



**HOUSEHOLD DEVELOPMENT BENEFITS ASSOCIATED WITH LAND
EXPROPRIATION IN KIBEHO AND MUNINI SECTORS**

UWIRAGIYE Emmanuel

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Supervisor: Dr UWIZEYE Dieudonné

Huye, June 2021

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Rwanda or any other institution.

UWIRAGIYE Emmanuel
REG No.219014043

Signature: Date:

Supervisor

I certify that this work was done under my supervision, and I confirm that it is ready for examination.

DR. UWIZEYE Dieudonné

Signature : Date :

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to all those who toil day and night without advanced education and manage to parry what poverty and limited capabilities hurl on them!

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ABSTRACT

Land expropriation rationalized through a development discourse keeps citizens from realizing that expropriation can as well abrogate private ownership of land. The law guiding expropriation proposes that expropriation be carried out against just compensation to indemnify costs incurred by affected citizens; but just compensation has minimal enforceability on the ground. The research has shown that compensation is not always on the same footing as the market prices. This study aimed to understand the household development benefits of land expropriation for commercial agriculture. Based on the review of literature on process of expropriation, how citizens appreciate such process and on effect of expropriation on socioeconomic development of citizens, document analysis, focus group discussion, interview and a survey were used to collect data. Respondents were purposively selected. Analysis of the responses demonstrated an interconnection among processes of expropriation and associated those processes to socioeconomic development of expropriated citizens. The results indicate that the benefits of expropriation outweigh damages incurred by the expropriated citizens. The results indicate as well that when citizens participate in expropriation process, it reduces conflicts related to valuation and compensation. The results show that improper valuation and compensation hinder socioeconomic development of the expropriated citizens. On this basis, it is recommended that expropriating agencies engage actively citizens subject to the expropriation and carry expropriation on agreed upon valuation methods in order to avoid grievances which result from unjust compensation.

KEYWORDS: Land expropriation, Public interest, Socioeconomic development.

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List of Abbreviations

- CBHI: Community Based Health Insurance
- EICV: Integrated Household and Living Condition Survey
- FAO: Food and Agriculture Organization
- GoR: Government of Rwanda
- IRPV: The Institute of Real Property Valuers in Rwanda
- MINAGRI: Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources
- MoE: Ministry of Environment
- NAEB: National Agricultural Export and Development Board
- NISR: National institute of Statistics of Rwanda
- OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
- RCSP: The Rwandan Civil Society Platform
- RDB: Rwanda Development Board
- RSSB: Rwanda Social Security Board
- SPTA: Strategic Plan for the Transformation of Agriculture
- UNCTAD: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

CHAPTER ONE

General Introduction

1.1 Background to the study

Today many countries endorse land expropriation as a pursuit of public interests (Reynolds, 2012). Expropriation is legally defined as ‘a compulsory taking of private property by the state in the public interest’ (Garner, 2000). The expropriated land is usually used for commercial farming, therefore expropriation is considered a strategy for governments to increase agricultural production, develop industries and ensure a national economic development (Mugisha, 2015). Expropriation opens up the country to the international market through attracting foreign investors, and it is a strategy for poverty reduction through job creation, increase of agricultural productivity and ensuring food security (Philip, 2012).

Land expropriation subscribes to the international standards and regulations to which Rwanda is signatory. Some of these regulations are taking land for public purpose, on non-discriminatory basis, and compensating fairly those whose land is taken (UNCTAD, 2012). Fair compensation refers to an indemnity to the value of land and to protection against any loss or damage (Mugisha, 2015). There are two theories which guide fair compensation; the Indemnity theory and the Taker’s gain theory. The former suggests that expropriation is adequate when the compensation value considers also other losses suffered by the concerned person; some of those are development on one’s land, disturbance and damages (Denyer-Green, 1994). The latter does not emphasize on the property owner and suggests that government should only pay for what it gets and not remote damages occurred during expropriation (Otubu, 2012).

Expropriation has been rampant in developing countries and Africa in general in the recent past. Since 2011, African states have expropriated citizens occupying up to 227 million hectares (OXFAM, 2011). Unfortunately, some governments have used land expropriation to advance political or personal agendas on the detriment of public interest advancement. For instance, in 2005, on the grounds of promoting public hygiene and restoring order in the Zimbabwean capital Harare, the government expropriated many families, which was later considered as having political motives. Expropriated families had allegedly voted against the then incumbent president in 2005 elections and the expropriation served to disorganize and disrupt those citizens (Ocheje 2007). Also, through Rwanda Social Security Board, citizens were expropriated in

Gacuriro, Rwanda for putting in place the city master plan; instead their land was used to build the Vision 2020 village, a real estate business which generates income and not any form of public interest (Ikirezi et al., 2014).

Similarly, Botswana expropriated San citizens, mainly hunter-gatherers in the Kalahari Game Reserve, with a claim that it was difficult to provide those citizens with water and electricity. After the expropriation, the land was handed over to diamond mining companies (US State Department, 2004). Further, in Soudan, the government expropriated many families claiming to modernizing farming and agriculture sector, and the land was handed over to a minority of rich investors; local and foreign. This expropriation increased the number of landless citizens and displaced many communities of agro-pastoralists (Ayoub, 2006).

Land expropriation violates private property ownership and threatens livelihood of disenfranchised and underrepresented groups of citizens (Janice, 2017). For instance, in 2009 Taiwanese government expropriated a group of underrepresented farmers from Wanbao community in order to establish an industrial park (Chen, 2011). Many families subject to land expropriation become landless, and face food security problem especially when they leave their farms behind (Ayoub, 2006). Apart from infringing on expropriated citizens' land ownership, expropriation underestimates properties value for compensation (Goodfellow, 2014). For instance, citizens who were expropriated in Ubumwe cell, Kiyovu, Kigali city in 2008, were compensated by the Rwanda Social Security Board (RSSB) and Nyarugenge district at Rwf 1,000 per square meter while land in near cell costed Rwf 77,000 per square meter (Goodfellow, 2014).

In fact, land expropriation is accelerated by vagueness or broad scope over what constitutes or serves public interests (Janice, 2017). For example, Yoanes & Alexander (2002) state that public interest is whatever serves the regime on power and its supporters. Public interest is also an umbrella term that governments use before undertaking projects which raise funds (Janice, 2017). The concept of public interest in the Rwandan law is as well wide. Public interest is an act aiming of benefiting the public and it is performed by either the government, public institution, NGO or other legally recognized institution (Official Gazette, 2007). Apart from this, instead of defining what public interest is, the Article 5 of the Rwandan law governing expropriation only gives examples of acts which may be considered as serving public interest

(Official Gazette, 2007).

It is difficult to draw a demarcation line between public and private interest (Janice, 2017). Mugisha (2015) defines public interest as a tool that government uses in acquiring land needed for development projects. To avoid that expropriation benefits a certain group but sacrifices another, there is need for compensation (Bollens, 2002). However, compensation does not resolve all land problems as the value attached to land by citizens differs from that of governments (Janice, 2017). For instance, for governments land is a source of income when it is upgraded to industrial or commercial use. For citizens, land is a livelihood and not a commodity (Sassen, 2014). The aim of compensating citizens is of course to reinstate livelihood (Mugisha, 2015), but little is known on living standards of expropriated citizens after the process of expropriation. The increase of GDP because of expropriation is easy to measure but it is not the case for consequences that expropriated citizens face (Agbonkhiameghe, 2013).

Studies and reports from different governments and international organization have indicated contributions of expropriation to community development on the one hand, and a handicap on the other hand, all depending on how expropriated citizens are compensated and the support they are given afterward. In Rwanda, the government has expropriated people from land in various parts of the country to serve public interests (MINAGRI, 2016). Specifically, in Nyaruguru district, expropriation happened in Kibeho and Munini sectors and served dual purposes; to add value to the acidic soil by growing tea as a high-value crop and to increase tea export by 15% (RBD, 2017). However, to the best of my knowledge, no study was conducted either in Nyaruguru or elsewhere in the country to show whether the public interests are not placed over the expropriated citizens' interests. Subsequently, policy and decision makers have little knowledge to support the decisions on addressing problems raised by expropriation in Rwanda.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

To expand tea project in Munini-Kibeho sites of Nyaruguru district, 234 households were expropriated by the National Agricultural Export and Development Board (NAEB) in partnership with Unilever tea Rwanda limited. All processes preceding expropriation including compensation were carried by NAEB which handed over two sites to Unilever under lease contract. The 234 households were given houses and the cost per one house is 10.8 million

Rwandan francs (MINAGRI, 2016). To compensate those families, this amount of money at a subsidized cost was subtracted to the total cost of one's land and properties and the rest of the money was deposited to bank accounts. Expropriating all these families at the same time created a shortage of land in nearby cells and those who were selling it increased prices to the level that many of the expropriated families could not afford it. From the existing literature, there was no follow ups on how those expropriated households who had been mainly relying on agriculture continued to live without land for agriculture. Without investigating the role that the tea plantation played in elevating or deflating lives of expropriated families we would only be considering the economic growth at the expense of living standards of expropriated families.

1.3 Objectives of the study

1.3.1 General objectives

This study aims to understand the household development benefits of land expropriation for commercial agriculture in Kibeho and Munini sectors in Nyaruguru district.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

Specifically, the study will respond to the following objectives:

1. To explore the process of land expropriation in Munini and Kibeho sectors of Nyaruguru district for commercial use
2. To investigate the households' appreciations of the expropriation process
3. To analyse the household level of socioeconomic development effects after the expropriation process

1.4 Research Questions

This study seeks to respond to the following research questions:

1. How was the process of land expropriation for commercial use implemented in Munini and Kibeho sectors of Nyaruguru district?
2. How did the expropriated households appreciate the process of expropriation?
3. To what extent did the land expropriation affect the status of the household socioeconomic development?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Household development is not limited to economic development. This research will reveal to implementors of expropriation not to be bound by economic development alone. Given the scarcity of land and how investors who step in to establish businesses need land, often, expropriating citizens is imperative. However, expropriation which targets only economic growth and development can sometimes impact negatively the living conditions of population to be expropriated. The present study will call upon government and their partners to also emphasize on living standards, socio development of expropriated citizens.

Involving citizens in expropriation process leads to ownership of projects. The study will suggest possible strategies that can be used to improve expropriation process. Those strategies are important to governments as they can be a starting point while selecting those to be expropriated. This is particular to citizens from rural areas as they can easily be blinded by the amount of money and fail to widen their horizons. Challenges met in Nyaruguru expropriation, as this study will reveal them, will help policy makers to adjust expropriation processes in other parts of the country.

The study will help the expropriated families to do an introspective examination. As our study delves into citizens' appreciation and socio and economic development, it will inspire expropriated citizens to conduct a self-evaluation and see whether they are better off, whether they have received what they were promised and if so, how that contributed to their lives; and if not, to determine where improvements are needed. Not only expropriated citizens but all the participants in the study will benefit by getting firsthand information on the state of expropriation in Nyaruguru district, in sites of Kibeho and Munini. Citizens will be made aware of how their various needs are responded to. On the other hand, it is an opportunity for civil servants as principal facilitators of expropriation to evaluate and to identify what has not yet been done and to take necessary steps for their fulfillment.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The geographical scope of the study was limited to Nyaruguru district located in the southern province of Rwanda. Nyaruguru district has 13 sectors whose stretches encompass a lot of rural community. Nyaruguru district as of 2015 had 294.334 citizens (NISR, 2015). Nyaruguru district is a mountainous district renowned for growing and producing tea, a cash crop.

Nyaruguru district is among the poorest districts of the country with citizens engaged mainly in subsistence farming (NISR, 2015). Hence, it offers the study a fertile ground to understand how expropriated households benefit from developmental projects which lead to land expropriation. To get a wider view, the study was conducted in two sectors of Nyaruguru district whose citizens were expropriated for tea plantation project. The study was only on citizens expropriated from Kibeho and Munini but remained in proximity after expropriating their land.

The content scope of the study was limited to an analysis of legal framework of land expropriation, like the 2007 Rwandan expropriation law in public interest and on reports on expropriation cases. The study focused on processes guiding expropriation, citizens' appreciations of such processes and on how such processes contribute to achieving socioeconomic development.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

Our study faced limitations of reduced time for data collection. Given that our study investigated appreciations of the expropriation process, it also observed and reflected on experiences of expropriated citizens in their own contexts, in their households. However, as many of them spend many hours on their farms, the researcher had to wait for them to return home. The study faced limitations such as reduced time for data collection also because of the unanticipated challenges caused mainly by the COVID-19 outbreak.

The tea plantation projects are run by the Unilever Tea Rwanda; however, families were expropriated by NAEB and land was handed over to the Unilever in lease contract. The researcher did not have access to that contract, so variables that were not measured in this study were held constant so that they may not have a bias effect on other variables. In addition, the study analyzed socioeconomic level of the expropriated families. But, as it was not possible to study all community indicators of socioeconomic in a single study given that they were not all in the focus of the study, the variables that were not measured were held constant so that they may not have a bias effect on other variables.

1.8 Organization of the Study Report

The study is divided into five chapters, each one with some subheadings. The first chapter deals with the general introduction and gives an overview of the background and introduction to the problem statement, research objectives, research questions, the study scope, significance and

limitations of the study. The second chapter deals with review of literature and theoretical framework. This chapter presents key concepts and reviews literature and previous studies related to the study. The third chapter on research methodology describes the methodology, tools and techniques used to collect and analyze data while investigating the research problem. The fourth chapter presents and discusses the study findings. Lastly, chapter five summarizes the study findings, the researcher's conclusions and recommendations based on the study findings.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature and previous studies related to the role that land expropriation plays in improving standards of life of expropriated households. To achieve our goal, we explore in detail Law of 2007 on expropriation in the public interest. Along with review of other literature and reports, this chapter explores the process of land expropriation, expropriated households' appreciation of expropriation and analyses whether the expropriated households' socioeconomic development levels up after the expropriation. A particular attention is paid to studies with cases related directly or indirectly to Kibeho and Munini sectors whose citizens were expropriated by the government for tea plantation project.

2.2 The Process of Land Expropriation

Land expropriation follows due process of law under four conditions. First, any land expropriation should be serving public interests (UNCTAD, 2012). Second, land expropriation should be non-discriminatory based (UNCTAD, 2012). Third, land expropriation follows legal processes guiding each country (UNCTAD, 2012). Lastly, land expropriation takes place only after payment of compensation (UNCTAD, 2012). With public interest or 'public benefit' for other countries like Germany and Pakistan (Reynolds, 2012) or 'national interest' for Chile and Philippines (Reynolds, 2012), governments curb any advancement of private or illicit gain at detrimental of citizens. With non-discrimination, the international law dictates that neither nationalities, nor social classes nor ethnic groups should be considered while selecting those to be expropriated (Newcombe & Paradell, 2009). Due process of law refers to the locally established laws governing expropriation (Newcombe & Paradell, 2009). Payment of compensation is as well necessary before expropriation as it balances interests of expropriator and interests of expropriated individuals (UNCTAD, 2012).

Rwanda does not have documented step by step procedures which guide expropriation (Mugisha, 2015). But globally, land expropriation is carried out in four steps (Reynolds, 2012). The first step is condemnation (Reynolds, 2012). Condemnation is the government seizure of private property or acquiring ownership of private property (Reynolds, 2012). For instance, the Rwandan law guiding expropriation dictates that households to be expropriated must be

informed before their land is surveyed or condemned (Official Gazette, 2007). The second step of expropriation process is appraisal. Appraisal is valuing one's property using market value (Reynolds, 2012). After appraisal there is offer or compensation and it is giving to previous owners of land what market value determines as adequate compensation (Reynolds, 2012). The last step of expropriation process is negotiation or resolving any dissatisfaction which may have arisen during the previous steps of expropriation (Reynolds, 2012). For instance, Rwandan expropriation law leaves room to redress any grievance which may have arisen during expropriation within 30 days after the decision on compensation is taken (Official Gazette, 2007).

In addition to the above steps, many countries especially European countries add 'publicity' (FAO, 2008). With publicity, countries in question inform concerned citizens the intention of expropriation and present how such project will benefit the country, its procedures and anticipated deadlines (FAO, 2008). When citizens consent, they request for compensation (FAO, 2008). In Rwanda, the expropriation law provides as well for publicity (Official Gazette, 2007). The article 7 specifies that implementors of expropriation must possess the minutes of the meetings they had with citizens subject to expropriation indicating that citizens were informed and sensitized about the importance of the project (Official Gazette, 2007).

Land expropriation takes place under two conditions; serving public interests and paying just compensation (Azuela, 2007). For Lee (2015), public interests refer to interests that transcend interests of an individual or of a small group of people. The Rwandan law of 21/5/2007 relates public interests to any project targeting development, social welfare, security and the territorial integrity (Official Gazette, 2007). Under the same law, the article 5 presents 22 types of projects which are in public interests (Official Gazette, 2007). Among those projects there are projects related to public utilities like water and electricity lines; public buildings like hospitals and schools; transportation uses like roads and railway lines, and many others (Official Gazette, 2007). In addition, the law extends the power to any other activity aiming at public interest and which is not included on the list (Official Gazette, 2007). Just or fair compensation on the other hand, is the amount of money or assets such as alternative land or building (Official Gazette, 2007) that helps those who are expropriated to carry on their livelihood without interruption (Uwayezu & Vries, 2019).

In Rwanda, to fix land prices and prices for property incorporated on land prior to compensation are under the jurisdiction of the Institute of Real Property Valuers in Rwanda (hereinafter The Institute) (GoR, 2015). For instance, to value land, the Institute uses Comparable Sales Approach (IRPV, 2019). The comparable sales approach compares the market value of land under valuation with land that has been recently sold (Asian Development Bank, 1998). This method protects both expropriator and those to be expropriated as none of them offers more or accept less (Mugisha, 2015).

To give value to structures on land, the Replacement Cost method is used (OECD, 2004). For instance, to value a house, the replacement cost method subtracts the land value from the overall value of the house and land. This subtraction gives the price or value of the house. Value of house equals to value of land and house minus value of land (OECD, 2004). The replacement cost approach requires collecting data on land value and costs of construction, but to know the cost of structures, those estimates are used and land value in such setting reflects the value of the site as if it were vacant and ready for development (Mugisha, 2015).

Apart from land and structures on land, crops are also valued (Official Gazette, 2007). Compensation for crops is decided according to the gross market value of the lost crops. When there is a crop in-ground, gross market is calculated through what the owner has spent for instance on labour, seed, fertilizer and so on (IRPV, 2019). There are two determinants of crops gross or full market value. Those are the market rate for the crop and the average of the annual harvest. To calculate the value of compensation, the highest market prices are used. The average annual yield is on the other hand, calculated through the data collected by the local government on each type of crop and how much produces per hectare land (Asian Development Bank, 1998). However, when the government average prices do not concord with the prices of the landowner, the actual average of the landowner is used (Mugisha, 2015).

Land expropriation is not an infringement to private property ownership (Uwayezu & de Vries, 2019). Hence, to protect property owners, the Rwandan expropriation law dictates citizens' participation in any expropriation process (Official Gazette, 2007). The article 10 of law on expropriation stipulates that citizens to be expropriated must be sensitized about the project and its contribution to the development (Expropriation Law, 2015). Apart from sensitizing citizens, a study on envisaged consequences or interruptions on living standards of citizens must be

carried out prior to the expropriation (Expropriation Law, 2015). For Hadley et al. (2016), both sensitizing citizens and calculating all envisaged interruptions are to protect the rights of the individuals being expropriated.

2.3 Citizen's appreciation of land expropriation process

Land expropriation contributes to country and people's development (Hadley et al., 2016). In cases surveyed by Ikirezi et al. (2014) citizens consented that expropriation contributes to the public interests. Many agreed that roads, schools, electric lines and hospitals qualify as projects in public interests (Ikirezi et al., 2014). In addition to this, many projects which require expropriation have offered job to citizens who live in proximity (MoE, 2019). For instance, in the construction of feeder roads in Rwamagana and even in Nyaruguru districts citizens who have been relying only on agriculture were offered jobs in road constructions (MoE, 2019). Also, infrastructural projects arrived at after expropriating citizens have contributed to many African countries' development (Rapley, 2008). For instance, many developing countries have through building roads created jobs; jobs in return created more demand for goods and services and this demand led factories to increase their output and hire more workers (Rapley, 2008).

Land has more than economic value (Zambakari, 2017). In many countries, land represent citizens' social identity, culture, and ethnicity (Janice, 2017). These are social values which expropriators do not usually consider (Umemoto, 2001). Janice (2017) taking an example from Wanbao community in Taiwan demonstrates how expropriating citizens from their land as a way of putting in place mechanized agriculture negatively affected citizens as the government considered land as a commodity while it was much valuable to local citizens. Also, for many cattle herders and farmers especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, land is a source of livelihood, expropriating them is separating them from their source of livelihood and from means of sustenance (Ayoub, 2006).

Land expropriation disrupts citizens economic activities (Ikirezi et al., 2014). With separating citizens who are mainly farmers from their land, expropriation especially in rural areas increases unemployment and redundancy (Keith et al., 2008). Also, mechanization of agriculture presented as motive for expropriating citizens has in many cases only favored large-scale farmers and small-scale farmers survived only on cash-for-work basis (Molt, 2017). As an example, from 2004, Rwanda has put in place an agricultural plan known as the Strategic Plan

for the Transformation of Agriculture, (SPTA). Under SPTA Rwanda partners with China and this has recorded success as it has oriented Rwandan agricultural sector towards trade and mechanization (Lawther, 2017). However, technologies such as manoeuvring rice harvesters were beyond capacities of small-scale farmers and only medium-sized farmers and entrepreneurs benefited from it (Lawther, 2017).

A non-exhaustive list of what constitutes public interests creates an ambiguity. Many countries expropriate citizens on grounds of advancing public interests and that range from health facilities, schools, public safety and other different infrastructures (Ocheje, 2007). For instance, Rwanda, in the 2007 law on expropriation states that the ministerial order can dictate what constitutes public interests in addition to 22 types of projects provided for in the law (Official Gazette, 2007). For many European countries, courts give wide margins to their respective states to assess and to warrant what is in public interest (UNCTAD, 2012). With this wide and vague scope of what is public interests, rulers of different countries are prone to make mistakes or to use public interest to shroud their own benefits like securing high rankings on the international politics (Douglass, 1980).

Expropriation does not always target public interests but incentives of those who hold power (Zambakari, 2017). For instance, as the Rwandan expropriation law includes the implementation of master plans among activities of public interests (Official Gazette, 2007), since the unveiling of Kigali city master plan in 2007, many citizens of low-income were expropriated from their land which was turned into real estate businesses (Beswick, 2010). For instance, 336 households were expropriated in Ubumwe cell in Kiyovu for the establishment of the central business district (Goodfellow, 2014). Also, securing high rankings in performance contract has been one of the motives of expropriating citizens in Nyarugenge district, Kigali city (Ikirezi et al., 2014). For instance, RSSB with Nyarugenge district built commercial buildings in Gacuriro and that real estate business does not serve interests of citizens but interests of RSSB and the district's ranking (Ikirezi et al., 2014).

Citizens do not usually have active role in expropriation process (Mugisha, 2015). The article 12 of the 2007 expropriation law emphasizes as well on involving and consulting citizens subject to expropriation (Official Gazette, 2007). However, many governments neither consult nor involve citizens to be expropriated especially in decision- making (Janice, 2017). As

observed by Ikirezi et al. (2014) some conveyed meetings prior to expropriation are usually informative and not consultative and citizens have little to influence expropriation process. Mugisha (2015) affirms it after surveying the expropriation processes in Kiyovu, in Kigali city where citizens were only informed of the decision to expropriate their land for the implementation of Kigali city master plan instead of involving them in the whole process. In the absence of citizens' participation, developmental programs may be effective as they are under the government and other stakeholders' scrutiny, but they may be inefficient by failing to alleviate poverty (Anyanwu et al., 2013).

There is inconsistency on how to value properties observed in many expropriation cases (Mugisha, 2015). In Rwanda like in many other countries land prices are fixed taking into consideration market value (Official Gazette, 2007), but land and other assets market is not static so prices should be updated regularly. However, it is not the case. As an example, the lastly published prices of land in Rwanda are of 2019 (IRPV, 2019). Lack of updated information on land market creates problems when families subject to expropriation carry a counter-evaluation which is an act permitted by the law (Expropriation Law, 2015). For instance, during the recent expropriation in Kigali city, the prices of the Institute valued a square meter of land at Rwf 2,297 in Kiyovu, Rwf 1,355 in Nyarutarama, whereas prices of independent valuers fluctuated between Rwf 100,000 and Rwf 150,000 when sold on the market (Ikirezi et al., 2014). The inconsistency of market value covers governments malpractice through 'buy-low-sell-high' process (Janice, 2017).

2.4 Expropriation and socioeconomic development

Expropriation leads to economic growth which contributes to socio-economic development of expropriated citizens (Hadley et al., 2016). For instance, in order to attract foreign investment, many countries expropriate citizens and offer land to investors (Ocheje, 2007). These investors offer job opportunities and skills to citizens of their host countries (Ocheje, 2007). As Wade (2008) affirms, in Senegal, international investors are only contracted when they agree to partner with a Senegalese company. This helps in transferring trainings and know-how skills to the citizens.

Expropriation while contributing to countries' GDP sometimes impoverishes expropriated families (Wilber, 2017). For instance, there are times that local or government leaders prefer

economic development and offer more favourable terms to investors and their investment projects; and as a result, are less concerned about expropriated citizens whose land is taken or acquired by the developer with state approval (Viitanen et al., 2010). Also expropriating citizens from their land, especially in rural areas, increases land prices and a number of citizens without land (Lipton, 1977).

Citizens' capacity or lack of to manage or to invest compensation cash affects their level of socioeconomic development. The Rwandan expropriation law allows compensation either in cash or with alternative land or house at a subsidized cost (Official Gazette, 2007). Compensation in cash has not always benefited expropriated families (Mugisha, 2015). Often, citizens who have not yet managed a lot of money are bound to make mistake when they are investing money in different projects (Ikirezi et al., 2014). In addition to this, compensating citizens with cash creates a high demand of land and when demand is high even prices increase (Ikirezi et al., 2014). Hence, such circumstances deplete compensation money before citizens are on the same footing as prior to the expropriation (Ikirezi et al., 2014).

Expropriation benefits to expropriated citizens should be translated in their affordability of healthcare services and of education (Zambakari, 2017). In general, Rwandan government through local civil servants ensures that citizens have health insurance. Given how many expropriated citizens especially those who had been relying on farms survive on work-cash basis, government should subsidize expropriated citizens health insurance (Ikirezi et al., 2014). These are citizens who survive with their hands; hence, when they are unable to work because of sickness or attending to their sick children, they are as well unable to feed their families, and to provide for them basic needs (James & Dietz, 2011). Affordability of education on the other hand generates employment opportunities (James & Dietz, 2011), which prompt the improvement of economic and social life (James & Dietz, 2011).

Access to land is primordial in fighting against hunger, poverty and for advancing economic development (Akinola, et al., 2020). For instance, Sub-Saharan countries have the prevalence of households with food insecurity in the whole world (Burchi et al., 2018) and one of the reasons is that landless citizens do not produce food and are unable to afford or to purchase food (Coetzee, 2018). Hence, in expropriating citizens as a way to expand commercialized agriculture or any other activity in common interests, governments should balance economic development

and livelihood or means to acquire basic needs of expropriated citizens (Akinola et al., 2020).

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

2.5 Theoretical Framework

Jonker & Pennink, (2009) states that ‘Theory tells you where to look, what to look for and how to look.’ The research was guided by the Public Interest Theory and Capability Approach Theory to test findings.

2.5.1 The Public Interest Theory

The Public Interest theory was developed by Douglass (1980). He relates the public interest to a number of specific objectives designed to promote general human well-being. Some of those are peace, order, prosperity, justice, and community development to which an individual partakes through living with others. It is through societies that human beings become more humane, he states (Douglass, 1980). Being part of society, or country in general helps each individual to fulfil needs that cannot be fulfilled on one’s own (Douglass, 1980). Being and working with others also helps individuals to develop far from what they could do on their own (Douglass, 1980). However, for Douglass (1980) being a citizen of a certain state or adhering to any community does not place the community’s or country’s values and interests above the individual’s. All benefits acquired pertain to everyone in the community or state (Douglass, 1980). Public interest in general relates to shared goods (Douglass, 1980).

Private interest is inseparable from interests of larger society (Douglass, 1980). The theory holds that a society or a country is not a conglomeration of individuals. All members of society retain personal freedom as citizens make society and not the other way around (Argondona, 1998). Thus, society does not pursue any goal of its own; but makes it possible for its members, for each individual to attain personal goal (Argondona, 1998).

Public interest theory refers to sum total of individual interests (Douglass, 1980). Public interest is interest of society but also of its members; the goal of society does neither differ nor oppose the goal of its members (Douglass, 1980). However, public interest ceases to be so when it is used as an instrument to private ends, when it diverts and only serves interests of few (Douglass, 1980). For instance, as Douglas (1998), presents, during the national monarchies, public interest served the interests of the crown. Public interest was used as a justification for royal demands

on the lives and possessions of subjects. The target was to fuel the exportation. Public interest started to have a negative connotation for those who were being exploited (Douglass, 1980).

2.5.2 The Capability Approach Theory

The Capability Approach theory was developed by Amartya Sen. Sen (1999) opposes GDP or wealth as standard measures of how citizens of a particular country live. What matters is not what citizens are provided with by high GDP or countries' fortunes but rather what they can do and achieve with it (Sen, 1999). Capabilities deal with what people can do, what choices they can make and what alternatives they can choose from (Sen, 1999). According to Sen (1985), capability approach deals with equipping people with ability to achieve what they value. Capability approach is not about income but one's freedom and choices and what an individual can do with it (Sen, 1985).

Capability is possibility to choose what leads to achieving wellbeing (Sen, 2005). An individual chooses from varied functionings (Sen, 2005). For Sen (2005), functionings relate to varied things that an individual values 'doing' or 'being.' For instance, eating an adequate diet, getting married, getting educated (Sen, 2005). Freedom to choose is of a paramount importance (Sen, 2005). As Sen (2005) argues, for many countries, peoples' lives would be different if given opportunities to choose otherwise.

For Sen (1985) what matters is not what people possess or feelings that those provide. What matters is rather who the person is or can be, and what he or she does or can do. The human well-being is, hence, not founded on commodities but on the use of those commodities; functionings.

2.5.3 Application of Theories to The Study

Both theories are citizen-based and citizen-oriented. To begin with, the public interest theory considers one's development not as one man's battle but as a social event encompassing the larger community. One's development does not take place in a vacuum, but in community or a nation. Any society's ultimate goal is to achieving common interests, and this suggests that each individual cooperates and is engaged as well so that each would achieve and benefit from such interests. The public interest is the interest of society but also of its members; the goal of society does neither differ nor oppose the goals of its members (Argondona, 1998). The study

investigated how the expropriated citizens for commercialized agriculture are engaged and involved in processes preceding expropriating their farms. The study analyzed as well points of overlap between private ownership of land and land expropriation for public interests.

The public interest theory was relevant to the study because the study intended to analyze the household development benefits of land expropriation for commercial agriculture in the study area of Kibeho and Munini. The public interest theory clarified that human person's value precedes the society's value. The society, community or even country at large, would not exist without human beings. Hence, no one's value would be compromised in the name of the community. Hence, through different phases of land expropriation, the study analyzed whether expropriation equips expropriated citizens with ability to carry on their lives after expropriating their land for public interests; whether expropriated citizens' interests are not compromised by the interests of the country in general.

The Capability Approach theory, on the other hand, informed the study on what expropriated citizens gain from fair compensation. Compensation is to help the affected citizens to carry on disrupted livelihood. For Sen (1985) capabilities deal with what citizens can do with what they have and not pleasure they provide. Compensation is not always enough restitution to disrupted livelihood as not all needs are measurable or on market (Ayoub, 2006). Despite compensation money, the high cost and scarcity of land in Rwanda limits citizens' capabilities. The study delved into levels of socioeconomic development of the expropriated households and inquired whether compensation was at least a foothold to the development ladder; whether compensation helped in achieving certain capabilities.

However, considering that there is an insatiable hunger when it comes to material possessions, the theory helped the study to set standards. For instance, as the Economist (2006) published, in many capitalistic countries, Rwanda included, capitalism turns luxuries into necessities; what used to be for elites can be enjoyed by masses. However, once people get such luxuries, they take for granted what they once coveted for. When an individual arrives at a certain standard, starts thinking of another level. In this case, for the study, no compensation amount can suffice. The study in analyzing socioeconomic development levels did not compare how expropriated citizens live with other citizens, but inquired whether they have necessities for upkeep. For Sen (1985) what matters is not what people possess or feelings that those provide. What matters is

rather who the person is or can be, and what he or she does or can do. Hence, the study was not on how much a family was compensated with, but on what it managed to accomplish or to acquire with that amount (Sen, 1985).

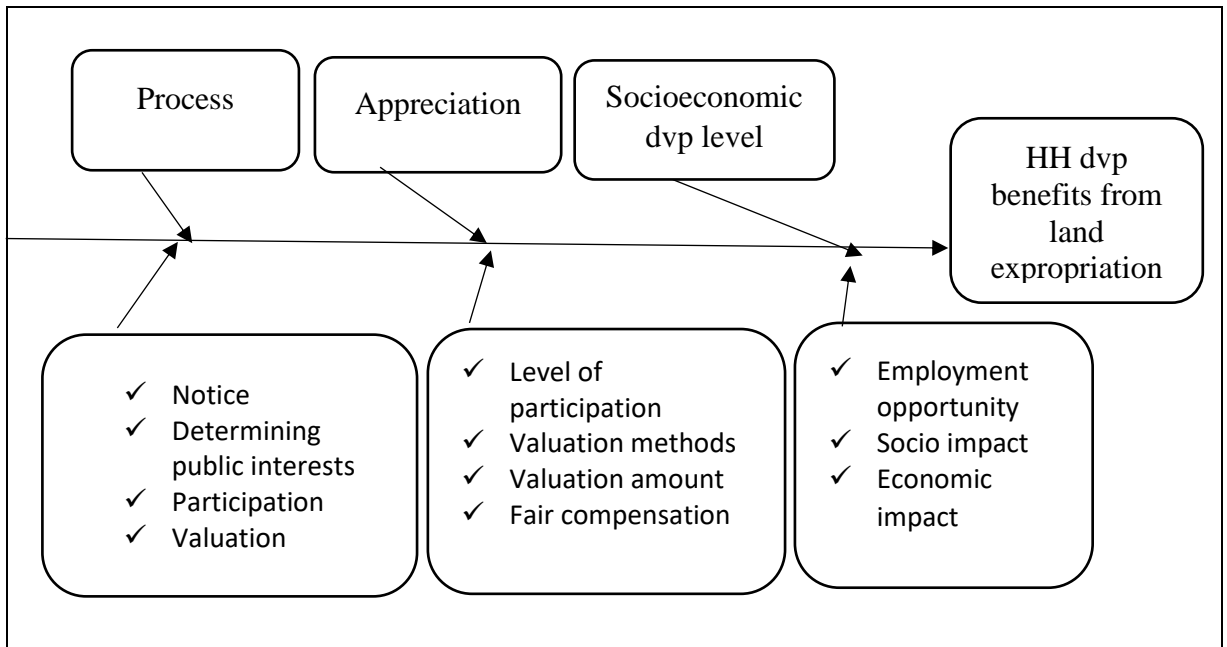
As Sen (1985) also stresses, a life worthwhile is measured through what one can accomplish with what is in his or her command. By analyzing household level of socioeconomic development, the study looked at education and healthcare affordability and stressed how they are worthy of pursuit. However, as the Economist (2006) reasserted, in capitalistic countries, there are certain goods appreciated only when they are limited in number. An individual can only enjoy possessing such goods only when others do not possess them. For instance, a school ceases to be a quality school when it is afforded by everyone. Public health insurance loses value once provided for everyone (Economist, 2006). The study, however focused on availability and affordability of education and health insurance and excluded caprices.

2.6 Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework is a description of relationships between variables in a given study. This is achieved through the researcher's use of graphics or diagrams (Orodho, 2009). To understand the household development benefits of land expropriation for commercial agriculture in Kibeho and Munini sectors various but intertwined variables were used. The relationships between variables in our study is presented in the figure below.

Household benefits from land expropriation is influenced by expropriation processes and how such processes are carried out. For this study, expropriation processes include notifying citizens subject to expropriation, sensitizing citizens on how a project is in public interests, involving citizens, and valuation of land and properties incorporated on land. Under appreciation, the study analysed how such processes were carried out in the study area. The interplay of processes and citizens' satisfaction of such processes benefit socioeconomic development of expropriated citizens. Under socioeconomic, the study analysed citizens' source of income, accessibility and affordability of socio and economic services after the expropriation.

Conceptual framework: Source: Researcher



2.7. Summary of Literature Review and Knowledge Gap

This chapter reviewed literature related to household benefit from land expropriation. The chapter presented legal processes and step by step procedures that guide expropriation. Such steps were summarized into citizens' involvement, valuation of land and property incorporated and compensation. The second part of literature dealt with how such processes have been applied in expropriation cases all over the world and how they have contributed in elevating or deflating livelihood of expropriated citizens. The third part of the literature review established a rapport between socioeconomic development of expropriated citizens and public interests served by expropriated land.

A number of studies have been done and reports were made on contribution of land expropriation to countries' development. However, many of researches carried have rested on impressive statistical numbers which present how expropriated citizens along with other citizens benefit from projects which require expropriation. However, very few of those have analysed expropriation processes or investigated how citizens are satisfied with such processes.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes how the research was conducted, designs used, study area, study population, sample of the study, sampling techniques, process of data collection and how data was analyzed and reported.

3.2 Study Design

The study used cross-sectional and descriptive designs. Cross-sectional design helped the researcher to look at a population in their current state, at a specific point in time. Given that such design could not help in analysing the household level of socioeconomic development, the research used as well descriptive design to make up for that gap.

As the research approach, the study used phenomenology and descriptive approach. Phenomenology is used while exploring lived experience of informants (Creswell, 2005). Phenomenology was suitable for the research as it aimed to bring through the voice of the expropriated citizens, which is not measured through numbers. Hence, it was appropriate for exploring process of expropriation and to analyze citizens' appreciations of such process.

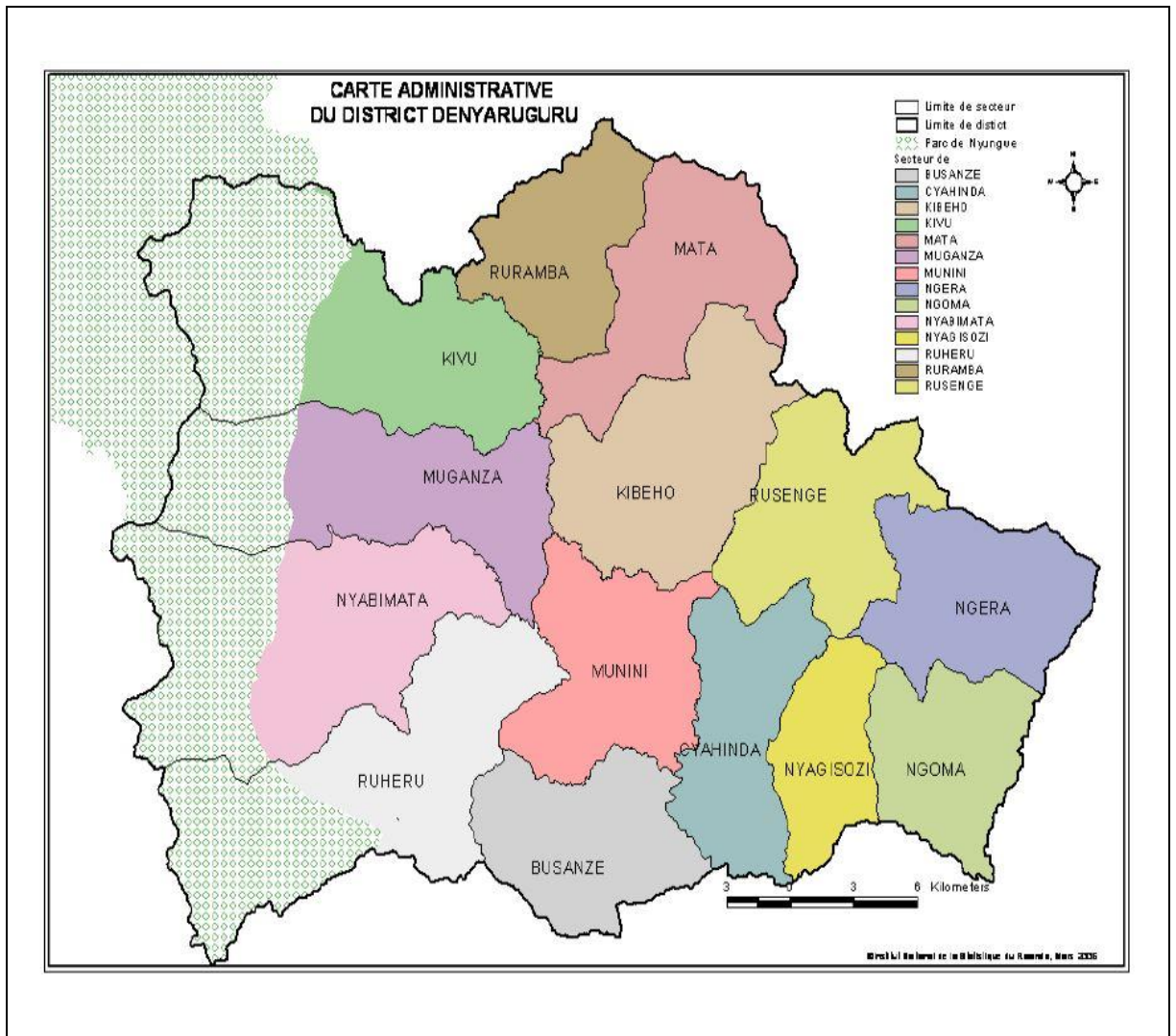
Given that the study had to analyse the household level in socioeconomic development as effects of expropriation, it used descriptive approach. For quantitative data, the research made use of tables and numerical symbols.

3.3 Study area and study population

The study was conducted in sectors of Kibeho and Munini of Nyaruguru district, southern province. The research used both sectors because they encompass many families which were expropriated almost at the same time and for the same project; tea plantation. Again, the fact that Nyaruguru district is among the districts with a high percentage of extreme-poor and poor population (NISR, 2015) offer a fertile ground to understand how expropriated households benefited from expropriation for commercial agriculture. In Munini sector expropriation took place in cells of Giheta, Ngera, and Nyarure. In Kibeho it was in Gakoma cell. From the 4th

EICV, as of 2012, Kibeho sector had 21,456 citizens while Munini had 15,994 citizens (NISR, 2015).

The targeted study population were the 234 expropriated households from Kibeho and Munini sectors compensated with houses. In addition, there were other expropriated citizens compensated with money who built in proximity; near the modern village in which households compensated with cash were relocated.



Map 3:1 Administrative map of Nyaruguru district, source: (Nyaruguru District, 2020).

3.4 Sample of the study

The sample of the study was the 234 households expropriated in both sectors of Kibeho and Munini and other citizens who live in proximity. The study used non-probability sampling

technique to sample participants.

To select informant, the study used snowball sampling technique; one informant referred the researcher to the other informant with the same traits. The study used this technique because households compensated with houses were relocated to a village inhabited by other citizens who were not expropriated by the tea plantation project. Thus, from one informant, the researcher was referred by the informant to another and so on using the same inclusion criteria.

The same technique was used as well to know those who were expropriated and have built in proximity. The same inclusion criteria, to have been expropriated by the tea plantation project, was used in selecting the informants. The research was concluded after saturation of data, and it was after surveying and interviewing 43 households.

3.5 Process of data collection

For the objective one which was to explore the process of land expropriation for commercial use in the study area, the study reviewed documents such as the Rwandan law on expropriation in public interests, land and properties reference prices. To collect data, the study was guided by Document Analysis Guide which clarified what documents to be analyzed and what data to be analyzed in such documents.

For the second objective which was to investigate the household's appreciations of the expropriation process, to collect data, the study used interview and Focus Group Discussion. With interview, face to face interview with one of the household's heads who was available as interviews were conducted during working hours. Interviews took place in the house of each of the informant. Conducting interviews in household created a rapport between the researcher and the interviewee and helped informants to share freely the level of satisfaction of expropriation processes. The interview was conducted using pre-determined guide which gave informants perspectives about ideas and experiences. Even if each household is supposed to have its own experience, the last interviews did not bring out new ideas. The termination of the fieldwork was driven by time limitation and saturation of data.

Under focus group discussion representatives from varied expropriated households were given topics to discuss and the diversity of experience and appreciations helped the researcher to gain an understanding on how expropriated households at large appreciated expropriation. two FGD

were carried, one in Munini sector and another in Kibeho sector. Each FGD was made of 6 to 8 informants.

For the third objective, to analyze the household level of socioeconomic development effects, the study used survey to collect data. Under survey, a questionnaire was used. Questionnaire consisted of questions regarding demographic information such as age, gender of the household head as well as the number of household members. There were also questions which sought information on the income levels, housing, education and other economic activities in relation to socioeconomic development of members of the households. There are also questions on how they are regarded or considered by other citizens who were not expropriated. As many of the informants have not attended school, questionnaires were not handed in to informants but were filled in by the researcher. Given the number of questions, each questionnaire took between 20 and 25 minutes to complete.

3.6 Data Analysis and Reporting

Qualitative data employed for objective one and objective two were classified into themes and were subject to thematic analysis. Information from the recorded interviews were transcribed and grouped into different themes. Qualitative data were as well presented in narratives form; for elucidation, direct quotations reflecting views of respondents were included where necessary.

Quantitative data collected under the third objective, were analysed through mathematical procedures. The results of the study were presented in tables, graphs, and figures. Quantitative data were analysed using SPSS software.

3.7 Ethical considerations

Having visited the study area on 20th November 2020, the researcher was aware that there are many people who visit the expropriated households for varied reasons, and that citizens have lost interests in sharing their experiences because they are referred to as expropriated citizens and not on individual level. Throughout data collection the researcher approached informants on an individual level and not as a group with the same experience, expropriation. To avoid misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the purpose of the research, the researcher introduced

himself and clarified the purpose of the research and assured confidentiality of information.

A research authorization was sought from Nyaruguru district prior to the research and research was conducted after receiving a confirmation letter. The principle of anonymity was applied through the use of generic terms such that none is able to associate some information with a given respondent. The data, whether disclosing negative or positive information, was analyzed as such. It is also a responsibility of the research to avoid plagiarism. Thus, sources of information for this research were acknowledged following the American Psychological Association (APA).

3.8 Summary of the Chapter

The third chapter was on research methodology. It detailed out the methodology that the research applied; it highlighted the chosen research designs and were justified. It listed and explained tools which were used during data collection notably, document analysis, questionnaires, and interviews guide. The third chapter looked as well on the population and sample size of the study and ended with ethical considerations to which the research abode.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses findings on the understanding of the household development benefits of land expropriation for commercial agriculture in Kibeho and Munini sectors in Nyaruguru district, Southern province, Rwanda. Since the findings constitute the responses to the research questions, this chapter is modeled to the research questions as outlined in chapter one.

4.1.1 Demographic characteristics of the respondents

The table below presents the demographic information of all our informants. Forty-three (43) citizens from Kibeho and Munini sectors. Among our informants there are citizens who were compensated with houses and others who were compensated with money.

Table 4:1 Demographic information

Value Label		Frequency	Percent
Gender	Male	24	55.8
	Female	19	44.2
	Total	43	100.0
Age group for HH head	36-45	26	60.5
	46-60	13	30.2
	Above 60	13	9.3
	Total	43	100.0
Marital status	Married	39	90.7
	Divorced/separated	0	0
	Widow/er	4	4.3
	Total	43	100.0
Economic activity of HH head	Farmer	41	95.3
	Own account worker	0	0
	Employed	2	4.7
	Total	43	100.0

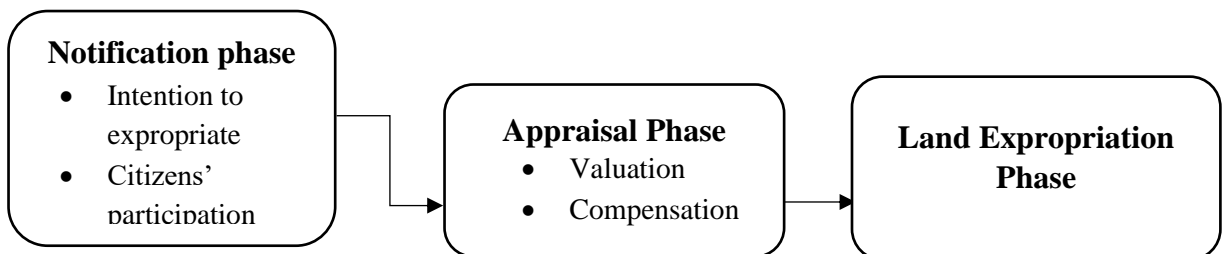
Members of the HH	2-4	12	27.9
	5-7	22	51.2
	8-11	9	20.9
	Total	43	100.0
Average HH income from farming	10.000-25.000	28	65.1
	26.000-35.000	1	2.3
	Above 35.000	14	32.6
	Total	43	100.0

Table 4:2 Themes and subthemes

Theme	Sub themes
The process of land expropriation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Notification phase ✓ Appraisal phase ✓ Land expropriation phase
Appreciation of the expropriation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Exposure to vulnerability ✓ Satisfaction with the compensation ✓ Right to choose between in kind and monetary compensation
Socioeconomic development level of the expropriated families	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Financial activities of the expropriated families ✓ Affordability of socio and economic services

4.2 The process of land expropriation in Munini and Kibeho

A lawful expropriation follows certain stages. It is against these procedures that we are presenting data collected in both sectors of Munini and Kibeho.



Source: Mostert (2016)

4.2.1 Notification Phase

Notification phase entails explaining to citizens subject to the expropriation how the project in question will serve interests of the country and to involve them in the processes preceding expropriation. To explore how that phase was carried in Munini and Kibeho sectors, the researcher asked citizens whether expropriators and local authorities informed them the intention behind expropriation and whether they held meetings with the expropriators prior to the expropriation. A 45 years male household head who is a village chief in one of the villages of Gorwe cell said,

'NAEB told us that there was an investor who was to plant tea in our farms. We were asked to expropriate. They added that it was beneficial to us to go to live in conglomeration (Umudugudu) with others as our farms were in high-risk zone.'

Answering the question on the citizens' participation in the expropriation, the same respondent said, *'Yes we had meetings with NAEB and they told us how much they were going to give us for our land and for our banana plantation.'*

Another respondent, a woman of 38 years from Ngeri cell answering the question on whether they were informed about the intention of expropriation answered, *'we were told that our land is going to be used for tea plantation and that we have to move and go to live somewhere else. So, after seeing others leaving, we also left; we had no choice to remain alone while others had moved to the conglomeration.'*

Many of the expropriated citizens relate the tea project to NAEB and look at it from a distance. One of the informants, a household head of 43 years old said *'NAEB told us that our farms were going to be used for tea plantation and that they were going to find us somewhere else to live.'* Answering the question about meetings conveyed before the expropriation, he added, *'When we met, they told us that they were going to give us houses and to pay for our land.'*

Some other citizens think that the government drew them in the expropriation and they had to comply. One household head from Ngeri cell commented,

'How could my family refuse to expropriate after seeing others leaving? When we heard that the money was on our bank accounts, we started expropriating our farms. We did not want land expropriation but we were told that it was not our decision to make. We were told that whether we like it or not, the project was to take place.'

4.2.2 Appraisal Phase

To know whether citizens' land, assets and crops were valued and compensated adequately, the researcher asked citizens whether expropriators followed stipulated laws guiding valuation and compensation. Citizens were asked as well whether they participated in valuation process. One respondent said *'valuation or expropriation were just to exchange our land with houses and little money that NAEB gave us. That is how I viewed it.'* (Head of household 47years, Ngeri cell).

On the question related to the involvement of citizens in the valuation, one informant said *'NAEB told us that our land is of little value as we are in rural and remote area; it cannot be valued as land from Butare; so, we had to accept what they were offering.'* (Household head, 56 years, Nyarure cell).

Another respondent stated,

'We did not participate. We only saw people coming and started measuring our land with steps. We thought they were people in charge of land management. But we were told later that they were measuring land of those to be expropriated.' (a 44 years old lady, Ngeri cell).

However, some respondents expressed satisfaction in how both valuation and expropriation were carried out.

While valuing, they looked at our properties and gave us Rwf 130 per square meter and counted how many eucalyptus trees were in our forests and gave us Rwf 2500 for a bunch (a 45 years Household head, Gorwe cell).

4.2.3 Land expropriation Phase

After stages preceding expropriation were completed, citizens left their farms and many families went to live in houses they were compensated with in a village located in Ngeri cell, Munini sector and citizens from Kibeho went to live in Gorwe cell, Mata sector in Nyaruguru district.

The data from the informants, revealed that each house was given at a subsidized cost of 8 million Rwandan Francs.

To get a wider view of the process of expropriation in Nyaruguru district, data of the citizens who chose to build their own houses and stay in proximity of those who received houses were collected. Below are images of houses inhabited by families from the expropriated land and houses built by citizens who were as well expropriated.



Figure 4:1 Houses for the expropriated families from Munini sector



Figure 4:2 Houses for the expropriated families from Kibeho sector

The above pictures are houses inhabited by the families expropriated from Munini and Kibeho sectors for the tea plantation project. As demonstrated, houses from both sectors are surrounded by laterite roads which make the area accessible. All houses have electricity and in addition they have solar power system installed in each house. All houses have rain water harvesting system and water tanks among other infrastructures. Each house has its own kitchen with its storeroom; bathroom and toilet blocks. There are kitchen gardens in front of each house which citizens use to grow vegetables.

Given the hilly nature of Nyaruguru district, a number of houses are accessible through staircases and are protected from sliding with retaining walls. All the above houses have two houses per each block.



Figure 4:3 A sample house of one of the expropriated families compensated in cash/Munini
Source: Photo by the researcher: May 13, 2021



Figure 4:4 A sample house of one of the expropriated families compensated in cash/ Kibeho
Source: Photo by the researcher: May 13, 2021

The observable differences from both categories of homesteads are the size of houses and building materials. Many visited houses that citizens built on their own have big lands compared to houses provided for the rest of expropriated citizens. Such plots of land are used mainly for banana plantation and other crops such as beans and sweet potatoes. The households that informants built on their own are as well accessible as they are on main roads.

4.3 The households' appreciation of the expropriation process

To understand how the expropriated citizens appreciate the expropriation process we inquired whether the expropriated citizens associate their vulnerability with the expropriation. We inquired to what extent citizens were satisfied with the compensation amount and whether they were compensated on time. Finally, we asked citizens whether they were provided with alternative between compensation with money and with houses.

4.3.1 The exposure to vulnerability

Any project in public interests should benefit the public. In asking Kibeho and Munini citizens, whether they were affected by expropriating their farms, one informant answered,

'With my forest I used to clothe my children; our coffee trees were providing money for our upkeep; our avocado trees were our food. Now everything is gone. I only rely on a farm which is not even my own' (Household head, Ngeri cell)

Lack of citizens' participation in the process of expropriation increases the level of vulnerability. Meetings that precede expropriation are meant to discuss anticipated side effects of expropriation and to sensitize citizens to take measures to curb such negative effects. However, while inquiring on how the expropriated families spent the compensation money, one informant asserted,

'When we received the compensation money, we thought it was not going to finish. My husband with his other friends stopped drinking local made bear. He was always drinking bottled bear until the money finished; and now we are struggling to make ends meet.' (a married woman of 43 years, Ngeri cell).

Responding the same question another respondent answered, *'when we were given money, we all started to look for land to buy from citizens who were not affected by expropriation. But when they realized that we were looking for land to buy, they increased prices and we could not*

afford land. (47 years old respondent from Ngeri cell).

Another respondent reacting to the question on whether difficulties the expropriated families are facing are related to the expropriation, stated,

'Things are different from home, living conditions and way of life make you contemplate going back to farmland but it is not possible; our farmlands now belong to Unilever and their security guards cannot let us even approach them.' (Household head, Gorwe cell).

However, some other citizens are contented to have been expropriated. Asking citizens whether they were affected in any way by the expropriation, one old lady of 72 years from Ngeri cell who is living with her grandchild asserted,

'I enjoy being here than at my former house. Here I am no longer sleeping in darkness, I am no longer worried about getting water. When it starts raining, I am no longer worried about leaking roof, I am happy and I sleep well. I will die peacefully in a beautiful home.'

Some of the expropriated families assert to have taken their children out of schools as wages of parents only could not sustain the upkeep of families. In the interview with one family, the informant said, *'how can my child spend time to school while there is need for money? She goes to work in tea plantation and her wage helps us to afford food and other necessities.'* (Household head of 54 years, Ngeri cell).

During the interview, the researcher inquired whether by the fact that the tea plantation project employed the expropriated citizens did not help to restraint any shock or vulnerability faced by the citizens after the expropriation; some informants from Munini sector asserted that the tea plantation pays on monthly basis while they prefer to be remunerated on the same day. *'How can we work on monthly basis? Monthly salaries are for those who have been to school or have other ways of getting money. What will we be feeding our children with before the month ends?'* (Household head, Ngeri cell).

4.3.2 Satisfaction with the compensation

To know how the expropriated citizens appreciate the compensation they received, we asked citizens whether compensation was just and equivalent to properties they had. One informant answered,

'We had big plots of land; we used to grow beans, potatoes, sorghum and sweet potatoes. Now apart from this garden you are seeing here we have nothing else left. We only survive on few crops that we have planted on land which is not even our own. NAEB took our farmlands and gave us these houses, but we can barely get something to eat.' (Household head, Gorwe cell).

On the question regarding whether compensation was given on time, citizens expressed varied views. One informant said, *'when they had finished valuation process, no many days passed until the money was deposited on SACCO. What informed us was that our names were posted on the notice board at the sector and SACCO; so many of us started withdrawing it.'* (Household head, Ngeri cell).

There are other citizens especially those who were compensated with houses who said that they were not compensated on time and that the compensation money they had received ended up in paying house rent. One male informant of 52 years from Gorwe said, *'when they expropriated us, we were told to wait until our house was ready for occupation. The remaining money I had received ended on house rent before the houses were completed.'*

Another informant responding the same question asserted, *'when we expropriated, we were not provided with anything for our upkeep while waiting for our houses. I then had to look for house that I was paying Rwf 600 per month. Apart from that I was also buying food as we had not yet harvested our crops by the time we expropriated.'* (Household head, Ngeri cell).

However, there are other citizens who said that when they were expropriated in the houses that NAEB had built, were fed at least for two months,

'When we came in this house, it had all kitchen utensils. They also gave us food for two months though they had promised six months. Each family was given after every two weeks one kilogram of maize flour and one kilogram of beans depending on the number of members of household.' (A married woman from Gorwe cell).

There are families who told the researcher that they did not receive all the compensation money. *'NAEB promised us 5% of the compensation money as disturbance allowance, but up to now we are still waiting for that money.'* (Household head, Nyarure cell)

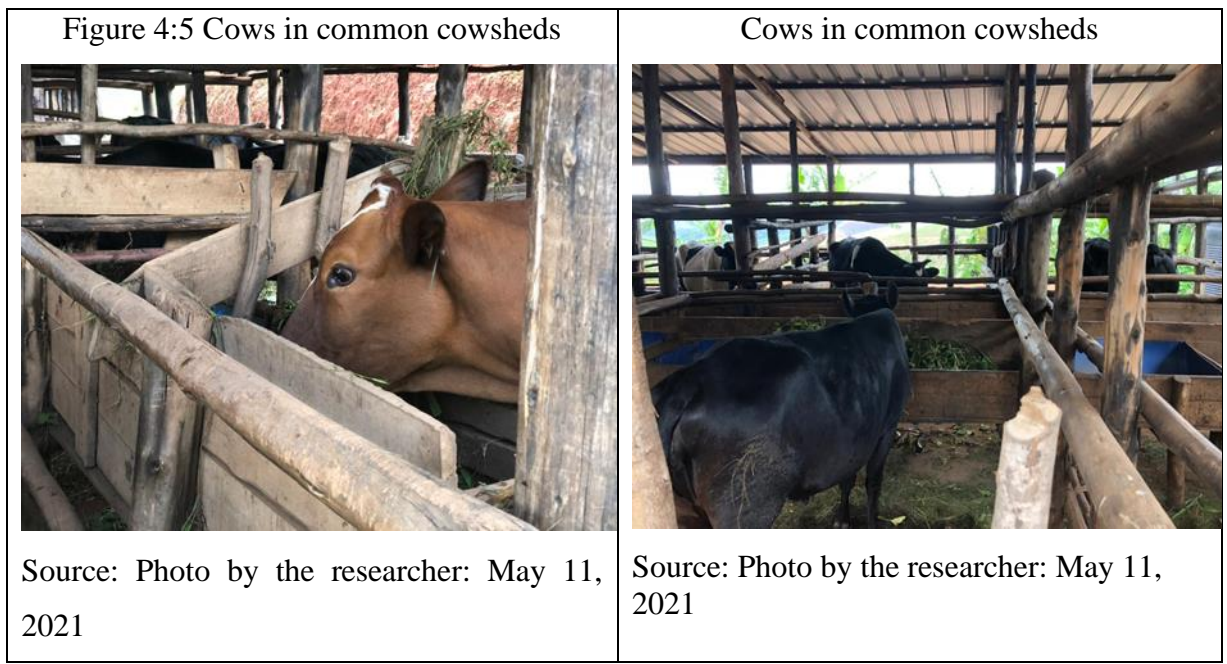
4.3.3 Right to choose between in kind and monetary compensation

To investigate citizens' appreciation of compensation, we asked whether they chose between monetary compensation and compensation with houses. One informant told the researcher, *'NAEB gave us option to choose what type of compensation we wanted. But as my properties were underrated, and that I could not afford house I opted for house.'* (Household head Ngeri cell).

Another informant compensated with cash said, *'we were asked to choose between houses or being given money and build on our own, but as I had family land in Nyarure cell, I opted for money and I built my house and bought farmland.'* (Household head, Nyarure cell).

Other families compensated with houses agree to have chosen houses. They are happy with the quality of houses but say that they are hungry as almost all their properties were exchanged into houses. More than three informants told the researcher, *'Inzu ni icyo uyiriyemo'*, roughly translated as a house has value when the owner does not sleep on empty stomach (Household heads, Gorwe and Ngeri cells).

The expropriated families compensated with houses were provided as well with cows, they have milk and manure for farms. Citizens expressed contentment with cows provided. *'The only thing we got from the expropriation is this house which is far better than the house we had and the cow we were given. When it gives birth, we get milk and can sell calf and get more money.'* (Household mother, Gorwe cell).



These are some of the cows that the expropriated families were given. Citizens were provided with common cowsheds which are located in a big parcel that they use to grow grazing grass. Even if they are in common cowsheds, the researcher found out that each citizen knows his or her cow and takes care of it.

4.4 Socioeconomic development of the expropriated households

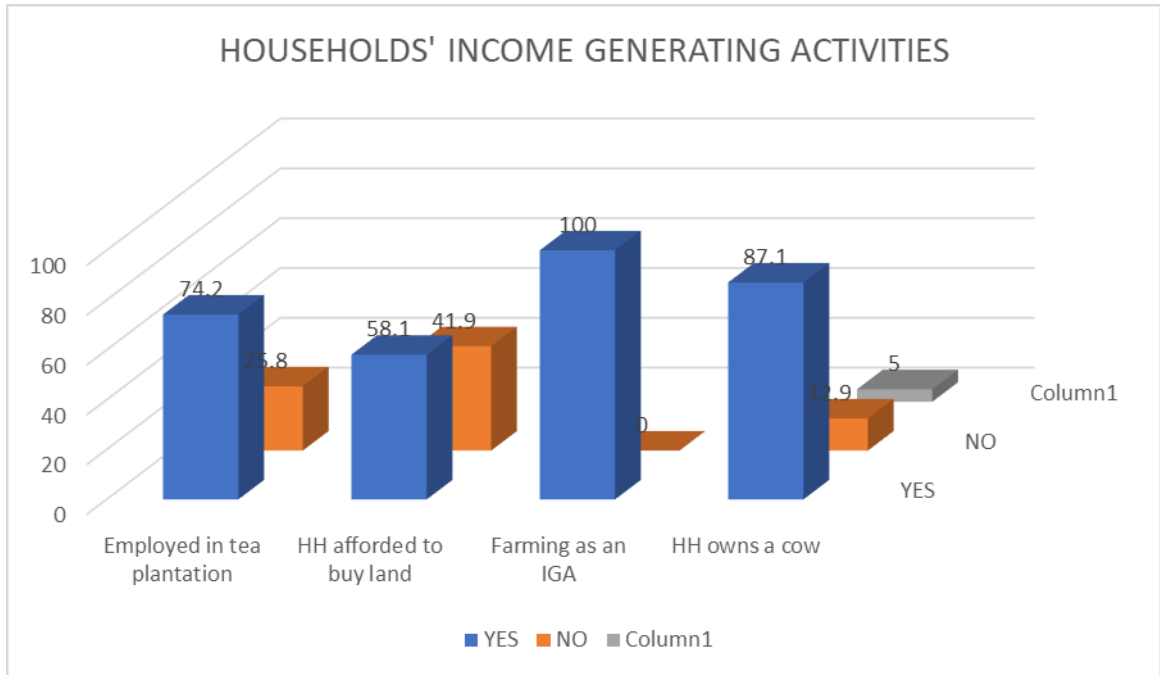
Under the socioeconomic development level of the expropriated citizens, we analyze two subthemes; financial activities of the expropriated families and how such activities help them to afford certain social and economic services.

4.4.1 Financial activities of the expropriated families

During data collection, it was discovered that there are four ways through which the expropriated families earn money. First, the expropriated families are employed in tea plantation and are paid Rwf 1400 per day. Second way, some other citizens cultivate plots of land that Unilever has lent them. Third, another part of citizens earns money through cultivating for others on work-cash basis and they earn Rwf 800 per day. The fourth way of getting money relevant only to citizens compensated with houses is through cows that NAEB offered to them. The Figure below presents the distribution of household heads in different income generating activities. It is important to note that citizens who are engaged in other small businesses like

those who have tuck shops in neighborhood rely on agriculture as the main source of income.

Table 4:3 Income generating activities of households



To understand to what degree the expropriation shaped income generating activities of the surveyed expropriated families, the researcher inquired whether the compensation money served as the capital for new business and on how the compensation money was spent.

Table 4:4 Compensation money as a capital for business/ not enough capital

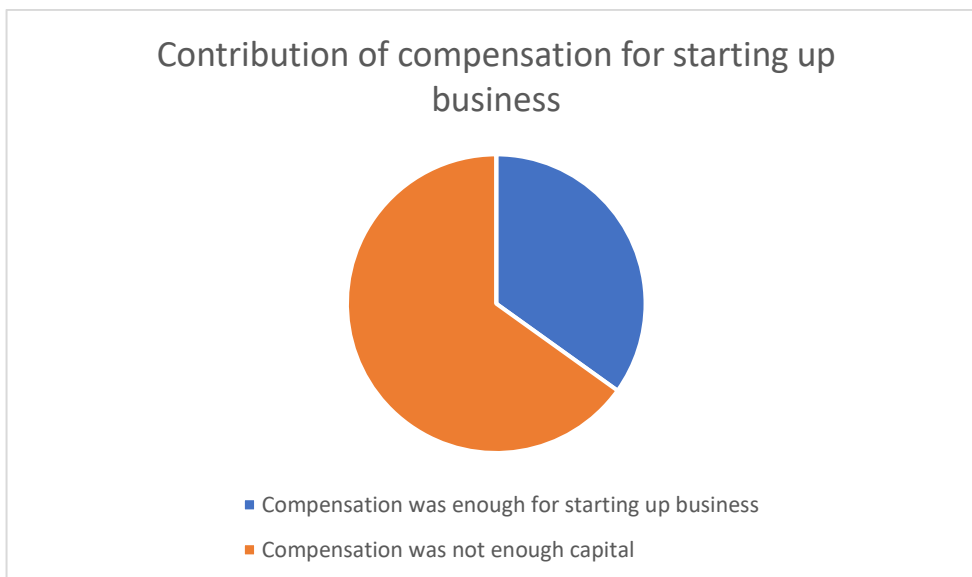
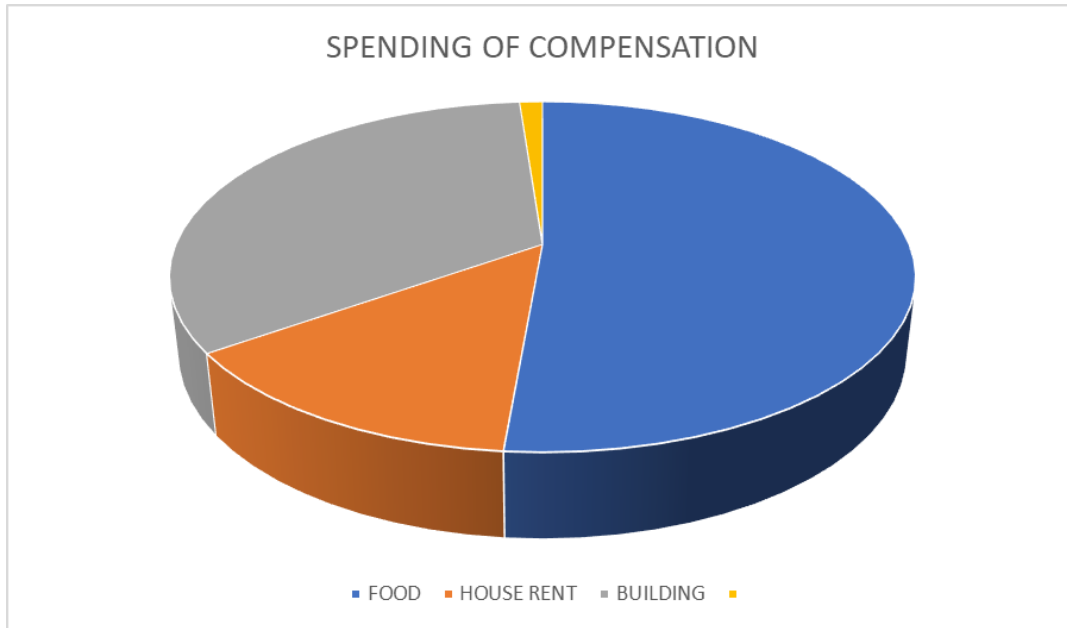


Table 4:5 Spending of compensation money

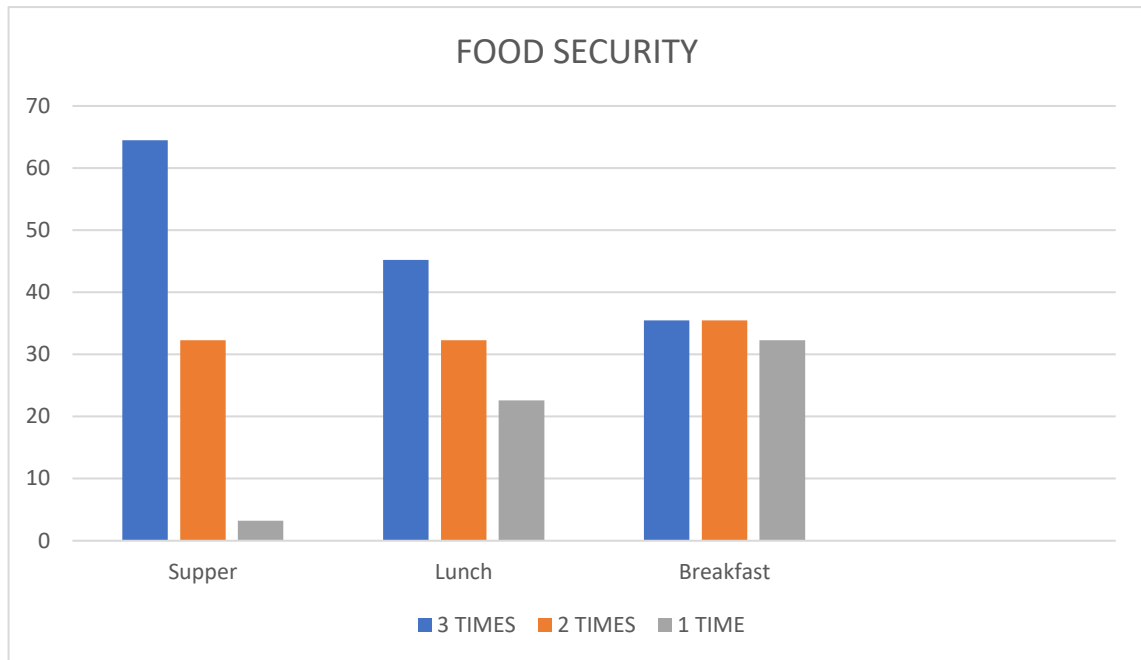


4.4.2 Affordability of social and economic services

All the households surveyed afford education and health insurance for their household members. For the 12.9% of those citizens, health insurance is covered by the government as they are indigents who belong in category D of Ubudehe program. One common source of revenue for the rest of households 87.1% is the tea plantation. When there is a reason to raise a certain amount of money, either for health insurance or school fees for children in high school, one or more members of the households go to work in tea plantation until the amount needed is raised.

The surveyed households asserted that they manage to eat fairly well. In surveyed households 22.6% had taken breakfast once in the past three days but had afforded at least lunch and supper. Households who had afforded lunch three times in three days were 45.2%. Among the surveyed households, 64.5% had afforded supper every day in three days. All things being equal, these numbers according to 67.7% of citizens are for the whole year while for 32.3% depend on the agricultural season.

Table 4:6 Food security



On the lever of concern over food security, 35.5% are a little concerned; 54.8% are not too concerned and only 9.7% of citizens are not concerned at all. 72.1% of the citizens get enough food while 27.9% eat what is adequate. Through the data collected, many families who do not eat enough and are concerned with food security are families without land who rely on small kitchen garden or land lent by Unilever. The surveyed families which did not afford land are 46.5%.

Given the little yields from the farms, there are expropriated families which consume all the harvests. The households which save a certain amount of money from the harvest are 35.5% while for 64.5% the harvest is just enough for the household consumption. Households do not have enough to save in banks they resort to tontine. 100% of households surveyed save little of their earning in tontine.

The survey had also some self-reported questions. The expropriated citizens were asked whether they are better off compared to how they were prior to the expropriation. 51.2% said that their socioeconomic development was disrupted. 48.8% said they were impoverished by the expropriation. Even if these are self-reported answers, they show some implications that expropriation had on citizens' socioeconomic development. Many have responded to this

question referring to the value of properties they had before the expropriation.

4.5 DISCUSSIONS OF FINDINGS

4.5.1 The Process of expropriation

4.5.1.1 Demographic information

The highest age observed among the respondents is 72 years, and no respondent was below 35 years old. Maturity of the respondents renders data collected plausible. The study reflected particular issues related to gender as among respondents 44.2 % were females while males were 55.2%. Among respondents only 4.7% managed to attend and finish high school. This has repercussion on economic activities respondents are engaged in.

4.5.1.2 Notification phase

Munini and Kibeho citizens were informed of the decision of expropriation and were told the benefits of the tea plantation projects to their livelihood. The majority of expropriated citizens agreed to have been provided with information on the project through meetings organized by NAEB and the district. The meetings were a platform to elucidate the benefits of the tea plantation project like employment opportunity. Based on the expropriation law in Article 2 and 9, NAEB and the district have power to order and to carry out expropriation on the ground of one being a state organ and another being a government entity (Official Gazette, 2007).

But the expropriated citizens who agreed to have participated and been involved in the expropriation process are 48.8%.’ The number is below the average. For the majority of citizens meetings held were about discussing laws guiding expropriation such as valuation and compensation, which demonstrates that the decision of expropriating citizens had been already taken. For Ocheje (2007) development in Africa remains what the government does to people, and not citizens’ participation to shape the decisions that affect their lives. Also, the former president of Botswana in 2002 reacting to the revolt of San citizens who had been expropriated from their land which in 2003 was handed over to diamond mining companies, noted, ‘We do for people what we think is good for them’ (Mohiddin, 2012). In addition, the European court on Human Rights stipulates that state power overrides private ownership of land when the state targets taxes and contributions from the investment (Harris, 1995).

Citizens agreed to have been advised all anticipated implications of expropriation and were given room to appeal for any decision considered unjust. Redressing conflicts and other

problems which rise from expropriation is provided for by Article 3 of the expropriation in public interest (Official Gazette, 2007).

4.5.1.3 Appraisal phase

Data collected in Kibeho and Munini sectors show that Munini land was valued and compensated at Rwf 125 per square meter while in Kibeho it was valued and compensated at Rwf 130 per square meter. The families compensated in kind were given houses ready for occupation as they had furniture and kitchen utensils. Each house was valued at a subsidized cost of 8 million Rwandan francs. While compensating citizens with houses, that amount of money was subtracted to the total amount of compensation and the remainder was deposited on each family's bank account in Umurenge SACCO. Compensation in kind is lawful. According to the Article 23 of the Expropriation law, compensation can be of alternative land or building with equal value as the land to be expropriated (Official Gazette, 2007).

Compensation with houses was not a particularity to Nyaruguru district. In 2007 and 2008, some of the expropriated families from Kiyovu sector were compensated with houses in Batsinda housing estate, Gasabo district (Wakhungu et al., 2010). Also, citizens expropriated from Nyarutarama, Gasabo district were compensated with houses in Busanza site, Kicukiro district (Ernest & Walter, 2019).

There is, however, a difference observed in compensation with houses between Nyaruguru case and Kiyovu case. Citizens from Munini and Kibeho compensated with houses, afforded to pay the costs of houses. However, as Wakhungu et al. (2010) note, among the 362 households expropriated from Kiyovu sector, only 120 households afforded to pay for houses they were compensated with. Each house in Batsinda was valued at USD 6,000 which was beyond means of many of the expropriated families (Wakhungu et al., 2010).

The Article 21 of the expropriation law provides for payment of land in addition to the improvements on the land (Official Gazette, 2007). The Article 22 states that valuation and compensation consider the size, nature and even location of land to be compensated (Official Gazette, 2007). Therefore, difference in prices of land of Kibeho and Munini is justified by the law. Also, data collection revealed that the amount of money that each of the expropriated citizens was compensated with is related to the size of land he or she had.

The Rwandan law guiding expropriation in the Article 24 says that compensation has to be paid in the period not exceeding 120 days counting from the time the compensation amount is fixed (Official Gazette, 2007). 74.2% of the households agree that they were compensated on time. 12.9% are households which were not compensated on time and have not been paid disturbance allowance of 5%. According to the Article 28 of the expropriation law, the 5% of disturbance allowance is paid for delay compensation; period exceeding 120 days (Official Gazette, 2007).

There are certain conflicts which arise when citizens are not involved in the expropriation processes. For instance, the other 12.9% citizens who were not satisfied with valuation and compensation are citizens who had land in Urugarama and Nyiramigani wetlands in Munin sector. They say that they were entitled to compensation as they have title deeds for such plots of lands. But according to the Article 18 of the expropriation law, the person occupying reserved land such as wetlands, and natural forests is not entitled to compensation (Official Gazette, 2007) . If the expropriated citizens are unaware of this clause that no one can own wetland as it is the government property affirms that they were not explained laws guiding expropriation.

4.5.2 Citizens' appreciation of the process of expropriation

4.5.2.1 Satisfaction with notification phase

The data from the field show that some informants (48.8%) from both sectors criticized the level on which they were involved and consulted. The meetings conveyed before the expropriation were merely informative and not consultive in nature. They say that the only agenda of meetings held was to discuss valuation and compensation problems. The meetings were not on how the tea plantation project is in public interests which is the only reason that allows the state or other expropriating entity to encroach upon private land ownership (Official Gazette, 2007).

Citizens' participation in the expropriation process is key to its success (UNCTAD, 2012). However, during data collection, it was discovered that there was no rapport between expropriating authorities and citizens to be expropriated. The informants referred to expropriators as NAEB and as the district interchangeably. For Ayoub (2006), using an example from Sudan states that inconsistency of who is responsible for expropriating citizens is rampant in many expropriation cases. The Rwandan land commission in charge of valuation and approving expropriation process was repealed by the 2013 Land law and its authority was passed over to district officials (Official Gazette, 2013).

Shortcoming in quality of meeting ahead of expropriation has as well been experienced during the expropriation of citizens in Ubumwe cell, Kiyovu as the meetings herd were to tell citizens 'who' will get 'what' (Mugisha, 2015). The difference between Nyaruguru experience differs from the experience of Ubumwe as citizens subject to the expropriation in Ubumwe cell mandated some of the citizens to negotiate with Kigali city the best ways to expropriate (Mugisha, 2015).

Zambakari (2017) using an example from Soudan, demonstrates how lack of or improper involvement of citizens in the expropriation processes makes the expropriated citizens feel socially segregated from the rest of citizens; it creates a community of 'us' and 'them.' In the cases of expropriation surveyed in Mexico, Antonio (2007) notes that citizens derive optimum benefit from expropriation when they are engaged in the process. When they are engaged, they understand the benefit of expropriation and do not think they are dispossessed of their land.

It is important to note that neither the tea plantation projects nor any other commercialized agriculture projects are among the 22 types of projects that the Article 5 of the Rwandan expropriation law considers as projects in public interests (Official Gazette, 2007). However, the law stipulates that any other type of projects not among the 22 can be approved by a ministerial order provides it aims public interests (Official Gazette, 2007). Lack of a narrowed-down definition of what is in public interests is as well the case to other countries like Taiwan where it has led the government to sacrificing private owners of land, especially the poor, to accommodate private investors (Janice, 2017).

In particular, 12.9% of the expropriated households mainly from Munini sector were not satisfied with the process of compensation. These families used a portion of the compensation money while waiting to relocate to the houses they were compensated with. The money was spent on a number of expenditures including food items and house rent. According to the Article 24 of the expropriation law, the person to be expropriated having received compensation money has at least 90 days to have relocated (Official Gazette, 2007). Also, before a family relocates can still grow crops and harvest (Official Gazette, 2007). Citizens subject to the expropriation were entitled to that period of at least three months in their homes while waiting for the completion of houses they were compensated with.

4.5.2.2 Satisfaction with appraisal phase

In both sectors of Kibeho and Munini, 77.4% of the informants said that they accepted valuation and compensation money under duress. There was no agreed upon methods of valuation between valuers and citizens to be expropriated. The problems raised were mainly related to forests, banana plantations and other plants which grow in a bunch. Citizens think that such properties were undervalued because only plants ready for production were considered and not their springs. The expropriation law does not provide for this kind of valuation as the Article 18 refers to compensation of crops in general (Official Gazette, 2007). But based on the crops reference prices by the Institute, there are price rates for trees ready from nursery as there are prices for trees ready for production (IRPV, 2019). If there are reference prices for such crops, they are as well to be valued and compensated.

To value buildings, in Munini and Kibeho sectors, valuers considered sizes, how houses were built and materials they were built with. While collecting data, no household stated that age of house was considered. By not considering age of houses benefited the citizens as prices given to houses were relevant to market prices. Those who would envisage to build other houses would afford building materials. The preferred valuation method for buildings in many developing countries is the Replacement cost (OECD, 2004). The replacement cost approach is measured by subtracting the land value from the overall value of the house and land. This subtraction gives the price or value of the house (OECD, 2004). One of the reasons that this method of valuation attracts developing countries is lack of reference prices at market value as many of residential buildings do not attract private buyers especially houses in informal settlement (Goodfellow, 2014).

In addition to improvements incorporated on land, land itself is valued and compensated (Official Gazette, 2007). During the interview, the researcher found out that land from Munini was bought at Rwf 125 per m² and land in Kibeho sector was valued at Rwf 130 per m². All informants decried low prices of land saying that they are not related to the market prices of land as citizens who would want to buy land have to offer more than what they were paid. In many expropriation cases Chang (2012) notes, market price has little meaning as it does not reflect the willing seller price but rather the price of the willing buyer, the state. As Uwayezu & Walter (2019) observed in the expropriation of citizens from Rugarama and Kangondo II, valuers depreciated land in order to patronize expropriating agencies and at the same time

secure jobs. The Article 19 of the Rwandan law on expropriation states that citizens unsatisfied with compensation can appeal to court for that decision (Official Gazette, 2007). But considering the 4.7% of the education attainment of the informants, citizens were not able to negotiate their rights with expropriators. Citizens could not as well afford to hire independent valuers for counter-valuation as it is provided for under the same law in Article 26 (Official Gazette, 2007).

Considering other cases of expropriation both in urban and rural areas, citizens have reasons to complain. For instance, from twelve districts surveyed by Rwanda Civil Society Platform, the highest compensation price for one square meter was Rwf 20,000 in Nyarugenge district while the lowest price for one square meter was Rwf 125/130 in Nyaruguru district, in sectors of Munini and Kibeho (RCSP, 2017).

In addition to lower prices of land compensation, an incapacity to manage and invest compensation money on household level was observed. Majority of women in the households seemed not to be aware of how much their land was bought. Women gave approximate amount of compensation while their male counterparts, apart from those who seemed to have forgotten, knew the exact amount of money received as compensation. Also, as noted by majority of women encountered, compensation money was not wisely spent. For some women, husbands misused the compensation in socializing and drinking and families were impoverished.

4.5.3 Socioeconomic development of the expropriated households

4.5.3.1 Income generating activities

Unilever project set out to create 1000 jobs (MINAGRI, 2016), and from data collected, it has recorded success in that endeavor. But future prospects of the expropriated citizens were infringed as they had been relying on agriculture. 72% of Nyaruguru citizens are independent farmers (NISR, 2015). The main source of income for the majority of our informants (74.2%) is working in tea plantation. Citizens earn Rwf 1400 when they work from 8am to 2pm. Despite such big number, during data collection, it was discovered that the majority of citizens are reluctant to working in tea plantation despite the highest wage offered compared to Rwf 800 of wage farm. What stops citizens to work regularly in tea plantation is the problem of being remunerated on monthly basis while they live from hand to mouth. So, majority choose to work

in tea plantation at least once or twice a week when there is need to raise money and spend other time cultivating their own farms or for others who pay on daily basis.

There is, however, a slight difference on employment in tea plantation between the two sectors. Kibeho sector has the majority of citizens in tea plantation compared to Munini sector as in Kibeho those who work in tea plantation are paid after 15 days while Munini citizens have to wait for the whole month.

To decline job in plantation on the basis of monthly and not daily remuneration means that citizens of Kibeho and of Munini especially have just enough money to live on and nothing extra. This is also confirmed by the data collected on saving for the future. All the surveyed citizens apart from taking part in tontine have nothing else as savings. For Sen (2002) a family lives in absolute poverty once that family's income, total earning or expenditure cannot help that family to obtain minimum necessities for its maintenance. 74.2% are in absolute poverty. They use all their earnings to maintain physical efficiency.

4.5.3.2 Food security and affordability of social services

The president of the African Development Bank, Dr. Adesina, while calling for citizens-based economy stated, 'nobody eats GDP' (Outlook, 2011). He emphasized that high economies do not always level up socioeconomic development of citizens (Outlook, 2011). In both sectors of Munini and Kibeho the 9.7% of the surveyed households who are not concerned at all with food security are citizens who managed to buy big plots of land with the compensation money. They grow a variety of crops and do not face food security problems.

The majority of citizens cultivate farms of Unilever on which tea is yet to be planted. Without landholding and without a guarantee on how long they will be cultivating those farms, citizens fail to plan and to plant accordingly. They end up growing crops like maize for homestead consumption. Also, Unilever farms are in long distance from where citizens live and many are discouraged by the distance. Also, as those plots of land are far from the homesteads, many families are as well discouraged from farming as the security of crops is not guaranteed. For Sen (1981) lack of food is not caused by shortage of food but rather lack of command over food. One of the ways to have that command is through production, (Todaro & Smith, 2009). But level of production of majority of informants without land and without other source of income is not sustainable.

The tea plantation project in Nyaruguru despite its role in the country's pace to development, has led to an acceleration of land prices and a rising number of people without land; and these are mainly citizens who have throughout relied on agriculture for subsistence. The majority of the expropriated citizens apart from kitchen garden around houses do not have land. After subtracting the subsidized cost of houses to the total compensation amount, for many families, the remainder of compensation money could not afford to buy land elsewhere. Citizens presented at least two reasons which the researcher found reasonable. First, the prices at which citizens' land were valued and compensated were not related to the current market prices. Second, when there is high demand, even prices increase. Hence, when the expropriated citizens wanted to buy land at the same time, those who had land increased prices and those who had best offer afforded to buy land. Many of the expropriated families faced both these challenges as among the surveyed households only 35% were compensated with money.

Similarly, Rwanda is a predominantly agrarian economy, with agriculture contributing about 35% of GDP and employing more than 76.2% of the population from rural areas (NISR, 2017). This proves how valuable land is to farmers but also to the country in general. Considering the current trend of "commodification" of land whereby everyone sets prices to his or her land as he or she pleases, expropriation deflated livelihoods of the expropriated citizens who have throughout relied on agriculture. With the money they received as compensation, the majority could not afford cultivable land.

All the surveyed households afford and have access to social services like education and healthcare. 87.1% of the citizens raise health insurance money from the tea plantation wages. Apart from the 12.9% of citizens whose health insurance in Community Based Health Insurance (CBHI) is covered by the government, all other citizens manage to get health insurance (CBHI) money. There are two reasons identified which permit this affordability. One, insurance money is paid once in a year so citizens agreed that they have enough time to work in tea plantation until the required amount is earned. They pay Rwf 3000 times the number of household members. Secondly, citizens agreed that they prioritize health insurance money because of the advocacy of the local authorities.

Apart from few families surveyed whose children of school age work in tea plantation as a way to support financially their respective families, the majority of families afford to pay

contributions demanded by schools. Families do not only afford to pay but have primary and secondary schools in a walkable distance. Education is a foundation of human development (Green, 1995). By accessing and affording education, these families' children are potential competitors to job market and it gives glimpse of hope to families whose sole reliance had been agriculture.

Despite the hardships that the expropriated citizens face, the surveyed households compensated with houses unanimously agree that they made a wiser decision in choosing in kind compensation. The amount of compensation they had received could not have secured houses and other necessities for upkeep. They say that they struggle to make ends meet but are neither homeless nor living in informal settlements. The in-kind compensated citizens and citizens compensated with houses have necessary infrastructures such as water, electricity, roads among many others. Such are enablers to social and economic development (Peichl & Pestel, 2013).

The rest of citizens who opted for cash compensation are in two categories. There are citizens who had family land in other parts of the two sectors and opted for monetary compensation targeting to build houses and to invest the remainder in other small projects like tuck shops. The second category is of citizens who had means to add up to the compensation money to acquire houses elsewhere, and are mainly teachers. Both the in-kind compensation and those compensated with money have adequate shelter. There was no observable diversification in source of income between citizens compensated in-kind and citizens compensated with money. The main source of income remains agriculture.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the overall study. The first section gives the summary of the four chapters and the rest of the chapter gives the conclusions of the findings and lastly will give recommendations related to the findings.

5.2 Summary of the study

The study aimed to understand the household development benefits of land expropriation for commercial agriculture focusing on the study area of Kibeho and Munini sectors of Nyaruguru district. In the introductory chapter, after defining expropriation we have demonstrated that expropriating citizens as a way of getting land for investment has served many countries' pace to development. We have also, however, showed that expropriation has not only elevated countries' development but has as well deflated lives of the expropriated families especially families of farmers and cattle herders.

The second chapter reviewed literature related to the subject matter and highlighted the impact it has had on the globe with special focus to the study area. The Public Interest Theory and The Capability Approach Theory were used to guide the research. In the third chapter, the study presented the methodology applied to the research and its justification. The study findings presented in chapter four and discussed in chapter five were categorized in three objectives; namely, the process of land expropriation, the appreciation of the expropriation process and socioeconomic development level of the expropriated families.

The first objective analyzed legal procedures under which land expropriation can be ordered; namely, serving public interest, abiding to laws guiding expropriation, not to target a certain discriminated group and payment of just compensation. The study explained what public interest is and gave examples of types of projects which serve public interests. Examples of legal processes, cases of expropriation in many countries were as well presented.

The second objective dealt with how expropriated citizens appreciate expropriation processes. The study showed how expropriation has served many countries through job creation and how

job creation has diversified income generating activities and offered new skills to citizens. Even if land expropriation is ordered to serve public interests, land expropriation considers land as commodity to be bought by compensation but for citizens subject to expropriation, land has more than economic value. The study presented cases where land has spiritual, moral and ethnic values to citizens; and how such values are not easy to measure and to compensate. The study has as well presented the wide gap in projects governments consider as serving public interests. The study showed how political authorities hid behind that ambiguity and advance their own interests in the name of public interests.

The third objective analyzed the household socioeconomic development in relation to the expropriation. The study presented how the search for higher GDP through attracting investors leads to expropriation. But usually, citizens expropriated do not always afford land elsewhere especially when they were not compensated adequately. To attract investors, as the study has showed, compromises legal procedures as many countries favor investors at the expense of expropriated citizens.

5.3 Conclusions and recommendations

The first objective was on notification phase, appraisal phase and land expropriation phase. On notifying citizens subject to the expropriation, the analysis and interpretation of data collected showed that informants were asked to expropriate their farms. Given that the core role of notification is to tell citizens the importance of the project in serving public interests and to engage them to arrive at a certain consensus, the meetings held were not participatory but rather informative.

Findings on the appraisal phase showed that informants' land and properties incorporated were relatively valued and compensated. But considering complaints raised by informants, the study concludes that there were no agreed upon methods of valuation between expropriators and citizens to be expropriated. The fact that informants referred to the expropriators as NAEB, as the district officials or as the sector officials interchangeably, affirms as well that there was no interpersonal communication between expropriators and citizens subject to the expropriation. As the Public interest theory suggests, everyone in community has an active role and failure to acknowledge it places general interests over interests of the individual.

Land expropriation phase was carried out. Informants were given houses and others with the

compensation received, they build on their own and all have adequate shelter. This is a laudable move. Based on the informants' affirmation that meetings were held, and that properties were valued and compensated, the researcher concludes that the expropriation abode to some extent to legal procedures guiding the expropriation.

Therefore, from the above conclusions, the study recommends:

1. To consider establishing proper and diversified channels of communication of expropriation and to explain orally laws guiding expropriation. The Article 16 states that expropriation decision has to be announced on media (Official Gazette, 2007). But on ground such are not the best channels especially when dealing with rural area citizens who do not have access to radio and who cannot read and write.
2. To clarify expropriating entities ahead of expropriation process. As encountered in the study area, sometimes expropriators collaborate or mandate local authorities to conduct expropriation. However, when there are concerns which raise during the process and have to be addressed, citizens face the problem of knowing who to talk to.

The second objective investigated the household's appreciations of the expropriation process. All procedures guiding expropriation are intertwined; for instance, failure to involve citizens affect valuation and improper valuation affects compensation and improper compensation affects socioeconomic development of the expropriated citizens. Hence, the study concludes that lack of citizens' participation in expropriation process is associated with high level of vulnerability the expropriated citizens faced and continue to face.

Failure to advise citizens on the anticipated side effects has led many families not to prioritize buying cultivable land. Failure to engage citizens in valuation process has led citizens to mistrust both valuation and compensation processes and to attribute all their hardships to the government.

Considering the price at which land from other parts of the country both in rural and urban areas was paid, the study concludes that Rwf 125 and Rwf 130 per sqm was not a good price for land. This is as well evidenced by a small number of informants who managed to buy land elsewhere with the compensation money they had been given.

With such conclusions the study recommends:

1. To expropriate citizens as individuals not as group. Considering the top-bottom approach used in the study area, citizens are usually coerced with such approach. Hence, to rectify that, each household has to be approached and taken through all required process instead of dealing with citizens in general while they do not have same level of understanding or adaptability to changes brought by expropriation.
2. To carry expropriation on agreed upon compensation prices by both parties, expropriators and citizens to be expropriated. The expropriation law bestows power on valuers to establish valuation prices but does not clarify the extent to which property owners participate in calculating or controlling valuation prices.
3. To provide at cell level possibility to palliate conflicts which arise from compensation. There is such clause in the expropriation law but instead of local entities the expropriation law proposes court. Not all property owners are acquainted with knowledge on how to file a complaint to court; so, at cell level they should be provided with advocacy.

The third objective analyzed the level of socioeconomic development of the expropriated citizens. Considering the interplay existing in expropriation processes, improper compensation affects socio and economic development of expropriated citizens. Hence, the study concludes that expropriating citizens in the area study has led to the increase of citizens without arable land, which has as well weakened food security as many of the expropriated citizens relied on agriculture.

Considering the high cost of living and hardships in finding shelter, the study concludes that compensating citizens with ready-to move-in houses was a good choice. Compensating citizens with houses helped to live in adequate shelter but also to form a barrier against informal settlements which usually result from shortage of land for construction.

Through comparing expropriated citizens whose sole reliance is agriculture and expropriated citizens who are engaged in other economic activity, the study concludes that citizens with less capabilities are the most affected by land expropriation.

With such conclusions, the study recommends:

1. To emphasize the use of market prices provided by the law during valuation and

compensation processes instead of pre-established prices.

2. To consider creating associations expropriated citizens as a way to better defend their interests, and to be able to help each other mutually.
3. Not to buy the land of citizens in its entirety but to leave citizens with at least 30% of the land so that they can continue to grow crops for their upkeep. In case this proves difficult to at least provide for all expropriated citizens common farms to which through land consolidation they can grow varied crops.
4. To prioritize in kind compensation as when the demand of land is high the price also soars. In kind compensation requires a lot of funds from the government but prevents expropriated citizens to becoming homeless or to live in inadequate housing.
5. To ensure that the compensation money is deposited on a joint bank account to which both husbands and wives are authorized signers. This can palliate issues which rise from the use of compensation money.
6. Continued follow-ups after expropriation. For instance, citizens from Munini who declined job offer because of monthly remuneration, if there was a certain follow-up, they would have proposed or been given another alternative.
7. To narrow down the definition of 'public interests.' When there is a wide scope of public interests, some investors can lobby the government and have their projects considered as serving public interests

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APPENDIX A: DATA COLLECTION TOOLS

1. DOCUMENT ANALYSIS GUIDE

Documents to be analyzed	Data analyzed
Institute of Real Property Valuers in Rwanda annual reports	Land reference prices
Institute of Real Property Valuers in Rwanda annual reports	Land and crops prices
Official Gazette No special of 21/5/2007	Guidance on expropriation in the public interest
Nyaruguru district database	Status of agriculture in Nyaruguru district
Nyaruguru district database	Nyaruguru district profile
Nyaruguru District Development Strategy 2018/2019-2023/2024	Socio-economic development level of citizens
National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda	Statistics relevant to Nyaruguru district

2. INTERVIEW GUIDE

To investigate the households' appreciations of the expropriation process

1. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
 - a. The local authority clearly informed us what would happen after the expropriation
 - b. Rules regarding expropriation and compensation were made clear to us

2. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Statements	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Strongly disagree	disagree
The money I received as compensation served as a capital for a new project					
Overall, the government go out of their way to help us					
Expropriation interrupted our comfort/ way of living					
I was coerced to accept the prices imposed by authorities					

3. Have you received any of the below support from the civil authority?

Nature of Support	YES 1	NO 2
Guidance and training on evaluating properties		
Training on working with banks or SACCO or savings in general		
Title deeds for already built houses		
Schools, hospitals, markets within my reach		
Job in tea plantation		

4. How do you rate on the following attributes?

Statements	Above average	Average	Not sure	Below average
On-time compensation				
Known and agreed upon methods of valuing properties				
Quality of houses provided				
Addressing concerns of citizens prior to expropriation				
Prices or value given to our properties and land				
Quality of meetings held prior to expropriation				
Post-expropriation follow-up				
Your own knowledge on property valuation				

5. Did assessors take into account the loss of business and other economic activities (for instance crops not harvested)

a. Yes b. Partial c. No

6. Were you provided with the right to opt for alternative type of compensation instead of a house?

a. Yes b. Partial c. No

7. Were you granted the right to appeal for decisions on the amount of compensation at cell, sector or district level?

a. Yes b. Partial c. No

8. Do you think that by your expropriation, your living standard has

- a. Improved a lot
- b. Somewhat improved
- c. Remained the same
- d. Somewhat deteriorated
- e. Deteriorated a lot
- f. Don't know

9. There are many reasons we have for not wanting to take part in expropriation. In your own experience, what are the reasons that pushed you to accept expropriation? (Check all that apply)

- a. I was afraid
- b. I didn't want to take a stand against local authorities
- c. I didn't know what to do or who to talk to
- d. I wanted money
- e. I was not consulted
- f. I wanted to contribute to the country development
- g. I needed a new and better house

3. FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Were rules regarding expropriation and compensation made clear to you?
2. Are there risks (hardships) that you are facing associated with expropriation?
3. Did expropriation equip you with ability to fight poverty?

4. QUESTIONNAIRES FOR THE EXPROPRIATED HOUSEHOLDS

Section A. Demographic Information

1. Marital Status:
 - a. Single
 - b. Married
 - c. Separated
2. How old is the household head?
 - a. 18-25
 - b. 26-35
 - c. 36-45
 - d. 46-60
 - e. Above 60
3. How many people live in the household?
 - a. 2-4
 - b. 5-7
 - c. 8-11
 - d. above 11

Section B Effects of the expropriation on the household level in socioeconomic development

4. If yes, to what level?
 - a. Primary school level
 - b. Secondary school level

- c. Tertiary education level
- d. Vocational training
5. How many children in the household who attend primary school?
- a. 2-4 b. 5-7 c. Above
6. How many children in the household who attend secondary school?
- a. 2-4 b. 5-7 c. Above
7. If no, what are the reasons of not attending school? Check all that apply
- a. No school available in proximity
- b. Hunger/ poor nutrition
- c. Too expensive to afford
- d. Prefer to work for money
- e. No places in school
- f. Child care
- g. Other (specify)
8. Who pays the school fees?
- a. Family b. government
9. Do members of household have medical insurance?
- a. Yes b. No
10. Do you receive any subsidy in paying for health insurance?
- a. Yes b. No
11. If yes, who usually pays?
- a. Relatives/ Friends/ Well-wishers
- b. Cell/ civil authority
- c. Church/Religious group
- d. NGOs
12. The last time a person was sick at home, finding the money to pay for healthcare services has been
- a. Impossible
- b. Difficult
- c. Not difficult
- d. No one has needed health care

13. Over the last year, has it been necessary to do any of the following in order to raise money to pay for healthcare services for your HH members? If YES, check all that apply

- a. Borrow money
- b. Sell domestic animals
- c. Sell farm produce
- d. Sell valuables
- e. Other (Specify)

14. How many times did your household have breakfast in the last three days?

- a. Three times
- b. Two times
- c. One time

15. How many times did your household have lunch in the last three days?

- a. Three times
- b. Two times
- c. One time

16. How many times did your household have supper in the last three days?

- a. Three times
- b. Two times
- c. One time

17. Are the above answers for the whole year or just for agricultural season?

- a. For the whole year
- b. Agricultural season
- c. Other

Specify

18. Would you consider the current level of food consumption of your family as?

- a. adequate
- b. More than adequate
- c. Just adequate
- d. Less than adequate
- e. Don't know

19. How concerned are you about being able to provide for your family with food?

- a. Very concerned
- b. A little concerned
- c. Not too concerned
- d. Not concerned at all
- e. Don't know

20. What is the economic activity of the household head?

- a. Own account worker
- b. farmer

- c. Unpaid family worker
- d. Other specify.....

21. If the household does not work, is it because of any of the following reasons?

- a. No capital for business
- b. No farm to plough
- c. Seasonal worker
- d. Other

22. How much on average is your household monthly income?

- a. Below 20.000
- b. 20.000-50.000
- c. 51.000-100.000

23. How many household members work in tea plantation?

- a. 1-2
- b. 2-4
- c. Above 5

24. How was compensation money spent?

- a. To buy food stuff
- b. To buy farmland and domestic animals
- c. To start business
- d. To socialize with others
- e. To buy assets (impulsive buying)

25. Have you or any household member have to change or adapt to any of the things you normally do? Check all that apply

- a. Switched to purchase less and cheap non-food products
- b. Transferred children from private to public school
- c. Withdrew or postponed a child's admission to school
- d. Could not pay for healthcare service
- e. Spent savings or investments
- f. Pawned or sold goods (furniture, appliances, etc)
- g. Sold the harvest in advance
- h. Children stopped school to work for money

26. Does the household own a farm?

a. b. No

27. If yes is the harvest enough for the family consumption and market?

a. Yes No, it is just for the family consumption

28. Does your family have any saving for future in Ejoheza or tontine?

a. Yes b. No

29. Are you on a higher level compared to how you were before expropriation?

a. Yes b. No

APPENDIX B

LETTERS REQUESTING FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES



UNIVERSITY of
RWANDA

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND
ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCES

NYARUGURU DISTRICT
DATE OF RECESSION
22 MAR 2021
Received by: *[Signature]*
Registration No.:
To be Treated by:

OFFICE OF THE DEAN POUR RECEPTION
SECTION MININ
A/E: 22/03/2021
N/MS:
SIGNATURE: *[Signature]*

Recommendation letter of Mrs. Mr. UWIRAGIYE EMMANUEL

The school of Governance of the College of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Rwanda offers a degree of **Master of Arts in Development Studies**. As part of master's degree requirements, students have to conduct research and thesis on an area of their interest.

During the data collection, students require the assistance from the organizations relevant to their chosen area of study. Students' studies are expected to have a wide range impact not only on the growth of academic knowledge but also on the development of policies and practices throughout the country.

In this regard, allow me to introduce **Mr. UWIRAGIYE EMMANUEL** Reg/number: **219014043** whose research is entitled on: *The Concept of Common Good and Public Interest in Community and People's Development: Analysis of the Development Effects of Munini and Kibehe tea plantation.*”

He will provide you with details about his research proposal and the needed assistance. Any assistance rendered to him is highly appreciated. If you need further information, please do not hesitate to contact me on telephone: **0788559711** or e-mail: kmulinda@gmail.com.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely



Assoc. Prof. Charles Mulinda KABWETE

Acting-Dean,

School of Social, Political and Administrative Sciences

Telephone: **0788559711**

Email: dean.sog@ur.ac.rw

P.O Box: 56 Huye Campus

Website: www.ur.ac.rw

Emmanuel UWIRAGIYE
University of Rwanda
College of Arts and Social Sciences (CASS)
School: Social, Political and Administrative Sciences
Department: Development Studies
Email: uwiragiyesj@yahoo.com
Tel: 0788334659



22 April 2021

Nyaruguru District,
Southern Province, Rwanda

Dear Mayor,

RE: Request for permission to conduct research in Nyaruguru district

In partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies, we are requested to conduct an academic research on a topic of our choice. The topic for my research is "The Effect of Expropriation for Common Good in Community Development: Analysis of Development Effects in Munini and Kibeho Tea Plantation." This project will be conducted under the supervision of Dr UWIZEYE Dieudonne, a lecturer at University of Rwanda.

I am hereby seeking your consent to collect data in Kibeho and Munini sectors. In Munini sector, I shall visit Nyarure, Giheta and Ngeri cells. In Kibeho I shall visit citizens from Gakoma cell. I would suggest starting my research from Monday the 26th of April to Friday the 7th of May 2021.

I have provided you with a copy of questionnaire which includes questions and other indicators that I will use while collecting data. Rest assured that the data we will collect will remain absolutely confidential and will only serve academic purpose.

Thank you for considering my request. I am looking forward to receiving your positive response.

Yours faithfully,

Emmanuel UWIRAGIYE



INTARA Y'AMAJYEPFO
AKARERE KA NYARUGURU
B.P.: 215 BUTARE
E mail : info@nyaruguru.gov.rw
Website : www.nyaruguru.gov.rw

ICYEMEZO CYO GUKORA UBUSHAKASHATSI

Njyewe **GASHEMA Janvier**, Umuyobozi w'Akarere ka Nyaruguru w'agateganyo mpereye ku byangombwa UWIRAGIYE Emmanuel (0788334659) yagejeje ku

biro by'akarere, ndemeza ko yemerewe gukora ubushashatsi ku

The effect of Expropriation for Common Good in Community Development: Analysis of Development Effects in Huzeni and Kibeho Tea Plantation

abukorera mu murenge wa/mirenge ya KIBEHO, NUNINI



mu kagari ka/tugari twa GAKOMA, NYARURE, BIHETA, NBERI

mu mudugudu wa/midugudu ya.....

kuva ku itariki ya 26/04/2021 kugeza ku itariki ya 07/05/2021

Turasaba abayobozi n'abaturage kumworohereza mu kazi ke.

Bikorewe i Nyaruguru kuwa...../.....

GASHEMA Janvier
Umuyobozi w'Akarere ka Nyaruguru w'agateganyo

N.B. Usabwe gutanga kopi y'ibyavuye muri ububushakashatsi ku buyobozi bw'Akarere