1		No	2				
Q 38	From 2011 to 2015, did you directly participate in evaluating of the planned of								
	budgeted activities of your community?								
	Yes	1		No	2				
Q 39	If the answer is yes, what role did you play in monitoring of the planned and					nd			
	budgeted activities for your community?								
						1			
	I Monitored the implementation of the planned activities					_			
	I evaluated the implementation of the planned activities 2					2			
	I advised on what can be corrected and how it can be corrected					3			
	,					4			
	for those mistakes								
	I have diretly participated in security management and maintenance					5			
	of previous activities performed								
	Others, list them								

Q 40	How did you participate in	the in	plementation of the	plar	nned act	ivities from 2016	i until
	now?						
	Financial contribution					1	
						2	
	Community work						
	Giving advice on how activit	ies can	be done or corrected	1		3	
	Giving materials support					4	
	Others, list them						
Q 41	From 2016 up to now, which	h mear	ns have you used in d	eteri	ming the	direct participat	ion or
	contribution of each citizen	in the i	implementation of the	e pla	nned ac	tivities?	
	Community work	1	Parents'evening programme	5	media		9
	Community assemblies		Meetings	6	ICT		10
		2	prepared by		101		10
			authorities				
	Suggestion boxes	3	Open day	7	Ubude	he	11
	When visited by		National Dialogue	8			
	authorities	4	council		Others	(list them)	
Q42	Among the following reason	s, whic	ch ones motivated you	u to	L participa	ite in the	
	implementation of the strate	egic pla	an from 2016 up to no	ow?			
	Sufficient financial means fo	r plan	ned activities				1
	Sensitization by authorities						2
	I understand well my contrib	oution i	n building the nation	/cou	ıntry		3
	I understand well my role in	partici	pating in all activities	whi	ch may d	iffect my life.	4
	Having financial means						5
	Having knowledge and skills	of the	planned activities				6
	Avoiding punishments						7
	Other reasons, list them						
Q 43	From 2016 up to now, to participation in the implement		•	atisfi	ed with	your level of	direct
	Very high	1	High		2	Average	3
	Low	4	Very low		5		

Q 44	If the answer is no, what pre	ment	atior	n of				
	community planned activitie	es?						
	Lack of information on what	t is supp	osed to be done				1	
	Lack of information on the c		2					
	Insufficient financial means						3	
	Lack of willingness						4	
	Citizen mind set that it is	is the r	esponsiblilty of the	governmen	t to	do	5	
	everything for the citizens							
	Insufficient time						6	
	Citizens do not have sufficie		7					
	Citizens do not see the impo	ortance	of the activities bei	ng done or w	hich ı	vill	8	
	be done							
	It is the responsiblility of the	e citizens	s because they are p	aid for it			9	
	Others, list them							
Q 45	From 2016 up to day, did yo	ou play a	ny role in monitorin	g of your cor	nmur	ity p	lanned	
	activities?							
	Yes	1		No	2			
Q 46	From 2016 up to now, have	you par	ticipated in evaluati	on of activitie	es wh	ich v	vere in your	
	local strategic plan?		·				•	
	Yes	1		No	2			
Q 47	If the answer is yes, what w	as your	contribution in mon	itoring and e	valua	tion	of activities	
	which were in your local pla	anned ac	ctivities from 2016 u	p until now?				
	I participated in monitoring	of activ	ities implementation	1.		1		
	I participated in evaluation (	of imple	mented activities			2		
	I gave advice on what is to b	be correc	cted and how			3		
	I indicated the errors done a	and thos	e who had a stake ir	them		4		
	I contributed to the securi	ity assu	rance and mainten	ance as wel	l as	5		
	effective management of th	e realize	ed/implemented ac	tivities		L		
	If others, list them							

Q48	Based on your experience, do you tl	hink that direct citize	en participation is	possible and				
,	practical?		, ,	,				
	Yes 1	L	No	2				
Q49	If Yes, what is the value or importance of direct citizen participation in various a citizens?							
	It provides to an individual self-confidence and increase awareness on his/her role to develop the country.							
	It allows experience sharing and increases the skills and knowledge of citizens.							
	It allows dialogue between people reconciliation among citizens	e and therefore in	creases unity and	3				
	it allows citizens to feel free and to theis opinions	have freedom and ri	ights for expressing	4				
	it increases the feelings of having rights like others							
	It allows citizen to develop self-confidence in decision making							
	Develop ownership in all activities							
	It increases good relationship between citizens and leaders							
	Others (Specify)							
Q50	Based on your experience, do you think that direct citizen participation in all local affairs that concern him or her is possible or practicable?							
	Yes	1	No					
Q51	If no, among the following, what are the factors that may make direct citizen participation impossible or impracticable?							
	Citizens do not have enough knowled	ge and skills.		1				
	Direct involvement of all citizens is tim	ne consuming and ve	ry expensive	2				
	Citizens do not have enough time							
	Citizens have various opinion and divergent interests and therefore cannot have a common understanding.							
	Citizen do not have sufficient knowledge about new technology which is needed today in planning, monitoring and evaluation							
	Because of complexities and uncertainties, decision-making requires more knowledge and skills that citizens don't have							
	Because of complexities and uncer	tainties, decision-mo n't have	aking requires m	01				

The rol	e of citizens in monitoring how lead	ders execu	te their resp	onsibilities	5		
Q52	Do you have any role in mo	onitoring	how your	leaders e	xecute	their	
	responsibilities?						
	Yes	1	No		2		
Q53	Do you play any role in taking a	decision (	against your	leaders in	case of	any	
	crime?						
	Yes	1	No				
						2	
Q54	How and what channels do citizens	use to foll	ow up their i	eaders perj	formance	2.7	
	During open days					1	
	During meeting of stakeholders					2	
	During community assembly					3	
	During community works					4	
	During the visit of President of Repu	ıblic				5	
	During the visit of Member of Parlie	ement.				6	
	Other specify						
	,						
VIEWS	ON HOW TO IMPROVE DIRECT CITIZ	ZEN PARTI	CPATION.				
Q55	Using your experience do you thin	k from 20	11 up now,				
	citizen direct participation in planni	ng what c	itizens need	Yes	1	No	2
	enough?						
OFC	If no what can be done to	improvo	diract sites	1			
Q56	If no, what can be done to i	inprove (	inect citen	1	•••••	•••••	
	participation.			2			

## Thank you for your time

## **ANNEX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LOCAL LEADERS**

Questionnaire Code					
Enumerator's Name				ew	//2017
Supervisor's Name			Time Started		
Verification Date/2017			Starting time		
District	Code	Secto	r	code	
Burera	1	Gatebe		1	
		Rugar	ama	2	
Nyamagabe	2 Gasak		а		3
		Mugano		4	
Nyamasheke	3	Gihon	nbo		5
		Bushe	enge	6	
Gasabo	4	Kimironko Gikomero		7	
				8	
Ngoma	5	Reme	ra		9
		Muge	sera		10

1.2.1	Urban	1	1.2.2 Gender / Igitsina	Male	1
Respondent's	Rural	2		Female	2
Residence					

1.2.3 Age	Code	1.2.4 Poverty levels	Code	1.2.5 Membership in interest groups	Code
18-30	1	Category I	1	Civil society	1
31-45	2	Category II	2	Private sector	2
45-65	3	Category III	3	Cooperatives	3
65+	4	Category IV	4	Syndicates	4

1.2.6 Marital status	Code	1.2.7 Do you have any disability?				
Single	1		Code			
Married	2	Yes	1			
Divorced	3	No	2			
Widowed /Umupfakazi	4					

1.2.8 Education level	Code
Primary level	1
Professional/ Vocational	2
Secondary	3
University	4
None	5

SECTIONII: QUESTIONS

## CITIZENS' DIRECT PARTICIPATION RIGHTS AND AWARENESS

Q1	-		right of a citizen to i It by government au	· ·	cipation in developi	ment					
	Yes		1	No		2					
Q2			ns do you use in n which they are be		v citizens have d	irect					
	Community wo	rks	1	Parents' evenir	ng forum	5					
	Community Ass	sembly	2			6					
	Suggestions bo	xes	3	Meetings authorities	organized by	7					
	open days		4	Others (specify	)						
Q3	-		necessary for cit		•						
	Yes		1	No	2						
Q4	If yes, to what extent do they exercise this right?										
	Very High	1	High	2	Average	3					
	Low	4	Very low	5							
Q 5	Among the sectors provided below, in which sector do the problems communicated to you by citizens belong? (More than one response is possible).										
	Agriculture	1	Entrepreneurship	8	Corruption	15					
	Animal husbandry	2	ICT	9	Commerce	16					
	Health	3	Governance	10	Genocide ideology	17					
	Education	4	Security	11	Hygiene and sanitation	18					
	Infrastructure (Water and electricity)	5	Housing	12	Disaster Management	19					
	Vocational activities	6	Environment conservation and protection	13	Justice	20					
	Transport	7	Unity and reconciliation	14	Injustice/ Violence	21					

Q 6	Among the sectors programmy you by citizens belong				-				proble	ems communico	ated to
	Agriculture		1		Ent	rep	reneurship	8	Corru	ption	15
	Animal husbandry		2		ICT			9	Comn	nerce	16
	Health		3		Gov	eri	nance	10	Geno	cide ideology	17
	Education		4		Sec	urit	ty	11	Hygie sanita		18
	Infrastructure (Water electricity)	and	5		Но			12	Disasi Mana	ter Igement	19
	Vocational activities		6		con	ser	nment vation and tion	13	Justic	e	20
	Transport		7		Uni reco	-	and ciliation	14	Injust	ice/ Violence	21
Q7	Among the means pro	ovide	d be	low	, wh	ich	ones did yo	ou use	in orde	r to facilitate (	citizens
	to communicate their	comr	nuni	ity p	robl	em	s to you?				
	Community work			1			Evening	Parents	5 5	National	9
				-			forum			dialogue	
										council	
	Community Assembly			2			Elections		6	Media	10
	Suggestion boxes			3			Meetings prepared	by	, 7	ICT	11
							authorities				
	When local leaders withem	/isit		4			Open days		8	ubudehe	12
Q 8	Once citizens have con with them to analyse o								•	•	t down
	Yes		1					No		2	
Q 9.	If yes, how many times	s?						1			
	Always	1	Sor	net	imes			2 Rai	rely	None	3
ACTIV	ITIES PLANNING AND TH	IEIR F	PRIO	RITI	IZATI	OΛ	I	•			
Q10	Apart from citizens con necessary for citizens problems' magnitude?	to p		_		•				•	
	Yes	1		No				2	Expla	ıin :	••••

Q 11	To what extent are y	•	ied with citizens' role in	asses	sing analyzing their p	roblem
	Very High	1	High	2	Average	3
	Low	4	Very low	5		
Q 12	-		elow, which ones are n deciding their magnitu			_
	Agriculture	1	Entrepreneurship	8	Corruption	15
	Animal husbandry	2	Governance	9	Anjustice	16
	Health	3	Security	10	Environment conservation and protection	17
	Education	4	Housing	11	Disaster management	18
	Infrastructure	5	Commerce	12	Unity and reconciliation	19
	Arts	6	Hygiene and sanitation	13	Justice	20

Q 13	Among the channels provided below, which ones are commonly used when assessing, analyzing citizens' problems and their magnitude? (More than one answer is possible)								
	Community work	1	Evening Parents forum	6					
	media	2	ICT	7					
	Community Assembly	3	community self help projects	8					
	Suggestion boxes	4	Meeting organized by local	9					

			auth	orities						
	Open days	5	Othe	rs Specify						
Q 14	Among the chann authority and citize		-				o you think is better for bo problems?	th local		
	Community work		1	Parents'even forum	ing	5	Ubudehe	9		
	Community Assemb	bly	2	Elections		6	Media	10		
	Suggestion boxes		3	Meetings prepared by authorities		7	ICT	11		
	when local lead pay us a visit	ders	4	Open days		8	Others			

EVALUA	ATION				MPLEMENTATION, MONITO					
Q 15	Do the citizens under your leadership directly participate in activities planning, budgeting and their implementation in their communities?									
	Yes	1	No	2						
Q 16	1				that may prohibit citizens udgeting and implementation	on?				
	Citizens are not invited	1	It is not their responsibility to participate in planning of those activities	4	It is the responsibility of authorities because they are paid for it	7				
	They do not have the required knowledge and skills	2	They do not have time	5	Others(Specify)					

	It is done during the working hours	They involve related because belief.	d a	ot be 6 politics ctivities their				
Q 17	Among the activities related to the sectors			•				ere closely
	Agriculture 1		Hou	sing	9		Hygiene and sanitation	17
	Animal husbandry	2	Infra	structure	10	co	Environment onservation and protection	18
	Health	3		nnical and tional ities	11		Disaster Management	19
	Education	4	Tran	sport	12		ty and onciliation	20
	ICT	5	Entr	epreneurship	13	Just	tice	21
	Governance	6	_	ting against uption	14	Ikindi (kivuge		
	Security	7	Com	merce and	15			
	Injustice	8	Infra	astructure	16			
Q 18	When planning toget below, which channe				nent act	 ivitie:	s, among channels	s provided
	Community work		1	Parents e forum	vening	5	media	9
	Community Assembly	/	2	Meetings org by local leade		6	ICT	10
	Suggestion boxes		3	Open days		7	Ubudehe	11
	National dialogue Co	uncil	4	Other specify				

Q 19	19 When local authorities together with citizens are directly participating in community development activities planning, which channels provided below would be the best to use in								
	the future?	g, winci	renamicis provided i	JCION	would be the best t	o use iii			
	Community works	1	Parents' evening forum	5	media	9			
	Local citizen assembly	2	Meetings organized by leaders	6	ICT	10			
	Suggestion boxes	3	Open days	7	Ubudehe	11			
	When leaders visit the community	4	National dialogue	8	Others / Specify				
Q 20	On which lacal government level of activities planning do citizens directly participate in most?								
	Planning at Distict level	1	Planning at Sector level	2	Planning at Cell level	3			
	Planning at Village level	4	Explain:						
Q 21	Do you think the implemented do reflect the citizens' commun	•	•	_		adership			
	Always	1	Sometimes	2	Never	3			
Q22	On which development active participate in the future?	ities pla	inning level, would	you I	wish for citizens to	directly			
	Planning at Distict level	1	Planning at Sector level	2	Planning at Cell level	3			
	Planning at Village level	4	Not any	5	Explain				

Q23	From 2011 up 2016, implementation of to		the citizens under your leadersh dget?	ip evei	directly participo	ate in the		
	Yes	-	1 No	2				
Q24	If yes, how did the ci	tizens	play their role?			1		
	Through financial co	ntribu	itions			2		
	Through community	work	S			3		
	By giving advice and corrective measures							
	Through material support							
	Other contributions (List them)							
Q25	Among the development activities provided below, in which ones did the citizens directly participate in their implementation?							
	Agriculture	1	Housing	9	Hygiene and sanitation	17		
	Animal husbandry	2	Infrastructure	10	Environmen t conservatio n and protection	18		
	Health	3	Technical and vocational activities	11	Disaster managemen t	19		
	Education	4	Transport	12	Unity and reconciliatio	20		
	ICT	5	Entrepreneurship	13	Justice	21		
	Governance	6	Fighting against corruption	14	Others			
	Security	7	Commerce and trade	15				

	Injustice	8	Infras	struure		16		
Q26	When deciding how	citize	ns wou	ıld exercise their d	direct p	articipo	ation in the im	plementation
	of the developmenta	ıl act	ivities	which were plann	ed, an	nong th	e provided cha	innels below,
	which ones do you us	se?						
	Community work			Evening	5	Mass		
			1	Parents Forum				9
						media	1	
	Local Commu	nity		Meetings	6			
	assembly		2	organized		ICT		10
				local leaders				
	Suggestion boxes		3	Open days	7	ubude	rhe	11
	When leaders pay th	hem		National	8	Othor		
	a visit	<i>1</i> C111	4	dialogue		Others	5	
				council				
Q27	Among the reasons p	rovia	led belo	ow, which ones do	you th	ink mo	tivate citizens t	o directly
	participate in the imp	oleme	ntatio	n of their local dev	relopm	ental ad	ctivities plan fo	r their
	community?							
	The spirit of patriotism							
	Protecting public ben	efit <b>s,</b>	interes	sts				2
	Personal responsibilit	ty as	a Rwar	ndan citizen				4
	To avoid being in con	flicts	with lo	ocal leaders				5
	Strictness and dictato	orship	of lea	dership				6
	Having no alternative	e /cho	oice					7
	Eagerness for the de	evelo	oment	of their village, ce	II, secto	or, distr	ict	8
	leaders' sensitization	and	mobili	sation				9
	Having knowledge in	the c	acitiviti	es planned for the	comm	unity		10
	Availability of funds							11
	Good cooperation an	d tru	st betw	veen leaders and c	itizens			12
	Others.							1
		•••••						

To what extent are you satisfied with the citizens' direct participation in the important development activities plans										
	Very high satisfaction	1	High satisfaction		2	Average satisfaction	3			
	Low satisfaction	4	Very low satisfac	tion	5					
Q29	If your response is very low reasons do think do preve local community developm	nt citize	ens from directly pa	_		•				
	Lack of sufficient information on what was planned									
	insufficient information/knowledge of citizens' role and right  Insufficient funds									
	4									
	Total dependence on gove	ens	5							
	Lack of time		6							
	Citizens' insufficient know	7								
	Citizens do not see any va	lue or b	enefits of on- going	8						
	A belief that it is the respo	9								
	Weak sensitization and m	obiliza	tion				10			
	Others									
Q30	Do the citizens under you activities plan of their loca			moni	toring (	of the developm	ent			
	Yes	1		No	2					
Q31	Do citizens under your lea activities?	dership	directly participate	e in th	e evalu	uation of the pla	ınned			
	Yes	1		No	2					
Q32	If the answer is yes, what role did citizens play in the monitoring and evaluation of their development activities of their local community from 2011 to 2016?									

	They participated in monactivities	planned 1					
	They participated in evalua activities	tion process in line with plo	anned 2				
	They provided advice on carried out and some corre		activities 3				
	They identified errors and	those who had a stake in th	nem 4				
	They played a direct role in implemented activities	n the security and protecti	on of the 5				
	Other ( specify)						
	THE LOCAL LEADERS' POINT OF VIEW OF THE IMPORTANCE AND HOW DIRECT CITIZENS PARTICIPATION WOULD BE POSSIBLE						
Q33	ibyakamaro kuri we?/Given your leadership experiences, is it important and valuable citizens to exercise direct participation in their local community developmental activities their local community?						
	Yes	1	No		2		
Q34	If yes, what and how d	o local citizens' local co	mmunities go	ain fro	om direct	citizens'	
	It provides to citizens self develop the country.	-confidence and increase	awareness o	n his/	her role to	1	
	Experience sharing with otl	ners and increasing of skills	and knowled	ge.		2	
	It allows dialogue and dialo	ogue increases unity and re	conciliation a	mong	citizens	3	
	Citizens have freedom and	rights for expressing theis o	ppinion			4	
	It allows the Expression of	citizen's rights				5	
	It allows the citizen develop	oing self-confidence in deci	sion making			6	
	It allows citizen to develop	ownership in all activities				7	

	It increases relationship between citizens and leaders							
	Others. Specify							
Q35	Given your leadership ex exercise direct citizens' activities right from plann	participation	in all their l	ocal community d				
	Yes	1	No			2		
	If no, among the reasons participation possibility?	s provided be	elow, which on	es may hinder d	irect citizen			
	Citizen do not have enough knowledge and skills.							
Q36	The involvement of all citizens in direct participation is time consuming and very expensive							
	Citizens do not have enough time; they have other business to do.							
	Citizens have various opinion and divergent interest so that to have a common understanding is very difficult.							
	Citizen do not have suf monitoring and evaluation		ledge in new	technology used i	n planning,	5		
	Citizens do not have skills	for the new o	developmental	environment need		6		
	Other							
	THE ROLE OF CITIZENS IN	MONITORIN	G OF LEADERS	DAY TO DAY RESP	ONSIBILITIES			
027	Do the citizens under you fulfil your responsibilities?	•	play any role	in monitoring how	you caary o	ut and		
Q37	Yes	1		No	2			
Q38	In case of leaders comm citizens under your lead leaders?	•				•		
	Yes	1		No	2			
	Among the channels proteir leaders carry out the			o local citizens use	in monitorir	ng how		
Q39	During open day					1		

	During meeting of stakeho	lders			2				
	During community assemb	ly			3				
	During community works								
	During the visit of the President of the Republic								
	During the visit of Member of Parliament.  Visit of Governor of Province  During election								
	Other								
Q40	VIEWS ON WHAT SHE PARTICIPATION.	OULD BE DONE TO	IMPROVE CITIZE	NS DIRECT					
	Given your leadership experiences, do you think the role given to citizens to excitizens direct participation right from activities plan, monitoring and evaluation is enough								
	Yes	1	No	2					
Q41	If no, what do you would would be done to improve citizens' direct participation?								

## Thank you for your time