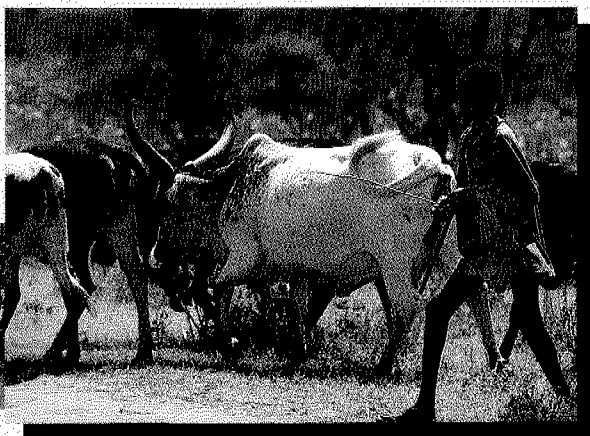


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EAST AFRICA REGION

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Tanzania
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REGIONAL POLICY PLAN FOR EAST AFRICA

1992-1995

The country and regional policy plan series, of which this plan forms part, relates to Dutch bilateral development cooperation for the period 1992-1995. There are country policy plans for Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, the Philippines and Sri Lanka, and regional policy plans covering the Nile and Red Sea, West Africa, East Africa, Southern Africa, Central America, the Andes and the Mekong region. Country and regional policy plans were previously published for 1985-1988 and 1989-1992.

The above plans have been drawn up after consultation with the recipient countries. The regions selected and the themes covered have where possible been brought into line with the policy insights laid down by the Netherlands Government in the policy document "A World of Difference".

The Hague, 1992

REGIONAL POLICY PLAN FOR EAST AFRICA, 1992-1995

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	Tanzania	Uganda	Rwanda	Kenya
Area, sq.km	945,000	236,000	26,000	580,000
thereof agricultural land, %	45	57	58	11
Population (1990), millions	27.3	18.8	7.2	24.0
Population growth, % p.a. (1980-1989)	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.8
Projected sedentary population, millions (year)	158 (2040)	128 (2050)	70 (2055)	113 (2035)
Population/sq.km (1990)	30.8	92.3	289.9	44.1
Population/sq.km of agricultural land	68.4	161.9	499.8	400.1
GNP, US\$ millions ¹	2,642	4,045	2,160	7,931
Income per capita, US\$ (1989)	130	250	320	360
Growth of GDP, % (1980-1989)	2.6	2.5	1.5	4.1
Exports as % of GNP (1989) ¹	20	7.5	4.9	14
Imports as % of GNP (1989) ¹	50.6	17.8	18.4	36.6
ODA per capita, US\$ (1989)	38.5	23.7	34.5	41.1
ODA as % of GNP (1989)	32	8.4	11	11.7
Debt, US\$ millions (1989) ¹	4,891	1,808	651.5	5,690
Debt as % of GNP (1989) ¹	186.1	44.7	30.2	71.7
Debt service as % of GNP (1989) ¹	3.3	15.2	1.3	8.1
Debt service as % of goods and services exported ¹	16.6	81.2	18.5	33.3
Income distribution ¹³				
Gini coefficient (1976-1977)	0.57	?	?	see text
(1986-1987)	0.51	?	?	see text
Literacy > age 15, % (1990)	72 ²	60 ²	47	59 ³
among men	74	72	61	69
among women	70	48	33	49
Employment in primary sector (1965 and), %	92.0 85.6	91.0 85.9	94.0 92.8	86.0 81.0
Employment in secondary sector (1985-1987), %	3.0 4.5	3.0 4.4	2.0 3.0	5.0 6.8
Employment in tertiary sector, %	5.0 9.9	6.0 9.7	3.0 4.3	9.0 12.1
Primary sector's share of GDP (1965 and 1988), %	46 66	52 72	75 38	35 31
Secondary sector's share of GDP (1965 and 1988), %	14 7	13 7	7 22	18 20
Tertiary sector's share of GDP (1965 and 1988), %	40 27	35 20	18 40	47 49

	Tanzania	Uganda	Rwanda	Kenya
Participation in primary education, % (1990)	62 ⁴	70 ⁵	67	99 ⁶
among men	62	76	69	99
among women	62	63	66	98
% of GNP spent on education (1990)	3.0 ⁷	1.5	3.2	6.7 ⁸
thereof on elementary education, % (1987-1988)	58	68	20	62
% of GNP spent on defence 1986	3.3	4.2	1.9	1.2
1972	2.3	5.0	3.2	1.3
% of GNP spent on health care (1990)	1.2	0.8	0.6	1.8
thereof on PHC	?	?	?	?
Defence spending divided by spending on social sectors (education + health care), 1986	1.14	2.47	0.50	0.15 (0.28)
Access to health services, % of total (1985-1988)	81	68	28	77 ⁹
in rural areas 72	57	25	70 ¹⁰	
in urban areas 99	90	60	99 ¹¹	
Safe drinking water, % of population (1988)	56	20	64	30
in rural areas 46	18	64	21	
in urban areas 75	37	64	61	
Per capita food production index (1979-1981 = 100) (1987-1989)	90	87	77	101
Calorie availability per capita (1986)	2190	2340	1830	2060
Self-sufficiency in food (1986-1988), %	95.6	98.6	93.4	89.4
Urbanisation of the population (1988), %	15 ¹²	10	7	22
HDI (1990)	0.266	0.204	0.213	0.399
Life expectancy (1990)	54	52	50	60
Female life expectancy as % of male life expectancy	106.5	106.6	107.0	106.9

	Tanzania	Uganda	Rwanda	Kenya
Infant mortality < 1 year per 1,000 (1989)	103	100	119	70
Child mortality < 5 Years per 1,000 (1989)	173	167	201	111
Deaths in childbirth per 100,000 (1980-1987)	340	300	210	170
Net annual deforestation per 1,000 ha (1980-1988)	130	50	5	39
Deforestation as % of total forest acreage	0.3	3.3	1.1	1.7

Literature consulted:

Human Development Report 1991
World Development Report 1990
World Development Report 1991

unless otherwise stated in the footnotes.

Footnotes:

1. World Debt Tables 1990/91
2. Estimated on the basis of the degree of participation in education, extrapolated
3. World Bank, Tanzania: *Toward Sustainable Development in the 1990s*, 1991
4. World Bank, Kenya, *Human Resources: Improving Quality and Access*, 1991
5. World Bank, Uganda: *Public Choices for Private Initiative*, 1991
6. World Bank, Kenya, *Human Resources: Improving Quality and Access*, 1991
7. Calculated on the basis of data contained in World Bank, Tanzania: *Toward Sustainable Development in the 1990s*, which states that in 1990 expenditure on health was the same as in 1986, whereas expenditure on education fell to 71%.
8. World Bank, Kenya, *Human Resources: Improving Quality and Access*, 1991
9. Calculated on the assumption that 99% of Kenya's urban population has access to health care. This assumption, which is based on World Bank, Kenya, *Human Resources: Improving Quality and Access*, 1991, can undoubtedly be considered realistic.
10. World Bank, Kenya, *Human Resources: Improving Quality and Access*, 1991
11. Calculated on the basis of the assumption defined in footnote 9.
12. World Bank, Tanzania: *Urban Sector Engineering Report*, 1991
13. Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV), *SNV Tanzania Policy Plan*, 1990.

Structure of the Regional Policy Plan

The first chapter of this regional policy plan considers the features and problems the region has in common, on which basis the main aspects of the policy are chosen.

The following chapters discuss the features and problems of the individual countries of the region in greater depth, indicating the necessary differentiation and the details of the planned policy.

I THE REGION

Introduction

East Africa is a region with widely varying features. Both the countries and areas* within them differ. However, the countries in the region - Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Rwanda - also have a number of basic features and problems in common (and potential complementarity), making it possible and desirable to adopt a regional programme approach, which is designed to tackle the main pressure points through concentration on certain sectors. Within this approach it is very important, however, for the cultural, physical, political, social and economic differences to be borne in mind and for the approach to be attuned to them.

2 THE REGION IN PERSPECTIVE

2.1 Geography¹

In the region's physical environment fertility varies widely because of differences in soil quality and precipitation. The land in the central areas of Kenya and in most of Uganda and Rwanda is good and precipitation sufficient for high agricultural yields. Part of Kenya, parts of the north and east of Uganda and some parts of Tanzania are arid and by nature suitable for little more than nomadic or semi-nomadic livestock farming. Most of Tanzania and parts of Kenya and Uganda lie somewhere in the middle: suitable for agriculture, but more marginal than the first mentioned, highly productive areas of the other countries. Although Rwanda can be described as very fertile, its high population density means that the limits to the scope for using the environment are already in danger of being exceeded, as is also the case, for example, in the very fertile parts of Kenya.

2.2 History^{1,2}

2.2.1 The pre-colonial development of the region can be described by reference to its physical features: in areas suitable for agriculture innumerable, fairly loosely and democratically organised, self-sufficient tribal clans emerged and had little contact with the outside world. Their most important contacts were with the traders on the coast (Arabs), who obtained ivory and slaves from the hinterland and helped to create the 'lingua franca', Swahili. The exceptions to this social order were the Kingdom of Buganda, located in the south and south-west of what is now Uganda, and Rwanda. The semi-nomadic peoples formed larger and more autocratic groups, which were necessary for survival in a hostile environment. Some of these cattle breeders migrated southwards through the valley of the Nile and subjugated the sedentary farming peoples of what are now Rwanda and Burundi, where they established feudal structures that survived the colonial period.

2.2.2 In the middle of the last century western explorers and missionaries began to penetrate the region along the old trade routes and were followed by western

* The term 'area' is used throughout this report to mean regions within countries in order to avoid confusion with the term 'region' as used in the regional policy plans, it being understood that areas may cross national frontiers.

traders. At the end of the last century this penetration led to the establishment of colonial authority. This process was most painful in Tanganyika, where the crushing of resistance took a very heavy toll.

Tanganyika and Rwanda became German colonies, present-day Uganda and Kenya British. Here and there frontiers were drawn arbitrarily through tribal areas. After the First World War the League of Nations placed Rwanda under Belgian, Tanganyika under British administration. Rwanda was thus to become French-speaking, Tanzania English-speaking.

The mandataries took little interest in Tanganyika and Rwanda, far less than Britain's interest in its colonies Uganda and Kenya (the latter being seen as an area for white colonists), which were equipped with far better infrastructure for their development and where far more was done to develop and educate the indigenous population. As a result the situation in Uganda and Kenya differed significantly from that in Tanzania and Rwanda when they gained their independence. In the 1950s Uganda also benefited from the presence of enlightened governors who no longer saw the colony solely as a supplier of raw materials and a market for industrial products, but began to encourage the development of an indigenous industry producing for the local market and exports based on such local inputs as cotton and hydroelectric power.

Many coolies from India were employed on the construction of infrastructure, especially the railways in British East Africa. These Asians stayed in the region, where they were to develop into a class of traders and prospective industrialists, which led to fresh ethnic tensions in the post-colonial period.

The colonial period saw the introduction of the export crops that still account for a large proportion of exports in many cases (tea, cotton, sisal, coffee, sugar). The colonial authorities also introduced the marketing channels which, usually under government influence or control, still dominate trade: cooperatives, marketing boards and crop authorities.

2.2.3 In the movement towards decolonisation the initiative was taken by the Kenyans, who, led by Kenyatta, were forced to fight for their independence from an initially unwilling colonial mother country. British colonists (and Asians) formed a powerful lobby opposed to independence. Tanganyika, Uganda and Rwanda gained their independence with little trouble.

The independence of the countries in the region gave rise to political entities whose ethnic and cultural composition posed, and still poses, problems of varying magnitude. The fewest problems arose in Tanzania, which consisted of 120 small, fairly homogeneous tribal entities, with Swahili as their lingua franca. In Kenya there were more significant differences among a number of large groups, and they now maintain a rather delicate balance, again with Swahili as their common language. In Uganda the British government had opted for indirect administration and, to this end, sought to leave structures as they were. The position of the King of Buganda, for example, was not affected. The kingdom formed the colony's political and economic fulcrum. In the less prosperous north men were recruited for the colonial army. Catholic and Protestant missionaries helped to create religious divides and conflicts.

The mandatory administration in Rwanda began by accepting the Tutsi minority's domination of the Hutus. Before independence, however, the Hutus were given an opportunity to take power democratically. In 1963 an attempt by Tutsi émigrés

to restore the old order by force resulted in many Tutsis being killed and in 200,000 fleeing the country. Ethnic differences and conflicts gave rise to a major refugee problem in the region.

2.2.4 Attempts in the post-colonial period to preserve the economies of scale of the former British areas (and to achieve the African goal of unity) failed. A brief period (lasting until 1967) in which supranational services, infrastructure, institutions and administration remained in place and were joined by a common market and currency in the East African Common Services Organisation (EACSO) was followed by the establishment in 1967 of the East African Community (EAC), which came to a formal end in July 1977. The EAC was already less ambitious: a common market was still the goal, but import tariffs were introduced. Growing disputes over the sharing of benefits and burdens and the economic model to be adopted and political differences among the various countries led to the de facto disintegration of the EAC even before 1977, culminating in the closing of the frontier between Tanzania and Kenya. Not long afterwards Uganda and Tanzania were at war. For the countries concerned the collapse of the Community meant the fragmentation of their markets and of their joint infrastructure, which had been based on their original unity. Uganda was also in danger of being cut off from the sea. Rwanda was already in the unenviable position of being dependent in this respect. Its historical rights of transit through Tanzania have proved to be of little practical value: its most important trade route is through Uganda to Mombasa.

In the post-colonial period Tanzania opted for a socialist policy, which became more radical as time passed. To a minor extent, this was due to Tanganyika's union with Zanzibar, where the Africans had come to power in a bloody revolution and chosen a radical socialist model. (For further details see the chapter on Tanzania). A middle class of African farmers that had emerged before independence was deliberately reduced in status to conform to the ideal of equality. Kenya formally opted for a policy that complied more closely with the principles of the market economy. Despite this, government has considerable influence on the economic process through its participation in many enterprises and its control over important sectors.³

Uganda eventually adopted an initially weak form of Tanzanian socialism. Amin brought economic chaos, which was due, among other things, to the expulsion of the economically important Asian community, nationalisation and mismanagement. The present government under President Museveni is charting a pragmatic, non-ideological course of economic recovery and adjustment.

Relations among the countries of the region vary from cordial to poor. Tanzania has good relations with all its neighbours. While relations between Uganda and Kenya were once less good, partly because of mutual accusations of support for oppositions or armed resistance movements, there has been a significant improvement of late. Relations between Rwanda and Uganda reached a low point when Rwandan refugees, comrades-in-arms of President Museveni and members of his National Resistance Army, attacked Rwanda from Ugandan territory, not only to enforce the right to return that had been denied them but also to bring down the government of President Habyarimana by force of arms.

At a summit conference held in November 1991 Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda decided to seek economic cooperation in a new EAC.

2.3 Common features, situation and policy

2.3.1 Aside from a partly common language (Swahili, English) and history (the same colonial power), the resulting form of government and the integrated transport infrastructure, by far the most important common feature in the region is dependence, albeit to varying degrees, on the agricultural sector. Only Kenya has an industry and service sector of any significance.

Within the agricultural sector there is wide variation in the nature of activities, potential development, economic organisation of production, etc. With the exception of certain groups and areas, the region is self-sufficient in food. The main exception is Rwanda, where there is a danger of a structural food shortage because population growth exceeds the growth of food production. In Kenya children in the most marginal areas and some parts of the country where population pressure is high suffer from malnutrition. There is also malnutrition in Tanzania and Uganda, especially among children and women, the cause being an inadequate diet rather than insufficient food. Small-scale fishing on the large lakes along the frontiers of the four countries is, with livestock farming, the region's source of animal protein.

Exports consist almost entirely of agricultural products and, in some cases, virtually of one product: coffee (Uganda and Rwanda). The balance-of-payments deficits are structural. As a result of the one-sided export structure, the deterioration of the terms of trade, the diminishing supply of export products (due to civil war or economic policy) and the repayment of debts all the countries in the region are having to contend with structural balance-of-payments deficits and shortages of foreign exchange. Without support from donors, in the form of import aid, this situation would lead to a substantial reduction in GNP due to the lack of essential inputs for the local production process. The danger inherent in support from donors is that it is regarded as permanent and that nothing is done to remove the cause of the imbalances. The support provided by donors therefore has conditions attached and is intended to bridge the period of adjustment. The time-spans envisaged in this context are, however, lengthening, and it must be assumed that some countries in the region will continue to depend on this form of aid for a long time to come.

Women play a very large role in the agricultural sector, contributing most of the labour. The role played by women in the economic process is not, however, reflected in the say they have in society at macro, meso and micro level.

2.3.2 A second common feature is that, generally speaking, the governments seek to pursue a reasonable socio-economic policy with which donors can associate themselves. At the same time, it should be noted that such factors as the quality of administration in the past few decades, the difference between aspirations and achievements, the use of coercion and varying degrees of uncertainty in the region over the application of the rule of law have undermined public confidence in government. Where necessary, more thought will be given to stimulating and supporting endogenous processes in which the people at grass-roots level develop initiatives to improve their socio-economic position and to participate in decision-making. The effectiveness of government varies from one country to another: institution-building and streamlining of government and the reorientation of government activities and expenditure are needed to varying degrees. Institutional weakness is one of the main obstacles to development in the region, this still being least true of Kenya.

2.3.3 Apart from Kenya, all the countries of the region belong to the group of least developed countries, i.e. countries with the lowest per capita incomes. In Kenya the marginal arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs), which account for 83% of the country and where 17% of the population live, are least developed areas.

2.3.4 Poverty and the inefficiency of government are the causes of the serious shortcomings in health care and education. Primary health care and elementary education are particularly inadequate (this still being least true of Kenya). The availability of safe drinking water and sanitation still leave a great deal to be desired. Infection by the HIV virus is assuming almost epidemic proportions in all the countries of the region. The demographic and socio-economic implications of this human disaster are gradually becoming apparent. All four countries of the East Africa region are in the 'AIDS belt', a group of about ten countries from Kenya to South Africa where HIV infection has assumed very serious proportions. WHO refers to AIDS as one of the most serious threats not only to public health but also to the development of these countries. In Rwanda the incidence of infection among urban adults was found to be 25% in 1987; according to recent research in Uganda, as much as a third of the adult population is infected. In Africa infection occurs mainly as a result of heterosexual contact, with the virus also being passed from mothers to their unborn children. Women are especially vulnerable: they have little say in the matter of sexual intercourse, they are more susceptible to HIV infection than men, and during pregnancy and confinement they are more vulnerable to the manifestation of the symptoms of AIDS. Better educated, economically active men in the cities form a particularly obvious risk group, which may have serious economic implications in the long term. AIDS may also lead to a shortage of labour and the disappearance of know-how in agriculture, resulting in a decline in food production. AIDS will also cause serious imbalances in the age structure of the population. The cost of AIDS in medical and social terms is enormous. In the social sphere the consequences are already particularly evident from the large number of children who have lost one or both parents.

After initial hesitation the African governments are now showing a strong political desire to tackle the problem, although there is still not enough openness about the scale of the epidemic. Information on the need to change sexual behaviour is provided by government, supported by NGOs, in all the countries of East Africa. In view of the financial limitations of the governments in the region aid for research as well as information is still needed from donors.

2.3.5 Another common feature is excessive population growth, excessive because the population of a country like Rwanda is reaching the limits of the physical use that can be made of the environment. Kenya has not far to go before it reaches these limits, i.e. they have already been reached in certain parts of the country, and in Uganda and Tanzania too it will not be long before they are reached, given the present short period over which the population doubles (20 to 25 years).^{4,5} The consequences of the AIDS epidemic are, however, expected to have a negative effect on population growth in the region.

The very high rate of population growth also makes it well nigh impossible for the governments to provide adequate basic services. Society as such faces the challenge of creating sufficient income-generating employment for all newcomers to the labour market; more employment will have to be found outside the agricultural sector, and education and training must be better attuned to it.

2.3.6 Partly as a result of the high rate of population growth and the consequent pressure on natural resources, combined with the fragility of the ecosystems in large parts of the region, sustainable economic development can be achieved only if sufficient thought is given to its environmental aspects and an active policy of reducing population growth is pursued. Particular attention must also be paid to the preservation of species, in which East Africa is very rich.

2.3.7 There is very little real knowledge of poverty and income distribution in the various countries. If poverty is to be effectively combated, this knowledge needs to be gained in each situation by interpreting a wide range of poverty indicators, which often have to be derived from national averages and then broken down into areas, sexes, subgroups, types of household, etc. A major problem in this context is the generally very poor quality of statistics (with the exception of Kenya). For this reason alone there is little point comparing the countries in the region. Comparisons over time (trends) are usually of limited value because the figures are unreliable or no recent data are available.

What is clear is that, if there is to be sustained poverty alleviation in Tanzania, the emphasis must be placed on reviving income growth and halting the erosion that has led to a serious decline in the once relatively good education and health care systems over the last ten years. The same is true of Uganda, where the north is also lagging well behind the rest of the country in terms of the development of prosperity and welfare. Kenya's main concerns are to sustain positive economic growth per capita, to achieve a relative improvement in the income situation of the marginal groups and to prevent the relatively good social sectors from collapsing under the weight of population growth. In Rwanda measures to ensure sustainable poverty alleviation must consist primarily in halting the current destruction of natural capital and in then moving back the limits to the scope for the use of the environment by an appropriate form of agriculture as land becomes increasingly scarce. Achieving a higher value added per hectare appears to be the key in this respect.

The incidence of urban poverty - a situation in which insufficient income, degrading housing and completely inadequate services coincide - is still low in the region, compared with the overall poverty problem. This is principally due to the agricultural nature of society, i.e. the low level of urbanisation, and to the form of urbanisation, which tends to consist in the concentration of buildings around the urban centres. According to official statistics, 8% of Rwanda's population, 10% of Uganda's, 24% of Kenya's and 33% of Tanzania's live in urban areas. These official figures paint a distorted picture of relative urbanisation. Almost all observers agree that Kenya is more highly urbanised than Tanzania. The proportion of the working population employed in agriculture is put at 93% in Rwanda, 86% in Uganda, 81% in Kenya and 86% in Tanzania, which is probably a more accurate picture than that of the urbanisation problem. (Elsewhere the World Bank puts Tanzania's urban population at 15%.) Even in the urban centres a large proportion of the population has retained economic links with rural areas: town-dwellers continue to grow crops for their own use near their houses and on small plots of land further away or buy produce from relatives. The reverse also occurs: many inhabitants of rural areas near urban centres obtain some of their income by working in the city, for themselves or for the larger economic entity of which they form part.

Urbanisation is farthest advanced in Kenya, and it is here that the highest growth rate and the associated problems are likely to occur.⁷

Such determinants of welfare as access to safe drinking water, health services and education are, on the whole, significantly better in cities than in rural areas.

In Uganda urban housing and urban infrastructure are in a wretched state, nothing having been invested in either during the civil war. Subsequently, US\$ 30 million of World Bank/IDA money was invested in water and sanitation in the largest cities, Kampala, Entebbe, Jinja and Tororo, which have a combined population of 1.1 million.

2.3.8 Socio-cultural, political and economic differences notwithstanding, women in East Africa have much in common. Traditionally, they have three tasks: besides their reproductive and productive role, they play an important part in communal tasks. Arable and livestock farming are the most important sources of income for East African women. Some 80% of them live in rural areas, where they are responsible for meeting the basic needs of the other members of the family (water, food, clothing, care). As (cheap) labour, women also play a major part in the growing of cash crops. They have little say in what is done with the proceeds, again on traditional grounds.

The importance of agricultural products for export revenues has led to even greater pressure to grow cash crops. Where the development of technology is stagnant - as in East Africa's small-scale agriculture - the daily workload of rural women may then increase. However, a woman's workload is already (too) heavy, an average working day of 14 to 16 hours being nothing out of the ordinary.

Compared with the work done by men, this situation gives women almost no monetary advantage or economic independence; their position in this respect is tending to worsen with the further monetarisation of the economy.

As in many cases traditional laws prevent women from owning (or inheriting) land and means of production, they are usually denied access to credit, and the basic security of a constant supply of food becomes virtually impossible. The percentage of rural families in which the woman bears sole responsibility for earning an income is rising (currently estimated at about 40%); such families are among the very poorest in East African society. Action will therefore need to be taken in the future both to ease women's reproductive and productive tasks and to improve the living they make from arable and livestock farming. In urban areas women are active primarily in the informal sector; the lack of access to credit facilities, however, is slowing the development of worthwhile activities in this sector.

The socio-cultural position of East African women is largely determined by marriage (monogamous or polygamous) and the number of children they have. The women's groups formed by (local) government or political parties often lack the basis of trust and managerial capacities they need to function well. Women can be said to occupy a peripheral position at all levels of society and to be excluded from participating in decision-making processes. The formation of interest groups of women in the legal and medical professions, the scientific and business communities and the media in Kenya and Tanzania is an indication of growing efforts to achieve greater influence and authority for women.

2.3.9 The last common feature to be explicitly mentioned is the general (and serious) inadequacy of the transport and communications structure, which is an obstacle to economic development. This is true at all levels: from roads to open up rural

areas to transit road and rail routes, national and international, from Rwanda and Uganda to the Indian Ocean.

The countries of the region all belong to the 19-member Preferential Trade Area in Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA). The PTA is a regional step towards the African Economic Community embracing the whole of Africa that was announced as the ultimate objective in the Lagos Plan of Action of 1980 and was established at the OAU summit conference at Abuja in June 1991.

The PTA's goal is gradual economic integration, beginning with the establishment of a free trade area. Tariff and non-tariff barriers to locally produced goods are being slowly dismantled. The PTA has also undertaken to improve the transport and communications infrastructure linking the member countries and acts a clearing house for the settlement of transactions among members. In practice, the PTA has so far had a limited impact in terms of increasing and encouraging trade.

- 2.3.10 All the countries of the region are one-party states. The degree of internal democracy, participation of the people in decision-making processes and respect for traditional human rights differs from one country to another within the region, but can be described as relatively high, subject to the restrictions that exist.

3 Regional policy

3.1 The guiding principles

- 3.1.1 The guiding principle of the regional programme is sustainable poverty alleviation. Experience in the post-colonial period in the countries of the region shows that sustainable economic growth is necessary if poverty is to be alleviated, though it will not be enough on its own. Without it, eliminating poverty is a dream. The regional policy will therefore be geared to the promotion of sustainable economic development, in which economic growth is not an end but a means, in that it can generate productive employment and incomes, particularly for the poorest members of society. To promote sustainable economic development, action explicitly designed to increase production and more indirect action in the form of investment in the human capital of the countries of the region will be taken, and they will be encouraged to implement internal measures to these ends in the policy dialogue with their governments and in consultation with other donors. Sustainable economic development means preserving natural capital, i.e. not eroding the scope for the use of the environment.

In the selection of activities it will be ensured that none of the projects or programmes leads to a deterioration in the incomes of the very poor. The 'poverty, environment and women, and development' test now being developed will soon be used systematically as an aid in this context. When projects and programmes are selected, an attempt will also be made to gear them as directly as possible to poor population groups, i.e. to ensure that they benefit these groups. The latter will be involved in the identification and shaping of activities to their own advantage. A specialist in small-scale employment (based in Nairobi) will be appointed and maintain close contact with the SNV expert in the region. Every effort will be made to coordinate the bilateral and SNV programmes in this respect. Within the framework of the general policy guidelines activities in the areas of health care, education, the environment and WID may also be undertaken in urban centres. Where there is already extensive urban poverty, specific action

will be taken to help alleviate it. For the moment only Kenya is being considered for such action.

As has been said, there is a serious lack of reliable information in all the countries of the region except Kenya. This is true at the aggregated level and even more so at the disaggregated level. The World Bank and UNDP have made a modest start on registering the poverty problem with a view to incorporating Social Dimensions of Adjustment in the adjustment policy, but the operational value of this exercise is still extremely limited. In this respect too, the institutional capacity of governments and research institutes is still completely inadequate. For the Netherlands' development cooperation policy this means that, as further shape is given to the programme, i.e. choices are made, more research will have to be undertaken into the poverty situation in each country, area and subgroup, within households and as it affects the two sexes, so that these choices are firmly based. It means that the regional programme will include socio-economic research relevant to development. It also means that, where possible, the (governments of) the countries of the region will be supported in their efforts to strengthen their own research capacities in this field and to arrive at their own clear and coherent view of and policy on development in the medium and long term.⁸ As far as possible, these activities will be undertaken in a multilateral context, e.g. through the African Capacity Building Initiative (ACBI), together with the World Bank and UNDP.

A second guiding principle in the formulation of the regional policy is that the programme eventually adopted must be manageable. A sound approach in the provision of aid is essential if results are to be achieved. A limited number of sectors have therefore been chosen for Dutch action in the region; these sectors are commensurate with the region's priority needs and, to some extent, with the sectors in which the Netherlands has been active in the region for a very long time and has acquired some expertise as a donor. In the choice of sectors, or the identification of the need for aid in each sector, the activities and plans of other donors are also considered; donor coordination and specialisation will be actively pursued. The Netherlands' regional programme also has self-imposed restrictions in that it seeks to concentrate on specific geographical areas with a view to achieving a higher level of manageability and efficiency. A further aim will be to coordinate or integrate programmes and projects. In these endeavours account will also be taken of the recipient countries' existing needs and the activities of other donors.

An additional factor to be borne in mind in short-term policy formulation and implementation is the fact that a programme is currently being implemented in three of the four countries in the region as a result of choices made in the past and requires a certain degree of continuity. The scale of the aid going to the region in the coming years is based on the 195 million guilders available for 1992.

3.2 Choice of channels, institution-building

On gaining their independence, the new states were equipped with a government structure capable of maintaining peace and order and of providing a minimum range of services (education, health care, administration of justice), usually for a small section of the population. However, they were not in the least equipped with authorities capable of controlling planned economies or even, where necessary, of efficiently and effectively using regulation to correct the consequences of the market economy and providing the people with necessary services and public facilities. To varying degrees, the governments nevertheless took

it upon themselves to control the economy and to plan the economic process, usually with encouragement from donors. Seen in retrospect, this development model, which demanded far more from government than it was able to deliver, was probably bound to fail. This does not mean, on the other hand, that the opposite is automatically true, that the less government is involved in the economic process, the better development will proceed. The point is that government should concentrate on essential tasks and be strengthened so that it may perform them properly.

When government agencies function inadequately, aid organisations -multilateral and bilateral donors included -are constantly exposed to the temptation to find or create and then use other local channels for aid distribution. Given the desirability and, in many cases, the need to achieve results quickly, this is understandable. However, there is also a need to improve and strengthen the apparatus of government. In the choice of channel for Dutch aid the nature of the activity and - therefore - the role played by the various actors in society within the region will be considered on a case-by-case basis. Where directly productive activities in rural or agricultural development are concerned, there will be greater reliance on private initiative, and the participation of the people will be an important project criterion; where support is provided for capacity-building activities, government at central, regional and district level or in the form of managers of research and information activities will be the more obvious choice, although the participation of the actual beneficiaries at both the design stage and during implementation will usually be necessary if activities are to be sustainable.⁹

Institutional weakness is one of the most serious obstacles to development.¹⁰ The Netherlands' policy of cooperating with the region in its development will help to solve this problem by promoting, wherever possible, institution-building at all levels of government in the sectors and areas of interest on which Dutch aid is focused. As the National Advisory Council on Development Cooperation (NAR) states in an opinion on this subject,¹¹ it is important, for example, for there to be appropriate government services (including research and information) to stimulate agricultural production (besides the price incentive, both adequate supplies of means of production and the marketing of products). The Netherlands will continue to support these services with a view to strengthening them, preferably in cooperation with other donors. In the environmental, health care and education sectors it will also cooperate with government. Some of this cooperation will be geared to strengthening the capacity of government so as to improve both the implementation of project activities and the formulation of future national policy in this sector.

Outside the sectors and areas of interest on which Dutch aid will be concentrated the Netherlands will not be undertaking any bilateral institution-building activities in the countries of the region. It will, on the other hand, participate in multilateral activities (especially with the ACBI) designed to improve the capacity for the coherent formulation and implementation of national policy. Such activities as the operational expert programme and DSO will similarly continue to be available for this purpose.

The regional programme will also offer as much support as possible for the process of internal democratisation in the countries of the region.

3.3 Programme, budget and project aid

3.3.1 Support for economic self-reliance

As in the past, a significant proportion of Dutch aid will be geared to providing direct or indirect foreign exchange support in order to prevent the stagnation of economic growth and development in the countries of the region due to a shortage of foreign exchange for essential imports of raw materials, semi-manufactures and capital goods. Together with other donors, the Netherlands will thus be satisfying basic needs of these countries, and it will continue to do so as long as these needs exist and there is appropriate agreement on the socio-economic policy to be pursued. The socio-economic policy should, of course, include a policy designed to reduce the need for this type of aid by strengthening and expanding the export base of the countries in the region.

This aid has hitherto been granted to the former programme countries Tanzania and Kenya and has been partly untied. In Tanzania some of it has been allocated to selected clients, and in both Tanzania and Kenya some has been provided, with conditions attached, for extensive reform programmes co-financed with the World Bank. Kenya has also received some import aid on a reimbursement basis. Uganda received import aid in 1991; Uganda and Rwanda are candidates for continued or new import aid in the coming years. In addition, foreign exchange will be made available to the countries of the region as budget aid on the basis of the criteria formulated for the purpose, the local counterpart funds to be used to finance additional expenditure in the social sectors.

3.3.2 Project aid, choice of sectors

The principal and common obstacles to economic development that have been analysed above automatically lead to the choice of sectors. Within these sectors a wide variety of activities will be undertaken, adjusted and tailored to the needs of the individual countries, subsectors and areas. In Rwanda attention will focus for the time being on one sector, rural development.

a. Rural development

With a view to strengthening the economic base, creating income-generating employment and improving living conditions in rural areas (drinking water, health care, education, roads) the emphasis will be placed primarily on strengthening the agricultural sector and developing rural areas. The underlying objective in this context is food security in the region. It will be considered how much aid can also be granted to the traditional small-scale fishing industry.

Rural development will continue to form the core of the regional policy, with greater emphasis on poverty alleviation through the greatest possible participation of the target group, the improvement of the position of women and the protection of the environment. Where possible, the design and implementation of rural development projects are combined with activities in the other sectors referred to below, including the district and ASAL programmes. The findings of the recent evaluation by the Operations Review Unit (IOV) of the rural development sector programme will be taken into account in the preparation and shaping of the projects.

Applied research for the agricultural sector will remain an important aspect of this programme.

Specialists in rural development are based in both Dar es Salaam and Nairobi; the one in Nairobi also looks after the programme in Uganda.

b. Environment

A greater interest has been taken in the environment in the countries of the region in recent years, partly because of increasing environmental degradation (erosion, deforestation, pollution, the extinction of species).

This greater awareness of the environment has so far had little impact on the organisation of the environmental policies of the countries in the region. Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda have, however, begun to formulate national environmental plans.

The range of environmental problems is wide owing to the differences in geophysical conditions and the use of natural resources. This aspect will be discussed in greater depth in the chapters on the individual countries.

However, the main categories are

- overuse of natural resources in arid and semi-arid areas (a problem similar to that in the Sahel),
- exhaustion of fertile areas due to overuse;
- deforestation,
- loss of species and ecosystems,
- urban and industrial pollution.

Broadly speaking, the environmental policy to be supported by the Netherlands and other donors in the region has two facets. Firstly, the aim is to ensure that no activity harmful to the environment is undertaken. Activities undertaken with Dutch support will be assessed for their effects in this respect. Secondly, activities will be undertaken with a view to increasing the scope for the use of the environment. They may range from research into ecologically and economically sound arable or livestock farming in certain areas to support for the management of wetlands or wildlife parks. Activities that are linked to the other sectors in which the Netherlands is active will, of course, have priority (e.g. research into ecologically and economically sound farming methods). Independent environmental activities that meet a need also qualify (e.g. the management of wetlands). The aim will be to ensure that environmental activities are commensurate with national environmental plans. Where necessary, the formulation of such plans will be supported. An environmental specialist will be appointed to the region, with Nairobi as his base.

c. Women in Development

The policies of the four countries in the East Africa region take little account of women's interests. The macroeconomic analyses make no distinction by sex. However, Tanzania has recently drawn up its first policy plan for women. With the exception of Uganda, it is true to say that the government department responsible for women's affairs has little influence and does not yet try hard enough to coordinate its activities with those of other ministries. The following barriers play a part in this respect:

- national political systems and party structures dominated by a male elite;

- the lack of policy planning that makes a distinction between the sexes;
- the absence of a strong women's movement to take a stand during election campaigns, for example, and to put forward women candidates;
- a lack of financial resources.

Progress in the protection of women's interests, such as support for their ability to defend themselves in society and the promotion of their economic position, is not impressive. Little has been done to improve the legal position of East African women and their right and access to land, means of production, credit and technological innovations. The importance of the equal participation of girls and boys in education is, on the other hand, increasingly recognised, and greater account is being taken of the household tasks performed by women.

The aim is to integrate the autonomy approach in the East Africa region into all Dutch activities, with the emphasis on the following (related) aspects:

- strengthening the economic position of women;
- increasing their political awareness and participation through the formation of organisations, for example;
- changing the traditional image of women and men;
- giving women control over their own bodies (in the context of reproduction, health and disease, prevention of violence).

From 1 January 1992 every proposal will therefore be examined for the effect of the project on the autonomy of women. If a project is found wanting in this respect, it will either be adjusted or Dutch financing will be refused.

During the period covered by this regional policy plan a start will also be made on the formulation of project proposals based partly on the 'OECD/DAC/WID criteria'.

(The OECD/DAC/WID criteria stipulate that:

1. the target group's interests and requests must be considered in the planning of a project;
2. local women must participate actively during project implementation;
3. obstacles to participation by women must be identified and removed;
4. WID expertise must be available throughout the project cycle.)

The memorandum entitled 'A World of Difference' assumes that 50% of expenditure on bilateral programmes in sectors of direct interest to women will satisfy the above criteria by 1998. The guiding principle in the coming period is that gradual and systematic development will result in 35% satisfying these criteria by 1995.

Specific activities that increase the autonomy of women in the region also qualify for Dutch support.

The WID specialists based in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi will play an important part in the implementation of this policy.

d. Urban poverty

Although the problem of urban poverty is relatively insignificant in the region, it is growing apace. This is largely due to the growth of the urban population, which is twice as high as average population growth in the region. This high growth rate is the consequence of the natural expansion of the cities, exacerbated

by migration from rural to urban areas. The rapid growth of the urban population is causing housing and employment problems.

The policy must be designed to limit the growth of urban poverty. This can be achieved primarily by increasing yields per hectare in the agricultural sector, which will enable the number of jobs in this sector to be increased. Urban poverty can also be limited by increasing local non-agricultural employment through the establishment of small-scale industry to supply goods and services to the farming community. The Dutch policy seeks to increase jobs in the agricultural sector through the rural development policy, and it will support activities that encourage small-scale, informal employment.

Where there is already extensive urban poverty, specific action will be taken to alleviate it. This is particularly true of Kenya, where dualist economic development has given rise to chronic poverty and backwardness in Nairobi and Mombasa, which will not be overcome without specific external aid.

A contribution will be made to the improvement of living conditions in slum areas. Special attention will be paid to creating work and incomes. A specialist in small-scale employment/urban poverty will be assigned to the region, with Nairobi as his base.

e. Health care

An improvement in public health needs to be supported on humanitarian and development grounds, and this support will be offered under the regional programme. The aid will be provided under the policy outlined for this sector in the memorandum 'A World of Difference', meaning that a high priority will be given to primary health care with the aim of reducing the incidence of the most common infectious diseases, which are still the leading cause of death, on the basis of the participation of the people and of multi-annual programmes commensurate with the national policy. The aim will be to combine the various elements of primary health care. Efficiency and, wherever possible, cost reimbursement will be encouraged.

In East Africa support for health care means providing not only aid for primary health care but also help to prevent and combat AIDS and to alleviate the consequences of this disease, which is assuming epidemic proportions in East Africa. It is imposing a heavy burden on medical facilities in general because it is causing a revival of other infectious diseases. It also affects children when they are infected at birth or are orphaned.

Effective support for measures to limit population growth will be combined, wherever possible, with other health care activities. The birth rate must be reduced if there is to be sustainable development in the region.

Drinking water supply and sanitation will form part of the programme in this sector and will be combined with other activities where this is considered desirable.

f. Education

In view of the major importance of access to elementary education for the whole population, although it has become or is in danger of becoming an illusion for a

growing section of the population in most countries of the region, added to which the quality of this education is steadily declining, education will be one of the sectors that qualify for Dutch support. This support will be mainly designed to improve primary education and initial vocational training. As in the past, it will also be possible to contribute to the solution of other problems of major relevance to development. An increase in the participation of girls in education will be encouraged.

A specialist in education will be assigned to the region, with Dar es Salaam as his base.

g. Research

The Netherlands already supports applied research in the agricultural, medical and other sectors and will continue to do so in the sectors and areas of interest identified for Dutch aid. However, as has already been mentioned, the socio-economic information needed to formulate policy is not available. The processes of socio-economic change are not properly understood, and the region's research capacities in these fields are limited. In the coming period, therefore, support for applied research will be continued and extended to include research needed for the formulation of socio-economic policy and the development of local research capacities in the region. At least 5% of the budget for the bilateral programme will be spent on research.

h. Transport and communications

Although the analysis shows poor transport to be one of the obstacles to the development of the region, a conscious decision has been taken not to include this sector in the Dutch development cooperation policy. The reason for this decision is that other donors, usually in close coordination, are already giving this sector a great deal of support. The problems that persist are due to poor absorptive capacity rather than any need for additional support. Where necessary, import aid and ORETs (Kenya) may be used to assist this sector. During rural and agricultural development activities problems identified in the transport and communications infrastructure will, of course, be tackled. An example in this context is the construction of rural roads, which are important for the economic development of an area.

3.4 Continuity and change

From the above it is possible to identify the continuity and change in the policy. This is summarised in the following table.

	Current	New
Instruments	country policy bilateral cash ceiling sector programmes	regional approach flexible cash ceiling ¹ flexible choice of channel ¹
Countries chosen	Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda	- Uganda: added - Burundi and

Good governance, human rights	respect for human rights as criterion for aid	Madagascar: dropped - reinforced as criterion - active support for development of good governance
Import aid, bbs, budget aid	- import aid - balance-of-payments aid	- budget aid - further untying of programme aid - bbs: dropped
Poverty	- structural poverty alleviation (in which economic self-reliance and direct poverty al- leviation were com- bined)	- ditto - introduction of poverty test
Sectors	- rural development - education (pri- marily higher edu- cation) - health care (mainly drinking water and sanitation)	- industrial develop- ment: dropped at least the same level - primarily elemen- tary education - larger volume ² - besides drinking water and sanita- tion and help in limiting popula- tion growth, now explicit concern for primary health care - explicit concern for AIDS problem - larger volume ² - alleviation of urban poverty
WID	- concern for WID in projects - concern for WID in development co- operation policy - specific WID projects	- explicit DAC/WID objectives - exclusion of nega- tive effect - development of objective of posi- tive effect in longer term - promotion of women's autonomy in overall nation- al policy
	- concern for envi-	- integration of

Environment

ronment in develop-
ment cooperation
policy
- specific environ-
mental projects
- ad hoc environmen-
tal impact testing
of other projects

environment into
concept of sus-
tainable develop-
ment
- exclusion of nega-
tive effect
- development of
objective of posi-
tive effect in
longer term
- promotion of
integration of
environment into
overall national
policy

Research

geared to applied
research, mainly in
agricultural sector
and medicine

- in addition, ex-
plicit concern for
research into
processes of change
that is relevant to
development

¹ by reference to ab-
sorptive capacity
and level of agree-
ment with socio-
economic policy

² primarily through
budget aid

Development cooperation with the countries of the region is a process that will continue for many decades to come. Where this already appears to apply to development cooperation in general, reference will again be made here to the specific features of the region and of the cooperation advocated which require a long-term view to be taken.

Tanzania has only recently begun to change its economic system. Given the political resistance, this transformation will take some time and entail the usual frictional losses. The cooperative relationship must take account of these losses from the outset. Uganda has only recently emerged from civil war and chaos. Developing a decisive and responsible administration and striking and consolidating new political and ethnic balances will be a difficult and sometimes perilous process, to which economic efficiency will take second place from time to time. The situation in Rwanda is unsettled and characterised by structural problems due to overpopulation and Rwandan refugees beyond its frontiers who want to return. Economically, Kenya is still in the best position to achieve sustainable economic development by its own efforts, although in the long term this development will again be threatened by overpopulation. In all the countries of the region demographic change has only just begun, and high population growth will continue to impose a very heavy burden on development in the decades to come.

For the foreseeable future none of the countries will be able to raise the funds they need for investment in and the recurrent cost of social infrastructure and sound environmental conservation in marginal zones. Only when population growth has fallen substantially and economic growth (which must be sustainable and fair and generate employment) has risen sufficiently for this expenditure as well as the direct cost of living to be financed by these countries themselves will there be any prospect of a reduction in dependence on aid.

Notes:

1. See also Europa Publications - 'Africa South of the Sahara'.
2. See also Davidson - 'Growth of African Civilization', etc.
3. For a review of the effectiveness and efficiency of both economic models see Bevan, Collier and Gunning. The authors describe Kenya's economic policy as leading to sustainable balance, though at a suboptimal level, and Tanzania's policy as inconsistent, leading to increasing macroeconomic contraction, partly because farmers are producing little more than they need for themselves, and this not only as a reaction to government pressure (see also Van Cranenburgh and Hyden). The major improvement in the terms of trade from 1976 to 1978 due to record coffee and tea prices obscured this situation for a time and made it possible for Tanzania to delay the necessary policy reforms. Also of interest is the explanation the authors give for the fact that the deterioration in the terms of trade in Tanzania's and Kenya's relatively closed economies had a surprisingly marked effect on GNP. Their research leads them to attribute this to government policy in response to the deterioration in the terms of trade and especially to the prevailing economic system ('control regime'), which had the effect of exacerbating the initial shock.
4. In an attempt to explain the different degrees of success achieved with birth control in Asia and Africa Caldwell and Caldwell reject levels of economic development as the cause. They ascribe them to 1) the manner of production (traditional, by extended families, on large tracts of communal tribal land), 2) socio-cultural values, in which fertility has the highest value, or 'life after death' depends on the number of progeny, and 3) the fact that the decision to reproduce is taken not by the person who bears the burden (the mother) but by the person who derives the benefits (the father).
5. See Binswanger and Pingali.
6. See UNDP Human Development Report, 1991.
7. The World Bank expects the net growth of Kenya's labour supply by the year 2000 to be 6 million people and believes that they should seek employment as follows:

Sector	Rural	Urban x 1,000	Total
Wage employment in modern agriculture	31	-	31
Wage employment in modern non-agricultural sector:			
private	32	158	190
public	210	184	394
smallholding agriculture	1,856	71	1,927
rural non-farm sector	2,164	-	2,164

urban informal sector	-	1,267	1,267
Additional employment expected by the year 2000	4,293	1,680	5,973

60% of the jobs will have to be found in the small-scale informal sector by the year 2000, meaning 120,000 jobs in Kenya's urban centres.

8. See also the NAR opinion 'Macro-Micro'.
9. The recent IOV evaluation of the rural development sector programme provides some interesting and noteworthy insights into participation by the people as a requirement for the success of rural development projects and into the problems that occur in this context.
10. See also the NAR opinion 'Macro-Micro'.
11. See also the NAR opinion 'Administrative and Management Capacities in Sub-Saharan Africa'.

II KENYA

1 INTRODUCTION

The Netherlands has had a development relationship with Kenya for many years. As a target or programme country, Kenya was one of the Netherlands' leading partners. This close cooperation will continue under the regional programme, with sustainable poverty alleviation achieved primarily by maintaining economic activity, maintaining the scope for the use of the environment and investing in people.

2 POLITICAL SITUATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC POLICY

2.1 Political situation

Since independence in 1963, Kenya's political system has been dominated by the Kenya African National Union (KANU), which was established shortly before independence. In 1969 Kenya became a de facto one-party state, although this was not confirmed until 1982 with an amendment to the constitution. Central legislative authority has since been vested in the National Assembly, which consists of twelve members appointed by the President and 188 elected district representatives, all members of KANU.

The many ethnic groups represented in Kenya have always left their mark on political developments, despite the prohibition of organisations based on tribal links: the originally dominant position of the Kikuyu has been gradually eroded during the administration of President Moi, who came to power in 1978 after the death of President Kenyatta and is himself a Kalenjin. The national parliament can be regarded as a forum which focuses on subjects of regional or local importance.

Since the mid-1980s developments have been characterised by the growth of the President's and party's political power on the one hand and of opposition on the other. The opposition can be divided into various groups: politicians who are of the same generation as the current leaders and have been expelled from KANU or have lost their prominent positions in the party; Oginga Odinga, a Luo with Marxist aspirations, who has belonged to the opposition for many years; a few clerical leaders, particularly in the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches; Professor Wangari Maathai, the leader of the environmental organisation, the Green Belt Movement; lawyers who can be seen as representing the younger generation; and the Kikuyus, who oppose the overrepresentation of the Kalenjin in the government and the parastatal enterprises. The period of relative political stability that was a feature of the country after independence is now more or less a thing of the past.

In 1990 the debate on political reforms also began in Kenya, one of the demands being for the introduction of a multi-party system. A widening spectrum of public opinion - politicians, lawyers, Church leaders, even representatives of the lower income groups - has attracted attention. In July widespread disturbances followed the arrest of the two leading proponents of pluralist government. In December the government took a first cautious step towards greater political openness: after extensive hearings before a Review Committee it had set up various measures relating to the non-secret and automatic election of KANU representatives and the expulsion of party members were abolished.

Expectations that the Kenyan government might take a second step towards greater political openness and fundamental political reforms rose, but remained unfulfilled. Recent political developments paint a disturbing picture: on the one hand, an attempt to establish a new political party and to convene a political meeting of this group was nipped in the bud, the editor of a legal monthly was arrested and the journal was seized; on the other hand, the influence of the recently appointed Attorney-General, Amos Wako, has meanwhile led to the release of the editor and opposition leaders who had been arrested. There is speculation that an early general election will be held to restore the electorate's confidence in parliament. It looks as if non-KANU members will be allowed to stand. It is expected that the provision of the constitution making KANU the only legal party will be revoked. The political climate thus seems to be slowly changing to greater openness.

As for the transition to a multi-party system, the authorities refer to the danger of parties forming along tribal lines, which would be a threat to national stability. The rural population are not on the whole interested or involved in politics, and women play little part in the political decision-making process. Although the call for political reforms can be regarded as a practical political goal, it also reflects the public's growing dissatisfaction with the socio-economic climate in the country. In a statement on behalf of the EC donor community at the Consultative Group's meeting in Paris last November the Netherlands expressed concern about the absence of genuine political reforms and the lack of progress in the implementation of unavoidable structural adjustment measures to rehabilitate the Kenyan economy.

2.2 Human rights situation

Although the classical human rights are not flagrantly and systematically violated in Kenya, there have been incidents of human rights violations which give cause for concern. Political developments, and especially the events of 1990, have had an effect on the human rights situation, which is exemplified by intimidating statements by politicians and several trials with political undertones, followed by widespread arrests during the disturbances in July 1990, even though the majority of those detained were soon released again.

As a one-party state, Kenya restricts certain civil and political rights, particularly the right to freedom of association and assembly. Thus the initially independent women's organisation Mandeleo ya Wanawake is now completely incorporated in the KANU party structure. For some time there has been a reasonable degree of freedom of the press and, consequently, freedom of expression in the printed media. The broadcasting of information on radio and television is subject to government restrictions.

The legal system functions reasonably well in Kenya, though with varying degrees of politicisation. The extension of the right to dismiss members of the judiciary has been redressed since December 1990: public prosecutors and judges are now appointed for life. There are cases of prosecution on political grounds, as evident from the ban on publications accused of agitation and the option of 'administrative detention' without charge or trial. The appointment of the UN rapporteur Amos Wako as Attorney-General in May 1991 can be seen as a favourable development.

Social and economic rights are fairly well guaranteed in the formal sector of the economy. The same cannot be said of the growing informal sector or of women: although women perform more than 75% of all agricultural work, their rights to land have diminished considerably over the years as a result of the legislation on inheritance and ownership. Owing to a shortage of resources and poor management capacities the government is not always able to guarantee adequate basic services, such as education and health care.

To summarise, Kenya's position in the field of human rights is not bad by African standards, but it should be further improved if only because the country is reasonably stable and prosperous.

2.3 Socio-economic situation and policy

2.3.a Economic growth and emancipation

Review

Four periods can be distinguished in Kenya's economic development since independence in 1963: a period of rapid economic growth with relative macroeconomic stability in the first ten years of independence (1963-1973); a period of declining economic growth from 1974 to 1979, when Kenya felt the adverse effects of the two oil crises, which were partly offset by the very steep rise in the production and export of coffee in 1976 and 1977; a period of macroeconomic instability and attempts at stabilisation and adjustment from 1980 to 1985, followed by the present period of renewed economic growth, which began in 1989 and can be attributed to a policy of structural adjustment.

The first period was typified by annual economy-wide growth averaging 6.5% p.a. Agricultural production rose by 4.7% p.a. thanks to somewhat better producer prices and effective extension services, while industry grew by 11% p.a. and tourism also expanded. The propensity to save and invest was remarkably high: only 10% of total investment was financed by borrowing abroad. Inflation was kept down to an average of 4% with a wise monetary and fiscal policy. In the ensuing period, however, the situation deteriorated, partly because of the oil crisis in 1973. Bad weather revealed the structural weaknesses of the agricultural sector, e.g. low producer prices of agricultural goods and shortcomings and inefficiencies in the market structure. From 1974 to 1985 growth in the agricultural sector fell to 3.5% p.a., less than population growth. This trend and growing protectionism and import substitution in the industrial sector acted as an obstacle to further growth of industrial production. This negative trend was further exacerbated by the disintegration of the East African Community, in which Kenya had had good opportunities to export its manufactures. These internal and external shocks to the economy were aggravated by the rise in government spending with the increase in revenue from coffee production (see Bevan et al.).

From 1974 to 1981 economic growth fell to 4.7% p.a., and the budget deficit rose to 9.5% of GDP, inflation to 20% and the current-account deficit to 12.5% of GDP. These trends forced the government to come to a number of standby arrangements with the IMF to stabilise the economy and revive economic growth. With the help of structural adjustment loans from the World Bank fiscal and monetary measures, including the devaluation of the Kenyan shilling, were taken to curb domestic demand. Steps were also taken to stimulate agricultural and

industrial production and exports. This process of stabilisation and adjustment produced some important results: agricultural prices were raised, the classification system for import licences was simplified, and a gradual transition to a uniform tariff structure began. By 1984 the government also succeeded in reducing the budget deficit to 4% of GDP, the current-account deficit to 2% of GDP and annual inflation to 11% from 20% in 1980. These changes were achieved at the expense of economic growth, which fell by 2.4% p.a. during this period, while the population grew at 3.9% p.a., with the result that per capita income also fell. However, 1986 saw the beginning of economic recovery with the launching of an extensive structural adjustment programme geared to growth, which led to a 5.7% real increase in GDP in that year. A sharp rise in coffee and tea prices and low oil prices also improved the terms of trade. This growth continued in 1987, though at the lower level of 4% (owing to the higher price of oil, a poor rainy season and lower coffee and tea prices). The budget deficit rose to 8% of GDP, inflation from 4% in 1986 to 7.3% in 1987. The US\$ 3.4 billion debt at the end of 1986 (42% multilateral, 39% bilateral, the remainder commercial; equivalent to 50% of GDP) also caused serious concern. A subsequent investigation revealed that the debt was in fact even higher.

Structural adjustment policy since 1986

Although the economic situation in Kenya in the mid-1980s was certainly not bad compared with other countries of sub-Saharan Africa, the country faced a number of fundamental problems requiring an early solution. Thus in a country report on Kenya the African Development Bank cited the most important problems as being:

- the high population growth rate of 3.9% p.a., resulting in 400,000 newcomers to the labour market each year;
- the stagnation of agricultural production due, among other things, to drought, limited opportunities to increase the amount of land under cultivation, unwise government policy, excessive government involvement in the agricultural market, insufficient research, an ineffective credit system and the distribution of land;
- a highly capital-intensive industrial sector because of the government's import substitution policy, resulting in limited job creation, high imports and a lack of competitiveness in the domestic market;
- heavy dependence on imported oil and, as a result of growing demand for firewood, rapid deforestation leading to increasing soil erosion and environmental degradation;
- the sizeable and inefficient parastatal sector;
- limited growth in the volume of exports of only 1% from 1982 to 1987, despite cautious attempts to diversify exports.

To tackle these problems, the Kenyan government presented an economic development strategy for the period 1985-2000 in Sessional Paper No. 1, 1986, Economic Management for Renewed Growth, which also forms the basis of the sixth development plan (1989-1993), and in a number of Policy Framework Papers (PFPs), the latest of which relates to the period 1990-1992. With this Sessional Paper and a policy of rationalising the budget that had already been launched the Kenyan government was anticipating the more stringent adjustment policy that has been formulated and implemented in recent years in cooperation with the World Bank and IMF. The main elements and aims of the five-year plan are:

- average economic growth of 5.6% p.a.;

- accelerated job creation, particularly in the private sector, accompanied by stimulation of productivity with a view to increasing real incomes;
- provision of basic services for everyone and food security (sufficient reserves based on improved productivity in the growing of both food and export crops);
- balanced development of rural and urban areas;
- gradual structural change from an agricultural to a more diversified economy, with agriculture, small-scale industry and services as the driving forces of growth.

On the basis of this five-year plan a PFP setting out medium-term macroeconomic objectives is drawn up each year for the next three years in close consultation with the World Bank and IMF. The main objectives of the 1991/1992-1993/1994 PFP are:

- a reduction in the current-account deficit from 7.7% of GNP in 1990 to 4% in 1993/1994;
- an increase in reserves from the equivalent of less than 1.5 months of imports in 1990 to 2.9 months of imports in 1993/1994;
- a reduction in inflation from 17.7% in 1990 to about 5% in 1993/ 1994;
- economic growth of more than 5% p.a. by offering the private sector incentives;
- an improvement in the effectiveness of government investment by restructuring and privatising state-owned enterprises;
- an increase in the propensity to save by reducing the government deficit and liberalising the financial sector.

The World Bank and IMF are assisting the structural adjustment programme with a number of credits. The World Bank has launched structural adjustment programmes for agriculture (1986), the second phase of which began in late 1990, industry (1988), the financial sector (1989), education (1991) and the export sector (1990), and a programme for health care is being prepared. The IMF is supporting the policy with loans from the Structural Adjustment Facility (SAF) and an Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF).

Results achieved with the adjustment policy

Compared with the original objectives, the results achieved with the adjustment policy since 1986 have been mixed. In terms of growth there has undoubtedly been progress. Thus, according to the World Bank, GDP grew by an annual average of 5%, agriculture by 4.4%, industry by 5.6% and the service sector by 5.6% from 1984 to 1989, compared with 2.1%, 2.8%, 3.7% and 4.1%, respectively, from 1980 to 1989. These figures hardly differ from the forecasts. A moderate reduction in inflation has been achieved, although it has been rising again since 1988, reaching about 19% in 1991.

Gross domestic savings averaged 17.2% of GDP and gross investment 21.0%, although it must be said that a significant (and growing) proportion of investment has been financed with loans/donations from abroad. Both national savings and domestic (especially government) investment are relatively high by comparison with other countries in the region. Private domestic investment is under pressure because of the high interest rates and the government's strict monetary and credit policy, which results, for example, in the exploitation of the capital market to finance the government deficit. Structural adjustments in the financial sector have led to a better monetary and credit policy and to the

restructuring of financial institutions. Government revenues have averaged 21.4% of GDP, expenditure 27.7%, a clear indication that the policy of reducing the government deficit has not been very successful. This deficit is largely financed from external and domestic non-bank sources. Dependence on donor aid to finance the deficit is increasing. According to the 1991/1992 budget, donors make good about 62% of the deficit. Total annual aid from donors has now exceeded the US\$ 1 billion mark.

External sector

The growing trade deficit is causing serious concern. In 1989 it amounted to over US\$ 1 billion, 50% higher than in 1988 and due, in particular, to lower coffee revenues, a higher oil import bill and a rise in other imports as a result of the import liberalisation policy. For the first time exports fell below 50% of imports, a situation which will not have changed greatly in 1990, when coffee exports stagnated because of low prices, exports of horticultural products declined because of poor quality due to inadequate packaging and transport, and the oil import bill rose.

The adverse effects of the Gulf crisis on both exports (a reduction in exports of horticultural products due to a reduction in international air transport operations) and imports (more expensive oil) made the situation worse in late 1990. Fortunately, the sharp decline in the tourist trade, the most important source of foreign exchange, was temporary, and the consequences have been less serious than feared.

The Kenyan government expects a great deal of the Export Processing Zones (EPZs), the first of the three becoming operational in early 1991. They are intended to boost export growth in the long term, but it remains to be seen whether these expectations are justified. So far the business community has shown little interest in the EPZs. There do not appear to be any opportunities for a rapid increase in exports, except in the horticultural and flower sector, provided that quality improves with better packaging and transport. The opportunities for increasing exports to other PTA countries are very limited. The success of the EPZs very much depends on the investment climate. Although recent measures have led to an improvement, political instability, uncertainty about the sustainability of present government policy, red tape and corruption are all to Kenya's disadvantage as it seeks to attract foreign investors.

Debt position

According to the World Bank, the total outstanding foreign debt at the end of 1988 was about US\$ 5.9 billion. More recent World Bank data put the debt at the end of 1989 at US\$ 5.7 billion, some 38% of which is owed to multilateral organisations and about 31% to bilateral creditors. Although some bilateral donors have recently cancelled Kenya's debts to them and despite some debt relief, the debt burden is still heavy and a serious obstacle to the stimulation of growth. The debt service ratio is about 28%. There has, however, been no call for consolidation in the Paris Club. To keep its debts manageable, Kenya has imposed an annual ceiling on new commercial loans at the IMF's insistence.

Public sector

Although policy in recent years has been designed to strengthen the role of the private sector, the public sector still plays a very important part in the Kenyan economy. The World Bank's 1990 World Development Report, for example, reveals that government expenditure in 1988 was equivalent to 28.6% of GNP, compared with 21% in 1972. An economic analysis commissioned by SIDA shows that production by government services rose by a total of 60% from 1979 to 1989. The disproportionate rise in spending on education, growth in health care on a par with population growth and the stagnation of expenditure on agriculture until the end of 1988 are particularly worth noting. These figures are close to the World Bank's for the period 1984/1985-1989/1990, when general public expenditure averaged 21.9% p.a., with defence accounting for 7.7% of this; social services 27.5%, 18.9% going to education and 5.1% to health care; economic services 22.5%, 7.9% going to agriculture; and other services, including debt service financing, 28.1%. The ratio of military spending to expenditure on the social sectors in Kenya has thus been fairly constant, averaging about 0.28 in recent years.

Revenues rose sharply from 18% of GNP in 1972 to 21.5% in 1988. Worth noting in this context is the decline in the proportion of revenues from taxes on incomes and profits from 35.6% to 28.5% and the rise in revenues from taxes on goods and services from 19.9% to 41.2%. Another remarkable feature is the high figure of 90% contributed by taxes to government revenues, compared with 81% in 1972. For the last two or three years the government has pursued an active policy of requiring consumers to pay for government services. So far it has been found easier to implement this policy in such economic sectors as veterinary services than in such social sectors as health care and education.

The large budget deficits and the inefficiency of government prevent government resources from being used more effectively. The Kenyan government has not been decisive enough in establishing and implementing an effective policy to rehabilitate loss-making, inefficient state-owned and parastatal enterprises, which impose a heavy burden on the budget. Clear priorities need to be set for investment in the public sector. Within the national budget more funds should be released for operational and maintenance tasks so that the abundance of manpower available may be used more efficiently.

The Kenyan government is in the process of drawing up clearer investment priorities and in 1992 will publish the Public Investment Programme on which a modest start was made in 1990. This document should set clear sectoral priorities and define measures for the reform and rehabilitation of state-owned enterprises.

Economic sectors

As of old, agriculture is the most important sector of the economy, accounting for 31% of GNP in 1989. It employs some 70% of the working population and earns two thirds of the country's export revenues. Agriculture is also the driving force of the service and industrial sectors. According to the World Bank, small-scale agriculture accounts for the lion's share of production, employment and cultivated land. Kenya has 1.7 million small farms averaging 2.3 ha in size. These farms account for 60% of the cultivated land, and 40% are run by women. 85% of the workers in the agricultural sector are women. They are responsible

for 95% of the food crops produced and for 50 to 60% of the cash crops. Most farmers combine livestock and food crops for their own consumption (mainly maize, milk and meat) with such cash crops as coffee, tea and horticultural products and sell food surpluses in good years. Some 85% of the cultivated land is used to grow food crops, of which maize is the most important. 22% of all cultivated land is devoted to maize. Since the traumatic experience of food shortages in 1979/1980 and 1984 the government has pursued a policy of self-sufficiency in food. In 'normal' years Kenya is self-sufficient in food, although wheat and sugar are imported.

Although the performance of the agricultural sector is better than the average for sub-Saharan Africa, average annual growth in the last ten years has been, at 3.5%, lower than annual population growth. It has therefore proved difficult to raise per capita income and to protect natural resources. The proportion of rural households with insufficient income to meet their basic food requirements has not therefore been reduced, and the poor have increased in number. Agricultural growth has been largely due to the increase in cultivated land in the fertile areas, the change to the production of such high-quality export crops as coffee and tea and an improvement in productivity. Another important factor has been the government's policy on land ownership, as a result of which the political elite in particular has encouraged private investment in agriculture and has even invested itself. An improvement in productivity and the growing of more cash crops provide the best prospect of an increase in agricultural production, since fertile land with sufficient rainfall accounts for only a small proportion of the cultivable land, making it impossible to increase the area cultivated using the old methods. High population pressure has led a substantial reduction in the amount of land with high per capita potential and in the size of farms, and migration to land with a lower agricultural potential in Kenya's extensive semi-arid areas has risen. One of the aims of the new ASAL (Arid and Semi-Arid Lands) Ministry is to increase productivity in the semi-arid areas (arable) and arid areas (livestock). Traditional small-scale fishing on Lake Victoria and the inland waterways is a further source of employment and protein for the people.

According to a recent World Bank study, an annual growth rate of over 4% is possible in the agricultural sector provided that the policy is geared to improving yields per hectare, particularly in the small-scale sector. Increasing the output and export of high-quality tea and coffee, the export of horticultural products and the production of milk and beans offers the best prospects in this respect. This forecast growth will be achieved only if a number of structural problems are solved. Although the structural adjustment policy in the agricultural sector, introduced in 1986 at the World Bank's instigation with support from the Netherlands and other countries, has been fairly successful as regards price policy, the deregulation of the market, the financial and organisational reform of the national Cereals and Produce Board and other institutions and the improvement of cost recovery in this sector, not enough progress has yet been made, for example, in ensuring an adequate supply of agricultural inputs, improving the efficiency of state farms and rationalising the spending of government money in this sector. During the second phase of the structural adjustment programme for agriculture, which was agreed with the World Bank in late 1990, thought is being given to ways of removing major obstacles to further growth, such as better prices for farmers, the increased use of inputs, especially fertilisers, greater access to credit and an improvement in government services through, say, a larger contribution to operating and maintenance costs under current agricultural programmes.

After independence the industrial policy was geared primarily to import substitution and rapid growth with the help of foreign capital. As the opportunities for import substitution dried up and as the manufacture of capital goods was not practicable because of the small size of the domestic market, the policy has shifted since 1980 to the liberalisation of trade and the stimulation of exports of semi-manufactures. The result is a highly capital-intensive industrial sector which, having been very heavily protected until 1986, is not internationally competitive. Industrial production contributes 20% of GDP (with manufactures accounting for 12%), compared with 18% (11%) in 1965. Growth fell appreciably from 1965 to 1986 because of the stabilisation programme introduced by the government in 1980, exogenous shocks and structural problems due to industry's orientation towards the domestic market. Price controls and the many inefficient state-owned enterprises in this sector also had a very negative effect.

Since 1988 Kenya has pursued, with support from the World Bank and others, a reform policy for the industrial sector which is primarily designed to remove trade barriers. The results have been reasonable. The exchange rate policy is fairly effective, and trade has been largely liberalised. A start has been made on the restructuring of state-owned enterprises. A distinction has been made between strategic and non-strategic enterprises. The latter are to be closed and government interests sold to the public, foreign investors not excluded. The policy will also be geared to improving the investment climate, stimulating exports and further liberalising imports.

In a study on the industrial sector in seven sub-Saharan African countries Roger C. Riddell comes to the conclusion where Kenya is concerned that this (protected) sector can grow with the present structure of incentives only if growth in agriculture or improved international terms of trade or an increase in capital inflows generate the additional investment funds needed. The only alternative is a fundamental change in the pattern of financial incentives and protection. The sector is too large and too heavily subsidised for the rest of the economy. Unless industry becomes a more efficient earner or saver of foreign exchange, it will, according to Riddell, obstruct rather than contribute to opportunities for economic growth.

Of the other sectors of the economy, tourism is by far the most important foreign exchange earner; in 1989 it brought in about US\$ 418 million, or 22% of total exports. However, this sector suffered a temporary decline in late 1990, largely due to the Gulf crisis, but also because of an alleged lack of safety in the parks and elsewhere.

Kenya's transport and communications sectors are reasonably well developed. Over the past five years an average of 3.8% of government funds has been spent on these sectors. Careful attention needs to be paid to the maintenance of the very extensive network of roads, which will require a large financial contribution from both the government and donors. Under the District Focus policy the government is taking a particular interest in opening up rural areas. The increased availability and improved quality of postal services and telecommunications have priority in this context. The connection of rural centres to the national power grid is also being tackled with determination.

Kenya is poor in natural resources; the mining sector is of secondary importance, all oil has to be imported, and forest and good land are scarce. The geothermal industry and hydropower supply about 12% of electricity. The government is

therefore seeking to make more economical use of the scarce energy sources (wood) and to achieve sustainable exploitation of resources. There has recently been some hope of extracting economically viable quantities of oil in north-west Kenya. Production is to begin shortly.

2.3.b Demographic situation and policy

Kenya has an area of 583,000 sq.km, 18% of which has reasonable to good agricultural potential. The present population is estimated at 24 million, 78% of whom live in rural areas. The average population density is 43 inhabitants/sq.km, with major regional variations. The proportion of urban dwellers is expected to rise from 22% in 1988 to 32% in 2000. From 1980 to 1988 the population increased by an average of 3.8% p.a., one of the highest growth rates in the world. Recent estimates indicate that the growth rate is falling (now about 3.4%), which will give a total population of about 35 million in the year 2000. The same research reveals that the fertility rate fell from 7.7 births per women in 1984 to 6.7 in 1989 (Kenya DHS, 1989). It is also becoming clear that the decline in the number of births is partly due to the level of education achieved by women. Although 90% of the adult population are familiar with at least one modern method of contraception, only about 27% of (married) women actually use it, and then irregularly. The use of condoms is still unpopular, although attitudes are changing somewhat because of the danger of HIV infection.

With fertility high and child mortality on the decline, Kenya has a young population: about 50% of Kenyans are under the age of 15.

The ratio of the working to the non-working population rose from 98.8 in 1980 to 118.6 in 1985. The Kenyan government's policy is to reduce population growth to 3% in 2000. The high population growth rate has serious implications for food supply, land distribution, employment and social services.

2.3.c Poverty situation and policy

Kenya's economic policy is geared primarily to economic growth rather than more equal income distribution. It is assumed that the planned economic growth will benefit all income groups, and especially the many small farmers, and that the relatively good economic structure will limit the adverse social consequences of structural adjustment programmes. Improvements in the agricultural policy are expected to prove particularly beneficial to the many small farmers and so to the rural population. Kenya joined the SDA programme in 1989. However, as no research has been carried out on this aspect, it is not known for certain what social effects the adjustment policy has had on specific groups.

Although the reduction in consumer subsidies and the higher agricultural producer prices affect urban and rural consumers alike, measures to increase the efficiency of the channels used to distribute agricultural products should compensate for the effect of higher product prices by reducing the margins in the wholesale trade. Structural reforms are slowly being undertaken in the industrial sector so that a gradual transition may be made from contraction to expansion. Economies in the public sector should ensure that the government is no longer the largest source of employment growth, thus releasing resources for more rapid growth of production and employment in the private sector. In

addition, cost recovery measures are being taken primarily in the social sectors so that services may be maintained at a reasonable level and thus remain accessible to lower-income groups. This will be the case, of course, only if additional measures are taken to ensure that cost recovery does not become an insurmountable barrier for the poorest of the poor.

This theory has not, however, been entirely matched by practice. Both internal and external factors have thwarted the policy. Growth has made small farmers more prosperous, particularly in Central Province, but with land unequally distributed, population growth has probably resulted in an increase in the number of landless people and in migration to more marginal areas and to the cities. Another negative trend, not caused by the economic adjustment programmes, is the growing difficulty faced by certain groups, such as the Masai. As a result of the individualisation of 'group ranches', particularly in the Masai and Samburu areas, mortgages on land are opening up the prospect of new development options. On the other hand, a lack of water and other factors mean that the individualised plots of land are unsuitable for traditional semi-nomadic grazing. As the strong members of the group take possession of the plots that have water, the weak members of the tribe are allocated worthless plots. These are then bought by the strong group members, who thus greatly increase their property and create a new landless category. Other groups whose livelihood is threatened are the nomads (vulnerable to fluctuations in the weather and restricted by the expansion of agriculture and increasing soil degradation); women (overworked and underpaid, women head almost a quarter of rural households); unskilled urban workers, whose wage increases lag behind inflation; people in the informal sector, many of whom are living below the poverty line; and the landless and less prosperous farmers cultivating farms that are too small in both areas with high rainfall and the ASALs. Land distribution and land use are politically sensitive issues. Nonetheless, poverty alleviation and environmental considerations mean that these tasks will be included in the dialogue on the socio-economic policy to be pursued.

Income inequality in Kenya is high, in line with the fairly general image of sub-Saharan Africa (which is, however, largely based on impressions, there being a lack of hard statistical facts). According to Human Development Report 1990, the poorest 40% of households earned 9% of total incomes, whereas the top 10% accounted for 46% of total incomes, or 25 times the incomes of the lowest 10% of households. It also states that from 1977 to 1987 10% of the urban population and 55% of the rural population were living below the poverty line. According to the World Bank, the lowest seven income groups, or two thirds of all households, received 29% of total incomes in 1981/82. This was roughly similar to or slightly better than the situation in Tanzania at that time. Regional income disparities in Kenya are also pronounced. Average household incomes in Western Kenya, for example, are well below the national average.

In the absence of empirical material it is also unclear whether or not income inequality has grown in recent years. In a study based on various assumptions SIDA comes to the cautious conclusion that both the urban-rural disparities and the differences between the formal and informal sectors diminished somewhat from 1975 to 1985. This would suggest that over this period the differences in income between workers and small farmers decreased, but it is still difficult to make an unequivocal statement. As statistical data show, the growth of per capita income has been very modest. Various mechanisms have an indirect, though limited, positive effect on income distribution, among them being graduated income taxes, high import and turnover taxes on luxury goods, the

stimulation of the informal sector and a few free or subsidised services, which are mainly used by poorer groups. To summarise, income distribution immediately after independence, in terms of both money incomes and other poverty indicators, was extremely distorted. Although this distortion has waned constantly during the post-colonial period, it is still (fairly) pronounced in absolute terms.

According to Human Development Report 1990, the development of human resources was successful for many years, but less progress has been made in recent years.

Per capita GDP was US\$ 330 in 1987 according to UNDP and US\$ 370 in 1988 according to the World Bank. As the UNDP report puts Kenya's Human Development Index (HDI) at 0.481, it ranks 42nd from the bottom of the list of least advanced countries in human development terms. On the list of countries with the lowest per capita incomes Kenya takes 24th place according to the World Bank report Poverty (30th according to UNDP), an indication of relatively good social development, given the level of income. The Human Development Report states that government policy has partly offset the effects of poor income distribution and refers in this context to remarkably stable government spending on the social sector of 7 to 8% of GDP from 1973 to 1986. The report concludes that the government contribution was complemented by a sizeable private contribution to the provision of social services, and education in particular, which led to an improvement in the development of human resources.

Like income, the unemployment level is a gauge of poverty. The total working population is estimated at about 8 million. Unemployment is a serious problem in Kenya. While it is clearly visible in the cities, there is extensive concealed unemployment in the rural areas. By the end of this century the working population will have grown to 14 million people, and if unemployment is not to increase, the number of jobs will have to be doubled in the next few years, mostly in the informal sector. The slow rate of growth in the formal sector poses a mounting problem because of the rising number of school-leavers seeking suitable employment who have not been trained, or not adequately trained, for a job in the informal sector. Each year some 600,000 school-leavers look for jobs. It is estimated that only 25% of them find one in the formal sector. Even if employment grew by 3.4% p.a. (slightly above the present growth rate), the unemployment rate would still rise significantly from about 13% at present to over 20% in the year 2000, since growth in the number of new jobs will lag well behind the increase in the number of job-seekers. Recent research by the Ministry of Planning reveals that about 16% of the potential working population were unemployed in 1986, with the percentage of unemployed women twice as high as that of unemployed men. There is said to be no formal unemployment in the rural sector. In areas where tea and coffee are grown the problems are mainly seasonal. At harvest time there is a shortage of seasonal workers. Employment in the formal sector is divided equally between the private and public sectors.

A further gauge of poverty, besides income and employment, is food supply. Research has shown that there has been no measurable increase in per capita GNP or in wage incomes in the modern sector for the past ten years. Consequently, the number of families with a low standard of living has not fallen despite economic growth, and continuing poverty, especially in the rural areas, is one of the basic causes of the country's chronic food problems. This is evident, for example, from:

- an estimate that the physical development of more than 1.25 million children under the age of 5 is retarded by long-term malnutrition, especially in the first two years of life, due to a combination of poverty, disease and mothers' ignorance of correct diet during pregnancy and after breast-feeding. This has adverse effects in the longer term. Many of these children will be retarded in their development later in life and be unable to make an adequate contribution to Kenya's development;
- an estimate that over 20% of rural households, or more than 3 million people, have insufficient incomes to ensure a minimum food intake, two thirds of these households being concentrated in ten districts, eight of them in Western Kenya;
- the failure of the plan to increase both food exports and the amount of food available per capita on the domestic market, which is a further indication of the limited purchasing power of the lower income groups. The analysis shows that rural households themselves produce about half of the food they consume, which may mean that the food market is not considered sufficiently reliable or that these households do not have sufficient purchasing power.

Food supply also varies widely from one region to another. As the National Cereals and Produce Board, which is responsible for the purchase, distribution and regional storage of cereals, is not (yet) functioning properly, some districts (often the ASALs) have to contend with food shortages, while others have surpluses.

As the private sector is not permitted to transport cereals across district boundaries, shortages are not overcome quickly enough and prices differ substantially from one district to another. As it is the poor income groups who spend relatively the largest proportion of their incomes on food, price inflation hits them disproportionately hard. Furthermore, high population growth and the scarcity of available land have led to an increase in the number of landless families. These families are entirely dependent on the market. A recent World Bank report summarises the problem as follows:

- it is largely a rural problem;
- children up to the age of 2, pregnant women and breast-feeding mothers are particularly at risk;
- the time available to women is an important factor;
- food supply very much depends on such factors as disease, rises in food prices and drought;
- diseases and low incomes are the most important causes of malnutrition;
- the semi-arid parts of the ASALs are under heavy pressure due to migration and will form major centres of poverty.

To improve the situation, the World Bank recommends numerous measures designed to accelerate the development of agriculture, to improve the basic rural infrastructure and to provide opportunities for productive employment, and also calls for the inclusion of health and food measures in the government's Food Security Action Plan as part of the second phase of the Agricultural Sector Adjustment Operation (ASAO II). The Bank also recommends the establishment of a National Food and Nutrition Secretariat. The report devotes a separate section to the ASALs. A stagnant livestock population and rapid human population growth are a threat to rural life and are causing chronic food shortages. The total livestock population is generally too high for the carrying capacity of the (semi-) arid areas and fluctuates with the availability of food and drinking water. There is a tendency to translate the stocking factor into

bank credits. This tendency should be encouraged. There is also evidence of growing inequality in livestock ownership, making the position of families with few cattle more vulnerable.

Social sectors

Social services in the health care and education sectors, once so much better than those of other countries in Africa, have come under pressure in recent years, partly as a result of the inefficient use of government funds and high population growth. Nevertheless, Kenya ranks relatively high when the social indicators are considered. Mortality among children under the age of 5 fell from 208 per 1000 in 1960 to 152 in 1975 and 111 in 1989. Infant mortality was 68 in 1989, and 170 women in 100,000 died in childbirth. Life expectancy too rose from 45 years in 1960 to 52 in 1975 and 59 in 1987. The immunisation rate in 1988 was 78%. However, a recent study emphasizes major regional disparities in access to primary health care services and in the levels of vaccination and mortality among children. Coast Province and Western Kenya in particular are below the national average. In 1986 1.7% of GNP was spent on health care.

From 1984/85 to 1989/90 an average of 5.1% of the national budget was spent on health care. The trend may, however, be downward. The proportion fell from 5.4% in 1984/85 to 4.6% in 1989/90, after reaching 6.1% in 198/89.

The results achieved with the policy have come under pressure in recent years owing to the insufficiency of budget funds, inadequate efficiency in the use of the funds available and institutional weakness. Attempts to limit the growth of expenditure have had an adverse effect primarily on the acquisition of drugs and equipment and on maintenance. Personnel costs have continued to rise. Furthermore, as a large and growing proportion of government funds earmarked for the medical sector has gone to hospitals in the cities, the opportunities for expanding services and establishing more cost-effective preventive and primary health care programmes have continued to be limited.

A new, fast growing health problem is AIDS. The spread of HIV has been very rapid, and the prospects for containing the AIDS epidemic are not favourable. According to official statistics, there are 19,000 registered cases of AIDS in Kenya, and 200,000 people are HIV carriers. Since 1987 the government has been conducting a large-scale campaign to inform the public and encourage a change of behaviour, but it has yet to have any discernible effect.

In the education sphere too Kenya has a good reputation. After independence in 1963 the education system inherited from the British was expanded considerably at all levels. Primary education has been officially free since 1980, but it is certainly not free for the parents. Attendance rose from 50% in 1963 to 96% in 1985. It should be added, however, that many pupils repeat classes or leave school early (38%) and that fewer girls (93%) than boys (98%) go to school. Secondary education in Kenya takes a wide variety of forms, the privately run 'youth polytechnics' and 'harambee secondary schools' being a particular feature. In the past 20 years the proportion of girls in secondary education, compared with that of boys, has risen from 30% to 40%. At the higher level there are four universities. Besides its formal education system, Kenya has many vocational training centres and programmes run by various ministries.

The literacy rate rose from 31% in 1970 to 65% in 1985 (HDR 1991), an annual growth rate of 3.5%. Although it is becoming less pronounced, there is still a difference between women and men: in 1985 the literacy rate among women was 49%, among men 70%. The government spends a great deal on education, 5% of GNP in 1988 (or 21.5% of the national budget), compared with 4.6% in 1960. From 1985 to 1988 about 62% of the education budget was spent on primary education. However, according to Kenyan government information, the proportion of the budget earmarked for recurrent expenditure on primary education fell from 56.5% in 1986/87 to 49.9% in 1989/90.

Despite the relatively large contribution from the government, parents make a substantial financial contribution to primary and secondary education. Consequently, some parents, particularly in the rural areas, cannot afford to send their children to school, this being one of the causes of the high drop-out rate. It is estimated that the proportion of children in the ASALs attending primary education rose from 30% in 1977 to 55% in 1989 and is thus still well below the national average. The quality of teaching and facilities in the rural areas is, moreover, inadequate.

The introduction of the 8-4-4 system in 1985 signified a fundamental change in Kenyan education. Not only did the length of courses at the various levels of education change: there was also a major shift of emphasis in the nature of education. The main aim of the 8-4-4 system is to provide a practical education, which is intended to give school-leavers a better chance in the labour market so that they may make a contribution to the country's socio-economic development. Like primary and secondary schools, higher institutes of education are required to adopt the general principles of the 8-4-4 system.

The introduction of this completely new system posed major organisational problems for the Kenyan authorities and educational establishments. Both the universities and the vocational training centres lack the necessary physical infrastructure and educational resources. There is also a serious shortage of suitable teachers, teaching methods and curricula are still overly geared to theory in many cases, and there are too many arts students and too few science students. Recently, the effects of the 8-4-4 system on university education appears to have been the subject of a growing debate, particularly in academic circles in Kenya. The criticism outside Kenya is also growing.¹

The Kenyan government is aware of the negative social trends and is inclined, partly at the request of donors, to adjust its policy in these social sectors. In short, the message reads: do more with as much or less money by using resources effectively. In view of the high incidence of malnutrition a greater interest should be taken in food for children as part of school programmes. Some diversion of resources from university to primary education and the provision of more funds for teaching materials, etc. seem necessary. More attention should also be paid to teacher training and to primary and secondary technical training. Costs should be reduced by increasing efficiency, achieving a better teacher-student ratio, reducing the government's contribution to hospitals and requiring users, particularly of hospitals and higher education, to pay according to their means. A higher priority should also be given to a better regional spread and the provision of a social safety net for the poorest members of society. The government has promised to present a policy document in 1991 concerning the social consequences of the adjustment policy, and the World Bank intends to establish sectoral adjustment programmes for health care and education.

As regards drinking water, the sixth National Development Plan, 1989-1993, defines water as "...one of the most important basic needs in people's lives. As such, Kenya's spatial distribution of population is highly influenced by water availability." Taking a realistic view, the Kenyan water policy proceeds from the assumption that the goal of providing 'piped potable water to all Kenyans by the year 2000' will be difficult to achieve, mainly because of the limited availability of manpower and funds and problems connected with the implementation of projects. To this it might be added that the initial preference for piped water systems, which require a major investment but produce a low return per user, and explosive population growth played a major part in the decline in the percentage of Kenyans with access to safe drinking water from 1980 to 1988. At the beginning of the water decade the Kenyan government's aim was still to supply safe drinking water to 75% of the rural population and 100% of the urban population. In the recent National Development Plan these objectives have been adjusted downward. The present target is access to (safe) drinking water for 50% of the rural population and 75% of the urban population by 1993.

However, drinking water is not the Kenyan government's only concern in this sector. Besides water for agriculture and industry, it is taking a particular interest in improving know-how on the availability of ground and surface water by means of Water Resources Assessments and in ensuring efficient use by means of Water Resources Management. The Kenyan government is well aware that water is the limiting factor in the further development of the ASALs and that the exploitation of water reserves also has ecological implications.

Women in development

Women occupy no more than a marginal place in Kenyan policy. The Women's Bureau, set up as part of the Ministry of Culture and Social Services in 1976 to perform general policy-making tasks and to coordinate the activities of other ministries, does not function satisfactorily. The Kenyan section of the Association of African Women in Research and Development (AAWORD) has recently referred to a power vacuum in the national women's organisations. The Mandeleo ya Wanawake Organisation (MYWO), which was incorporated in KANU in 1990, is a marginal factor in Kenyan society and is unable to gain a foothold in important centres of political and economic power. This situation might change if the government keeps the promise it made in 1990 that KANU/MYWO would soon be represented on KANU's National Governing Council and National Executive Committee.

The financial support the Kenyan government gives to development programmes for women is extremely modest. In recent years its contributions have fallen very sharply, from Ksh 3.3 million in 1986 to Ksh 2.6 million in 1987 and Ksh 1.9 million in 1989.

The established, male-dominated socio-cultural system in Kenya is the predominant cause of the very low level of participation by women in the political and parliamentary arenas. Of the present 188 members of parliament, three are women (two elected, one appointed). Political support for measures to improve the legal position of women is consequently limited. In 1991 fifteen women all told headed or were members of the management boards of parastatal enterprises, and two women held senior diplomatic posts. One female permanent secretary has been appointed (to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry), and

the Supreme Court includes three women judges. There is, however, no sign of these women making conspicuous use of their positions of power to support their fellow women by calling on the government, for example, to repeal discriminatory laws (Affiliation Act, Law of Marriage & Divorce) and to amend other laws so that they protect women against various forms of physical violence. The incidence of physical acts against women is rising in Kenya. A crime like rape is regarded as a comparatively minor offence by many members of society.

Women in Kenya are highly organised in groups (KANU/MYWO has over 28,000 groups). Yet there is little sign of efforts to increase awareness of their contribution to and rights in Kenyan society. Radicals in the women's movement are marginalised.

The majority of Kenyan women play an active part in the economic process and make a significant contribution to GNP without having any form of autonomous say in the matter. Some 20% of Kenyan women are employed in the formal sector, mostly in the lowest paid jobs in the agricultural and service sectors. The burden on rural women in particular is increasing as men migrate to the urban areas. In backward households women take over the day-to-day running of the (small) farm and are responsible for earning an income as well as performing their household tasks.

The underrepresentation of women in decision-making processes is partly due to structural discrimination in the education system. Although there is nothing formally to prevent women from attending normal education, the economic and socio-cultural barriers are numerous. Some 95% of Kenyan children attend the first few years of primary school, but only one third of girls (compared with two fifths of boys) complete their primary education. Progress has nonetheless been made. In 1989 about 30% of pupils completing their secondary education were girls. Almost the same percentage applied for a university education. As everywhere, however, there are subtle barriers in Kenya's employment structure that discriminate against women whatever the level of their education, this being especially true of posts that give the incumbent power and authority. The government needs to take further action to change this situation.

2.3.d Environmental situation and policy

In a description of the environmental problem ecological zones need to be distinguished, the nature of the problems in the arid areas being completely different from those in the higher, cool and more humid areas. A distinction is thus made between seven zones, three in high-potential areas, which are located in the higher parts of Kenya where there is significant rainfall and the temperature is relatively low, and four in the semi-arid and arid areas, the ASALs, which are at a lower altitude, very dry and hotter. The specific environmental problems in these two main zones will now be considered.

The high-potential areas account for less than one sixth of the area of the country, but three quarters of the population. Besides food crops (principally maize), such cash crops as coffee, tea and sugar cane are grown here. The most important limits to agricultural production are the shortage of land, soil fertility, methods of cultivation and drainage. These areas feature high population density and growth, the fragmentation of land, the intensification of agriculture, the growth of the secondary and tertiary sectors and the feminisation of agriculture, high growth of open and concealed unemployment and urbanisation,

accompanied by a reduction in agricultural land. Ecologically important changes partly due to these factors include:

- soil degradation caused by the intensification of agriculture and the inappropriate or inadequate use of fertilisers;
- erosion caused by overgrazing, deforestation and farming on steep slopes;
- disturbance of the water balance caused partly by deforestation and the construction of dams;
- reduction of biological diversity and damage done to ecosystems;
- pollution, a problem that has grown of late, caused partly by the use of pesticides;
- deforestation due to land hunger and the need for firewood.

Most of Kenya, more than 80%, consists of ASALs. However, less than 20% of the population live in these areas. The low population density is a direct result of the limited carrying capacity of the ASALs, most of which are extremely arid and suitable only for nomadic livestock farming. Agriculture is thus concentrated in relatively small semi-arid areas, which mark the transition from the high-potential to the extremely dry parts. The most important trends in the semi-arid areas are a rapidly growing population, increasing pressure on scarce agricultural land, declining mobility of nomads in the arid areas as they become more sedentary and better educated and work becomes scarcer, less access to reserves of grazing areas for the nomads in the dry season because of agricultural activities, the disintegration of traditional grazing systems and less equitable access to scarce vegetation.

Among the ecologically important consequences of these trends throughout Kenya are soil degradation and nutrient loss, increasing erosion (in some areas all the vegetation has already disappeared and degradation is irreversible), changes in the water balance and a rapid decline in biodiversity and wildlife.

The poverty problem also has direct implications for the environment. The poor depend on wood as a source of energy and have no time or money to invest in the environment. Almost three quarters of all timber felled is used in households. Annual deforestation from 1980 to 1988 averaged 37,000 hectares.

In the ASALs a growing number of nomads are dropping out and having to earn a living elsewhere. They spend their incomes on livestock and arable farming on more marginal land in the semi-arid areas, thus causing a downward spiral of further social, economic and ecological decline. In some ASALs the ecological carrying capacity has already been exceeded, and rehabilitation will be extremely difficult, if not impossible.

There is a link between the two ecological zones. Migration occurs from densely populated, high-potential areas to the semi-arid areas, and fertile parts of these areas are bought by wealthier inhabitants of the high-potential areas. In many ASALs the limits to the absorptive capacity for sustainable employment in the primary sector have been reached. A further influx of job-seekers must therefore be prevented and activities in the secondary and tertiary sectors encouraged.

There is also a link between the environment and price policy. Until recently meat prices were controlled to the urban consumer's advantage. Since deregulation prices have doubled, thus greatly increasing the incentive to nomads to sell some of their cattle, partly because this enables them to buy fifteen times the calorie equivalent of grain products. It is said that the urban consumer was

long subsidised through the price he paid for meat, to the detriment of natural capital in the arid areas.

Another factor worth mentioning is the unequal distribution of incomes from wildlife, which similarly causes the erosion of this source of natural capital. The diversity and scale of the wildlife and bird population have led to a substantial increase in tourism in Kenya. A total of 44,000 sq.km enjoys the protection of national park or nature reserve status. Although most of the parks and reserves are in ASALs, all the related economic activities are undertaken from the centre and only a small proportion of the revenues generated returns to the ASALs. Consequently, there is not enough incentive in these areas to preserve wildlife. This situation is now recognised at political level in Kenya as being the leading cause of the decline in wildlife. The Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) has developed an eight-year policy plan (which will cost about US\$ 300 million) to reverse these negative trends. The KWS plans to entitle the people who live near the protected areas to a share of the revenues they generate. The investment of 25% of the proceeds in public facilities (schools, hospitals and roads) around the parks is being considered.

The authorities are increasingly recognising the importance of the environment. The sixth national policy plan (1989-1993) is the first to devote a separate chapter to natural resources and the environment. The environmental plans include an inventory of the environment and natural resources in each district and the identification of the effects of economic activities on the environment to act as a basis for monitoring and evaluation. Each relevant ministry has also outlined the environmental policy it intends to pursue. One problem, however, is the abundance of (government) organisations active in the environmental field. This results in considerable inefficiency and makes it difficult for the National Environmental Secretariat to play its coordinating role in environmental matters and in the environmental impact testing of projects and programmes. The government's political willingness to give the environment priority is also crucial if the situation is to improve. All too often power politics still play a part in major projects that are harmful to the environment.

2.3.e Military spending

In terms of the ratio of military spending to spending on the social sectors (0.3:1 in 1987) Kenya compares very favourably with the other countries of the region. Nonetheless, the proportion of total government expenditure earmarked for defence rose from 7.3% in 1984/ 1985 to 8.1% in 1989/1990. The 1991/1992 budget provides for a real reduction in recurrent expenditure on defence, security and general affairs by 11.5% compared with the previous year. The proportion going to the social sectors remains the same, with more spent on education and less on health care.

3 THE NETHERLANDS' AID PROGRAMME AND PLANNED POLICY

3.1 General

In the light of the developments in the political and human rights spheres that have been outlined in sections 2.1 and 2.2, (un)desirable trends will be systematically considered in the consultations with the Kenyan authorities and in consultative fora suitable for this purpose. The issues concerned include

democratisation processes, the admissibility of opposition, the human rights policy, good governance, transparency of policy, (growing) corruption and land reform policy.

Ratio of project to programme aid

From 1985 to 1990 the funds available under the cash ceiling were shared equally between project aid and programme aid. This division was made because Kenya badly needed not only structural project aid but also import aid to support the process of increasing its economic self-reliance under various adjustment programmes and to eliminate its current-account deficit. As the Netherlands viewed Kenya's macroeconomic and foreign exchange policies favourably, a large proportion of the import aid was provided on a reimbursement basis. A contribution was also made to the structural adjustment programme for the agricultural sector through co-financing with the World Bank. Counterpart funds were not tied so that a positive contribution might be made to reducing the deficit in the national budget.

In the coming years programme aid will continue to be an important component of the bilateral aid programme. It will always be guided by macroeconomic requirements and the socio-economic policy being pursued. The nature of programme aid will, however, change. In view of the situation in the social sectors, as outlined in Chapter 2, some of the programme aid funds will be used in the form of budget aid to the benefit of these social sectors. The health sector in particular appears to offer opportunities in this regard. Another option is the co-financing of the structural adjustment programme for the agricultural sector or other (social) sectors with the World Bank.

Provided that it pursues a satisfactory socio-economic policy, Kenya will qualify, as in the past, for debt relief, given the scale of its outstanding debt and the limits this imposes on further economic growth. Debt relief improves the opportunities for access to the capital market and so contributes indirectly to further economic self-reliance.

In the project aid sphere projects in which investment is linked to the transfer of technical know-how and management will continue, but the emphasis will be on projects in which a more flexible approach is adopted, the keywords being sustainable development and participation by the local population. The District Focus policy introduced by the Kenyan government in 1986 provides an opportunity for supporting activities geared to poverty alleviation at district level.

Geographical concentration

Dutch aid to Kenya has been focused on Western Kenya for many years. The most important reason given for this in the previous four-year plan for Kenya was "... the relative backwardness of this area compared with other areas of Kenya and the added need for accelerated development since 40% of the Kenyan population lives in this area".

Outside Western Kenya, aid has been concentrated on a number of ASALs. The government's District Focus policy, under which the planning and implementation of projects has been delegated to district level, provides a good

opportunity for responding to the needs of the local population and for adopting a flexible approach to the launching of development activities.

Where poverty alleviation is concerned, the analysis in section 2.3 indicates that it would be wise in every respect to continue this policy, although it appears to give rise to an environmental problem. A policy which, in social terms, is geared to direct poverty alleviation leads to concentration on some of the ASALs. Opting for areas which, environmentally and economically, have the best prospect of sustainable development would, however, result in concentration on such high-potential areas as Western Kenya. Although it would be logical to opt for the latter policy, there are enough arguments for adopting both approaches. The ASALs are lagging so far behind in terms of incomes, nutrition, social services, etc. that their social and economic needs cannot be ignored. In many parts of these areas, however, profitable sustainable agriculture does not seem possible. Taking a short-term view, investment in these areas would thus be economically unwise. On the other hand, it is ecologically necessary. These areas require a minimum of management and, at the very least, their production potential must be maintained, i.e. the scope for the use of the environment must be safeguarded. The emphasis must be placed on regeneration and preservation of the environment. In the first of these fields the Netherlands has gained experience in the Baringo district, which could be increased and imitated in other areas. Thought must also be given to strengthening the (semi-)nomadic livestock system in the arid areas and the mixed farming system in the semi-arid areas, supplemented by alternative employment in the secondary and tertiary sectors, and to the right form of wildlife management, including the use of some of the profits to improve social and other services for the local population.

Ecological necessity and the knowledge which the Netherlands has acquired from its other ASAL programmes in Kenya justify its taking a greater interest in the semi-arid parts of the ASALs.

Co-financing/the role of NGOs

As in previous years co-financing with the World Bank, for example, will be one of the options where programme aid is concerned. Greater use will also be made of co-financing for programmes specifically designed to solve problems in the social sectors. Provided that they present detailed proposals for poverty alleviation, UN agencies specialising in this field can count on Dutch (co-)financing from the regional funds.

Many NGOs are working in Kenya. Their activities often complement those of the government, but they sometimes hamper each other. They vary widely in quality. In 1990 the Kenyan government passed legislation which sets out guidelines for the activities of NGOs. It is feared that this development will result in de facto government control of NGOs. The Dutch policy is to support local NGOs where possible and useful, especially in the ASALs.

Dutch MFOs are also active in Kenya, and a number of their projects are being assisted with bilateral funds from the country programme. These projects principally concern district development programmes and support for basic services and the formation of organisations. In addition, two ASAL projects have been contracted out to the SNV. In the coming years MFOs will again be able to apply for bilateral funds.

Sectors/areas of priority interest

Kenya is the only country in the region where the alleviation of urban poverty, one of the four spearheads referred to in the memorandum 'A World of Difference', is also regarded as an area of priority interest. According to Human Development Report 1990, 22% of the population lived in urban areas in 1988, with Nairobi accounting for about 32% of the urban population. It is estimated that some 80% of families in slum areas are headed by a woman. The urban poverty problem is growing in Kenya, largely because of unemployment. The informal sector is expanding rapidly. The signs are that single women in particular are facing mounting difficulties. According to an ILO report, 25% of women in urban areas were unemployed in 1986. The decline in real wages is said to be a major cause of increasing poverty.

By the year 2000 the labour supply will rise by 6 million people, of whom some 75% will be unable to find employment in the formal sector. Apart from the limited number absorbed by agriculture, the only option for these people will be the informal and small-scale sector. After failing in its attempts to give direct support to the informal sector and labour-intensive small-scale industry, the Kenyan government is now devoting more attention to the creation of a favourable macro climate for the development of small-scale industry. Most of the high-quality jobs must be created in this sector, and training facilities must be established for this purpose. This is expected to make a major contribution to the growth of GNP. It is hoped that a Sessional Paper on policy towards this sector will be adopted shortly.

Under the Dutch policy a greater interest will be taken in the creation of new jobs in both urban and rural areas, preferably in the small-scale and informal sector, studies having shown that the cost of creating a job in the informal sector is only a tenth of the cost of creating a job in the formal sector. Since 1989 the Netherlands has implemented this policy by helping to finance the ILO's Assistance to Business Creation project, which includes not only borrowing from commercial banks but also a great deal of stimulation and technical assistance through local NGOs. This project will be continued and, if successful, expanded, although such projects cannot be expected to generate more than a limited increase in employment in the short term. At micro level the Netherlands will also step up its cooperation with other organisations in this field (e.g. NGOs and the Netherlands Development Finance Company, FMO). At macro level assistance will be provided for practical research on the further development of the government's policy of creating a favourable environment. Such research may concern, for example, the simplification and improvement of legislation and regulations, the development of existing informal activities, the formulation of recommendations for future donor and government activities and identification of the most appropriate credit facility in the Kenyan cultural context.

3.2 Rural development

For many years now most of the Netherlands' bilateral aid to Kenya has been devoted to rural development. This support has consisted, on the one hand, of district development programmes and sectorally oriented projects in a given district and, on the other hand, of projects that were originally 'national', but have been increasingly integrated into district development plans. These projects and programmes have been largely geared to improving the income position and living conditions of low-income groups in rural areas. The district development

programmes have been implemented in the ASALs. The Netherlands has provided both technical and financial support in three ASAL districts. This has been based on a multi-sectoral, flexible approach, with a financial contribution equivalent to 10 to 15% of the budget of the district concerned so as not to make it too dependent on the Netherlands' contribution. The activities financed have been undertaken entirely by local (government) organisations.

As already mentioned, there is every reason, given the growing pressure on scarce agricultural land, the continuing degradation of the environment in the ASALs and the experience the Netherlands has already gained with ASAL programmes, to continue and, where possible, expand the policy in these areas.

Consideration will be given to assisting national and district authorities with the establishment for these districts of a new five-year development plan based on sustainable development. Elements of these programmes will also be used in the design of environmental profiles for these districts to support the activities of the National Environmental Secretariat. An optimal mix of income-generating activities and activities designed to improve education and primary health care facilities will be sought. A high priority will continue to be given to such aspects as employment, the crafts, purchasing power and improving livestock farming and food production. In the identification of activities use will be made, wherever possible, of the participatory inventorisation, or Rapid Rural Appraisal, method which has been so successful in West Pokot and serves as a basis for the better planning and coordination of activities. A practical approach is thus being adopted to meeting a crucial requirement for sustainable development: involving the users of the environment. This method also offers some guarantee that, from the moment identification begins, women will take part in the decision-making process, thus satisfying the first of the WID assessment criteria.

Given its experience with the Drought Contingency Planning Unit in the ASAL district of Turkana, the Netherlands has also joined with other donors in considering the options for the establishment and maintenance of an early warning system to monitor drought indicators in ASALs.

The Netherlands has taken an interest in the high-potential areas as well as the ASALs in the past. A sizeable proportion of the funds has been devoted to stimulating agriculture in these areas in particular. Long-term activities include the livestock and poultry projects, support for the National Agricultural Research Programme in the field of soil research, research into wildlife diseases and seed quality control. The small-scale irrigation sector also receives support.

The Netherlands has long been involved in the development of livestock farming in Kenya, not only by supporting relevant research but also by assisting two programmes, the National Dairy Development Programme (NDDP) and the National Poultry Development Programme (NPDP). The aim of both the NDDP and the NPDP is to increase the incomes of small farmers, and both take advantage of the normal extension services provided by the Ministry of Livestock Development. The NDDP teaches farmers in the fertile areas of Kenya how to increase the productivity of their (scarce) land by keeping their cattle in the cowshed (zero grazing). The environmental effects of this form of intensification have been given a positive rating by an IOV mission. Now in its fifth phase (1991-1995), the programme is being extended to all areas with sufficient potential (in the ASALs zero grazing is no alternative to pastoralism), a particular effort is being made to ensure that a written record is kept of any information of practical value, and a special interest will be taken in the position

of women in the project. In the last of these respects the project will specifically attempt to involve more farms headed by women in the project.

The aim of the NPDP is to increase the production of poultrymeat and eggs, to improve the diet of the rural population and to increase the incomes of self-sufficient farms. Of importance in this context is the introduction of locally improved poultry crossbreeds as well as information on feeding, hygiene and vaccinations.

Support for agricultural research will continue to be an important activity in the coming years. Improved productivity in the growing of food crops and livestock production is important in the context of the Kenyan government's policy of self-sufficiency in food, given the very limited opportunities for increasing the area under cultivation and the rapidly growing population. One of the main aims of the National Agricultural Research Project, which was launched in 1988, with KARI as the coordinating body, is to help small farmers to develop more productive farming systems by conducting practical and farm-related research. The Netherlands continues to support various of the activities that form part of this programme. Rather than being geared to the supply side as in the past, the research will be demand-oriented.

Farming systems in both the high-potential and the semi-arid areas will form the basis for determining the relevance of the kind of research to be conducted. It will cover such aspects as easing the workload of women in agriculture and arable/livestock farming in relation to the environment. A greater interest should be taken, for example, in research on biotechnology for the ASALs (see also section 3.7).

Efforts to increase Kenya's capacity for research into the transmission of wildlife diseases to livestock will also continue. Research has shown that cattle and wildlife can graze together. This might be attractive even from an ecological and economical viewpoint, particularly in the ASALs. The seed control and soil research/survey projects will also continue. The last of these is particularly relevant to the Kenyan policy on the sustainable development of the country's various ecological zones. Soil research data are available for much of Kenya. An attempt will be made in the coming period to covert them to district level using the Geographical Information System. In this way the project can provide valuable help in the establishment of environmental profiles, which are particularly important in determining the physical carrying capacity of the types of soil occurring in a district, an essential factor in the formulation of a policy geared to sustainable development.

Following on from this, the policy will provide for the experience gained to be used to benefit integrated rural development programmes in other districts of Kenya. Consideration will also be given to the possibility of combining experience gained during projects assisted by the Netherlands in such fields as ground water research, soil research and district planning so that the Kenyan authorities (at district level) may be in a better position to plan and oversee rural development.

Another sector in which the Netherlands continues to be active is small-scale irrigation. It has been supporting this sector since 1977 and in recent years has placed the emphasis on institution-building by training Kenyan staff in and advising them on small-scale irrigation policy and its implementation. The Netherlands has played a pioneering role in this sector and will continue to do

so in the future. As the findings of an extensive evaluation in 1990 were favourable, a proposal for a follow-up phase was drawn up. An IOV mission similarly concluded that small-scale irrigation had not had any significant adverse effects on the environment and had even had certain favourable effects, such as an improvement in water management, a reduction in the risk of soil erosion and the creation of bird biotopes. Irrigation can make a positive contribution to the intensification of agriculture. Care should always be taken in this context to ensure that such intensification is sustainable. The evaluation does reveal, however, that, where expanding irrigation results in the growing of more cash crops, it may increase the workload of women. Furthermore, when cash crops are grown, food crops are moved to land of a lesser quality, which may have an adverse effect on food production. An added factor is that it may easily become more difficult for an integrated farming system to perform such functions as providing firewood. For the Netherlands' policy it is therefore very important that the small-scale irrigation policy should be more closely attuned to the demand side, i.e. that existing farm structures should be considered. A start has now been made on a study of this aspect. Its findings will help to determine what support the Netherlands gives to this sector. As a second policy change, greater attention will be paid in the ASALs to small-scale irrigation and particularly to problems connected with water harvesting and soil conservation. The Netherlands will also encourage the formulation of an irrigation policy for the whole of Kenya by holding workshops and seminars.

Where horticulture is concerned, it is being considered whether support for the training of market gardeners or horticultural advisers can help to increase the output of better-quality products. This would help to improve incomes and increase employment in this sector.

Finally in this sector, support for the rehabilitation of the road network in Western Kenya will continue, with more importance attached to maintenance. The programme will also be extended to include the Narok and Kajiado ASAL districts with a view to stimulating rural development in these districts in general and the Dutch effort in Kajiado in particular. Consideration will be given to the development of the network of rural roads, especially where they can be constructed with local resources and without foreign inputs. In this way the Netherlands will be helping to open up these areas, thus contributing to their economic development, and meeting the need felt by donors and the government for resources to be used more effectively and for greater emphasis to be placed on maintenance.

Besides this form of project aid, the agricultural sector will receive programme aid so that the conditions may be created at macro level for this sector to be given effective support. With the employment problem growing, consideration will also be given to off-farm employment in rural areas.

The WID criteria will be applied to all activities in the rural development sector (including the maintenance of roads). In view of the central role women play in agricultural production, their part in the production process, the workload and distribution of work, women's access to and control over means of production, services and facilities, their participation in decision-making and their share of income from work will be important bench marks when projects are assessed.

3.3 Environment

The previous country policy plan did not explicitly consider the environment. However, increasing attention has been paid to this aspect in the selection and implementation of projects. Within the ASAL programme supported by the Netherlands, growing importance has been attached to such environmental aspects as ecological carrying capacity. In the West Pokot district erosion control activities are increasingly being undertaken, and in the Kajiado district the periodical reports will describe the effect of activities on the environment. Another example is the Kenya Woodfuel and Agroforestry Project, in which the approach has changed from firewood production to agroforestry. Agroforestry has also become an important element of rural development projects generally and has been integrated, for example, into the livestock projects. A final example is the Baringo Fuel and Fodder Project, the next phase of which will be geared more closely to restoring and preserving the ecosystem in the broad sense of the term. The adjustment of current projects to take account of the environment is thus becoming the norm rather than a sporadic event.

As regards new activities, reference must be made to the current preparation of a project which will encourage ecologically sound urban planning and to the research being conducted on possible support measures to improve wildlife management.

In the programme for the coming years the Netherlands' policy again recognises the major conflict between the environment and development. The policy is still entirely geared to maintaining the scope for the use of the environment. This means that any project financed by the Netherlands is systematically checked for its effects on the environment. New Dutch projects will not have any adverse effects on the environment, and the emphasis on positive action will be gradually increased.

The abovementioned field survey by the IOV, which consisted of an analysis of the effects on the environment of and the sustainable development achieved by ten projects in Kenya, draws the following important conclusions:

1. Kenya's major environmental problems can be tackled only with an integral policy geared to sustainable development. This policy must be shaped at both national and district (and possibly lower) levels.
2. The local authorities' understanding of the problems connected with sustainable development is still incomplete. The policy needs to be developed further with respect to land degradation, desertification, disturbance of the water balance, etc. Extensive research and field experiments in support of the policy will be required.
3. An intersectoral approach to environmental problems is needed.
4. Effects on the environment must be analysed at higher scale levels so that the link with other trends continues to be appreciated.
5. The users of the environment need to be involved if the processes of degradation are to be brought under control. The government has virtually no control over the major environmental processes in Kenya, especially in the vast ASALs.

6. The household level should be used as the basis for analysis. If analysis is based on the farm system, agricultural intensification and specialisation in cash crops will be prevented from doing damage in other respects.
7. If a more integral approach is adopted, the delegation of responsibility to one ministry may prove to be an obstacle. At present there is little interdepartmental coordination in Kenya.
8. Problems encountered in the analysis of sustainable development. Planning studies must be carried out by district staff themselves. Only then will the ministries concerned feel responsible for the implementation of the plans. The consistent adoption of this approach will, however, result in the standard of strategic studies improving at a fairly slow pace. As this contrasts with the urgency of the problems, a degree of external assistance seems justified.
9. The importance of consultative planning. This form of planning seems particularly suitable for the identification and preparation of local activities. A more systematic approach would appear to be needed for strategic planning, possibly with external assistance.
10. The role of EIA. It cannot be concluded from the examination of any of the projects that an Environmental Impact Analysis (EIA) would have changed project implementation. However, a checklist of environmental consequences should be adopted for each type of project at the earliest opportunity.

Careful account will be taken of these conclusions in the further shaping and implementation of the Kenya programme.

Central institutional capacities in the environmental sphere remain underdeveloped. The Netherlands will help to strengthen these capacities and to develop the policy. It will also consider the possibility of helping to fill gaps in the inventory (e.g. wetlands, coastal ecosystems), to establish the Environmental Profiles and to improve environmental planning capacities at district (District Environmental Officers) and other levels. In the area of nature conservation support for the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) is being considered. Where rural development is concerned, environmental policy may help to encourage Low External Input Sustainable Agriculture (LEISA). In other sectors in which the Netherlands is active increasing attention will also be paid to the environment, and such current projects as the previously mentioned Kenya Woodfuel and Agroforestry Programme and the Baringo Fuel and Fodder Project will be expanded.

From the beginning of 1992 all new project proposals will be assessed for their effects on the environment. Projects that would have an adverse effect on the environment will be rejected.

3.4 Women in development

Kenya is implementing programmes designed to improve basic services in the following sectors: drinking water and sanitation, arable and livestock farming, fisheries, irrigation, health, education, small-scale industry, rural development, ecology/energy and population activities. To a greater or lesser degree, all these

current programmes take account of the views and desires of women and the effects on their socio-economic situation.

In bilateral development cooperation with Kenya no programmes aimed specifically at women are being implemented for the moment, the only exceptions being what are in some cases minor MFO and SNV activities. Support for these activities will be continued and encouraged.

In line with the principles defined in the memorandum 'A World of Difference' specific policy objectives are being formulated for Kenya for the next few years, the overriding autonomy concept applying in particular to support for projects and programmes which satisfy the DAC/WID criteria, seek to redistribute power between men and women and are above all designed to improve the strategic position of women in Kenyan society in the political, economic, socio-cultural and physical spheres. The following (research) programmes are eligible:

- National WID policy, or the strengthening of the national Kenyan structure for WID.
The Women's Bureau, which forms part of the Ministry of Culture and Social Services, is limited in its competence and capacity and has a small budget. The possibility of strengthening the role played by this and other important bodies is being examined in some depth, the aim being to achieve greater public support and interministerial cooperation. The Netherlands' primary role will be to act as a catalyst, and action will be taken in cooperation with other donors. The aim in strengthening the national structure must be to increase the autonomy of women and their organisations. The political incorporation of the national women's organisation Mandeleo ya Wanawake (to which 26,000 women's groups are affiliated) in KANU continues to cause concern.
- Women and legislation. Support for studies of current legislation relating to women.
This specifically concerns the relationship between common or traditional law and modern legislation. There are significant differences in the legal treatment of women, and in some cases they are not treated as equal before the law as a result of the application of forms of common law. The coordination of these two types of law and, in particular, greater opportunities for women to have recourse to the law independently will make a significant contribution to their autonomy. Activities to this end will be undertaken in close cooperation with existing Kenyan organisations already active in this field and also with policy-makers at national level.
- Women and change, or support for research on the implications for women of processes of change and especially of modernisation.
Changes and modernisation that have major implications for women are occurring in the agricultural, industrial and informal sectors and also in the social sphere. As women are usually ill-prepared for this, their inferiority or dependence increases. Further research may indicate how women's prospects of participating in processes of change and protecting themselves against the disadvantages can be improved.
- Women and reproduction, or support for research on women's reproductive rights.
The Amsterdam Declaration issued after UNFPA's International Forum on Population in the Twenty-First Century emphasised once again that

autonomy is also essential where women's reproductive task is concerned. The increase in the use of modern forms of birth control is to be welcomed, but is in itself no guarantee of the right to physical autonomy. Research on this dimension of reproductive rights and the autonomy of women will help to strengthen women's right to self-determination in respect of their own body and sexuality.

- Women and the economy. Support for research on the implications for women of general economic measures. Such general economic measures as structural adjustment programmes often have direct implications for women owing in particular to the dual role they usually play in the family. The Social Dimensions of Adjustment have a considerable bearing on women and their responsibility in the family. Research on this relationship may influence future policy.
- Women and training. As women will probably and should play a more active part in the formulation of policy, participatory processes, the implementation of programmes, etc., attention will be paid to the training of local experts in this field. Women's networks will also be supported with training and other activities.

3.5 Urban poverty

Kenya is the only country in the region where urban poverty has reached a level such that it requires specific attention under the bilateral programme. An attempt will be made to improve the situation primarily, but not exclusively, by creating income-generating employment. A specialist in small-scale employment/urban poverty will be based in Nairobi, from where he will cover the whole region.

3.6 Health care, drinking water and sanitation

Health care

The Netherlands has been involved in health care in Kenya for many years, through the SNV, the MFOs, etc., although this sector has not been given priority. Support for the activities of the forty or so Dutch doctors and of others working in the (para)medical sector has been provided from the Special Health Support Fund. Many of these activities are aimed at the most backward areas, such as the ASALs, Coast Province and the district of South Nyanza. A hospital is being restored in Coast Province, and an integrated health programme with a population component is being implemented in South Nyanza.

The deterioration of health care, especially at primary level, as described in Chapter 2, and the advent of AIDS clearly demonstrates the need for this sector to be given more support. The World Bank's adjustment programme in this sector is chiefly designed to make hospitals more efficient so that more financial resources become available for primary health care. Although the policy on the district management of medical facilities and on primary health care is well developed in Kenya, its elaboration and implementation by the Ministry of Health continue to lag behind. It is at this lowest level of health care that there

would appear to be opportunities for the Netherlands to provide financial and technical support in the form of both project and budget aid.

Support for the national programme to combat leprosy and tuberculosis is becoming a major activity. In cooperation with the KNCV (for tuberculosis) and the NSL (leprosy foundation) a contribution will be made to the combined national programme, which provides in particular for the introduction of short-course chemotherapy for the treatment of tuberculosis. After decades of steady decline the incidence of this disease is threatening to rise again because of the AIDS epidemic. Other possible project proposals concern measures to combat AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases and training in child physiotherapy.

The projects can be implemented in different ways: bilaterally, through multilateral organisations and through local and international NGOs.

Drinking water/sanitation

Water is one of the prime necessities of life. Safe drinking water available in sufficient quantities can make a major contribution to good health and the prevention of many diseases. Although the need for good drinking water applies equally to the rural and urban populations, the Netherlands has placed the emphasis on rural water supply in view of the importance attached to rural development.

Water supply is an important subsector in which the Netherlands is involved in many developing countries, including Kenya. The interest taken in water grew further as a result of the United Nations International Water and Sanitation Decade from 1980 to 1990. The New Delhi Declaration, which covers 'environment and health', 'people and institutions', 'community management' and 'financing and technology', is highly commensurate with the Dutch policy.

Given the Netherlands' continuing interest in Kenya in both rural development in general and the development of semi-arid and arid areas in particular, water and sanitation will remain an important subsector. Following on from the New Delhi Declaration, account will be taken of the following in this context.

In keeping with the Kenyan policy of promoting development at district level, the planning and implementation of drinking water programmes should preferably form part of or complement integrated rural development programmes. This also means that the institutional framework should both comply with the Kenyan District Focus Policy for Development and meet the users' needs. A good maintenance system and the involvement of the users - particular women - in planning are, after all, essential for a sound water programme. If use and maintenance are to be sustainable, there will be a need for adequate institution-building, designed to place the management of the new facilities in the hands of the local community. In line with the Kenyan policy of requiring payment for services, the beneficiaries must meet the costs as far as they are able.

Drinking water supply should be inseparably linked to sanitation and health education, since the technical provision of water is less effective without these components. The integration of drinking water programmes into an overall programme designed to improve the health status of the people, though desirable,

often proves too ambitious in practice. Efforts will nonetheless be made to place the greatest possible emphasis on the link between water, sanitation and health in the information supplied to the people. In Kenya's case this will require coordination with existing programmes. Socio-cultural factors have a major influence on the role that water, health and sanitation play in the community. Careful account will be taken of this aspect in the planning and implementation of drinking water programmes.

In the technical provision of drinking water the wider context of the water balance in the area concerned should be borne in mind. Environmental aspects, especially the protection of sources of water against pollution and excessive use and the prevention of surface water pollution, must also be considered.

Although sanitation should preferably form part of a water supply programme, there are circumstances that justify a programme geared strictly to sanitation, this being the case, for example, in urban and densely populated rural areas, where the absence of adequate sanitation constitutes a health hazard. Here again, the involvement of the beneficiaries in planning and implementation should be appropriately ensured.

Given the interest in the prudent development of arid and semi-arid areas and in the water sector in general, the following (types of) activities will be taken:

- **Water Resources Management.**
Activities relating to ground water surveying and water balance planning at district level will continue in cooperation with the local authorities. A particular effort will be made in this context to improve the ability of district authorities to carry out their own ground water surveys, to monitor water reserves constantly and to prepare the District Water Development Studies that form the basis of planning by and with all concerned.
- **Drinking water supply.**
Drinking water supply programmes will be implemented primarily in the context of rural development. Support from the Netherlands will partly depend on the account taken of the environment, the involvement of women, health education, sanitation and sustainable institution-building geared to use and maintenance.
- **Sanitation.**
Support for sanitation programmes will be limited and form part of health education programmes or combined with drinking water supply. This will mean continuing the introduction of sanitation facilities with an exemplary function directly related to information provided as part of water programmes or the improvement of the health of the local population. Careful account will also be taken of the socio-cultural and socio-economic aspects in this context.

Within the family women perform a very important task as regards health care and sanitation and in the fetching of water. In the implementation of projects in this sector they will therefore play a central role in decision-making. Increasing awareness, training (in the maintenance of pumps, for example) and the formation of organisations can make a contribution in this respect.

3.7 Education and research

The sharp growth of the population is also causing problems in the education sector. Although the government budget for education is relatively large, the system is slowly beginning to collapse under the weight of numbers. This is most apparent in university education, where the staff/student ratio is becoming increasingly unbalanced in most faculties. Yet a relatively large proportion of the education budget still goes to the universities, when a shift to primary education, particularly in the more backward areas, and to technical education is needed.

The Netherlands has hitherto concentrated on education and research at a higher level: support for the Agricultural Engineering Department of the University of Nairobi, the Kenya Agricultural Research Institute and such international institutions based in Nairobi as ILRAD (International Laboratory for Research on Animal Diseases), ICIPE (International Centre of Insect Pathology and Entomology), ICRAF (Research in Agroforestry) and UNCHS (UN Centre for Human Settlements/HABITAT), which perform a regional function. In addition, various cooperative links have been forged or are being developed between Kenyan and Dutch university institutes, and a few score Kenyans take advantage of the opportunities offered by the Netherlands' fellowship programme each year. In higher education preference will be given to cooperative links on a more equal basis, such as those forged with the Moi University in 1991, rather than bilateral support as in the past.

No less importance is attached to strengthening research capacities in the fields of agriculture, natural resources, food security, population programmes and, increasingly, the AIDS problem. In agricultural research support is being provided for the usual activities and for research on natural resources (Kenya Soil Survey, Water Resources Assessment). Reference must also be made in this context to the cooperation that has recently begun between the School of Environmental Studies of the Moi University and the University of Amsterdam.

Food security is covered by the Food and Nutrition Studies Programme, a programme supported by the Directorate-General for International Cooperation (DGIS) for cooperation between the Ministry of Planning and National Development, a number of Kenyan institutes and the Africa Study Centre in Leiden. The embassy will be actively involved in identifying opportunities for contributing to population and AIDS research.

The Biotechnology and Development Cooperation stimulation programme will include technical cooperation aimed at making biotechnological know-how needed to solve development problems more accessible to developing countries and at helping to preclude the adverse effects of biotechnology in developing countries (substitution of export products, biotechnological tourism).

To prevent a technology-driven approach from emerging, the emphasis will be not on a sectoral approach (agriculture, human health care and environmental management) but on the identification of problems, backed by research into the technological aspects.

A start has been made on the setting of local priorities in an ISNAR (International Service for National Agricultural Research) study, which will form the basis for the organisation of a local workshop, enabling local priorities

to be set by a participatory, bottom-up approach involving scientists, policy-makers and NGOs (e.g. farmers' groups).

To promote institution-building, almost all Dutch projects include elements of training, ranging from the on-the-job training of wage-earners to academic courses for project staff. These aspects are considered very important for the sustainability of projects and will continue to form part of the cooperation relationship in the future.

A growing problem that has already been mentioned is the increase in the number of unemployed school-leavers at all levels. One cause of this is that curricula are not well adjusted to the needs of the labour market. Efforts are now being made to adapt curricula so as to make education more practical. Particular attention will also be paid to this aspect in the support provided for the National Youth Service, which focuses on technical training at primary and secondary level.

As indicated above, particular attention needs to be paid to an improvement in the quality of primary education and of primary technical and vocational training, especially in the more backward, peripheral districts. This improvement is particularly necessary as most children receive nothing more than (some) primary education. Teacher training and the development of curricula and teaching aids, for example, can be financed, possibly with counterpart funds. In the wider context of integrated rural development programmes consideration must be given to various forms of instruction for adults and young people: technical and agricultural skills and also literacy. Import and budget aid can also be used to contribute to the structural adjustment programme established by the Kenyan government in cooperation with the World Bank and launched in 1991. This programme is designed to reduce the growth of recurrent expenditure on education to a tolerable level, to improve access to education and to reduce the numbers dropping out of primary and secondary schools, especially among children in underdeveloped districts. The programme also seeks to improve the quality and relevance of education at all levels and to strengthen such aspects as management, planning, budgeting and the dissemination of information.

As explained in Chapter 2, fewer girls than boys participate in primary education and primary/secondary vocational training. The bilateral policy will seek to increase participation by girls. The aims of the abovementioned adjustment programme for the whole education sector include the more effective use of available resources and an increase in the proportion of funds going to primary education and primary/secondary vocational training. It is also planned to increase the participation of girls in technical training courses. This too should be supported.

Notes:

- 1 In an article on education in Kenya Rees Hughes comes to the conclusion that the attempt to reduce the growth of education to manageable proportions has focused primarily on cost-sharing, the reform of curricula and private initiative and that this has led to an unbridled expansion of education options at all levels, the cost of which can no longer be met. In his analysis he says that, given the scarcity of land, wage labour (mainly outside the agricultural sector) is seen as the only way of making a living. Hence the

growing need for vocational training. The large numbers of school-leavers and people who have had a higher education have caused, according to Hughes, a 'diploma disease'. Employers demand better trained people than strictly necessary for the jobs concerned. Hughes feels it would be wiser to tackle the problem in the education sector by curbing demand. This could be achieved by distributing the available land more equitably and so intensifying land use. In this way the numbers leaving agriculture would also be reduced. This view is similarly disputed.

III TANZANIA

1 INTRODUCTION

The Netherlands has had a development cooperation relationship with Tanzania for many years. As a target country and then a programme country, Tanzania was one of the Netherlands' most important partners. This close cooperation will continue under the regional programme, with sustainable poverty alleviation achieved primarily through a contribution to an increase in incomes, now among the lowest in the world, and through investment in human beings.

2 POLITICAL SITUATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC POLICY

2.1 Political situation

After independence and the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar to form the United Republic of Tanzania President Nyerere introduced a new ideology with the Arusha Declaration of 1967. This African version of socialism has largely determined Tanzania's political and economic development in the past few decades.

The establishment of the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM, the Revolutionary Party), the outcome of the amalgamation of the Afro-Shirazi Party of Zanzibar and the Tanganyika African National Union in 1977, was immediately followed by the approval of a constitution which stated that the party was the highest authority, ranking higher than the legislature, executive and judiciary, thus confirming the dominant role that the party had played in the administration of the country for some time.

Although Tanzania was characterised by a high level of political stability under Nyerere's rule, with little organised opposition, the economic crisis of the early 1980s led to political unrest, particularly in Zanzibar. In 1985 Nyerere resigned as President, but remained chairman of the CCM. As President, he was succeeded by Ali Hassan Mwinyi, and the first signs of a revision of the Ujamaa policy, especially in the economic sphere, were seen.*

Nyerere's decision in May 1990 to resign as chairman of the CCM marked the end of almost thirty years in which he had determined Tanzania's general and economic policy. Political developments since then indicate that the influence of the party ideology is on the wane, and an open debate on political pluralism and a multi-party system has begun (confined for the moment to a small section of the population, mostly in the towns). This debate had little influence on the parliamentary and presidential elections held in October 1990, but on being sworn in for his second term of office, President Mwinyi did announce in his inaugural address that a presidential commission would be set up to consider the question of political reforms.

The members of the commission were appointed in March 1991. They were instructed to advise within a year on the desirability of a multi-party system,

* Ujamaa is a Swahili word meaning 'family sense'. The idea behind the Ujamaa concept as used politically in Tanzania was that mutual help within the family should spread to the inhabitants of a village and the nation.

on the basis of hearings to be held throughout the country. It remains to be seen when fundamental political reforms will be introduced and how extensive they will be. A broad political grass-roots movement is unlikely to join the existing party in the short term.

Tanzania's political future will depend on the course taken by the debate on a one- or multi-party system and on the extent to which the political leadership allow the conclusions drawn to be converted into political reforms.

2.2 Human rights situation

Tanzania can generally boast a mild human rights climate. Not only have successive Tanzanian governments been inspired by respect for human dignity: they have also been aware of the importance of a more than just passive human rights policy and have proved to be very sensitive to criticism in this respect. It is also worth noting that Tanzania is one of the few OAU countries to have publicly criticised other member states on occasion for violating human rights. Despite this generally favourable picture, reference should also be made to various shortcomings, which are partly due to the fact that Tanzania is a one-party state.

Under the Preventive Retention Act, which came into force in Tanzania in 1985, people may be detained for an indefinite period without trial. Conditions in the prisons are very poor, and the police are suspected of ill-treating and sometimes torturing detainees. Following the unrest in Zanzibar in 1988, a number of ministers from Pemba were expelled first from the Zanzibari government and then from the CCM. One of them, Seif Sharif Hamad, was arrested in 1989 on suspicion of organising an illegal meeting and of possessing secret government documents.

In 1990 several hundred people were arrested in Zanzibar and Pemba in connection with political unrest sparked by the compulsory registration of votes. They were released after the elections.

Freedom of expression is enshrined in the Tanzanian constitution, but in practice the press has only recently become more openly critical. The freedoms of association and assembly are restricted where activities are labelled political. The registration of associations can be refused with no reason given, a fate recently suffered by the Civil and Legal Rights Movement established in 1990. This movement's very aim is to champion the right to freedom of association and assembly.

Although Tanzania always places considerable emphasis on social justice and the satisfaction of basic needs for the whole population, the deplorable economic situation and the corruption in the administration makes these goals very difficult to achieve: social services have deteriorated badly in recent years because of dwindling government funds.

2.3 Socio-economic situation and policy

2.3.a The Tanzanian development model

The Arusha Declaration of January 1967 and a number of documents closely associated with it heralded the beginnings of a socialist policy for Tanzania.

The main concepts were equality and self-reliance. The latter meant that dependence on foreign capital was to be reduced and Tanzania's development based on such locally available resources as land and labour. Development was to have its roots not in large-scale agriculture but in small farms in the districts surrounding small, newly created villages. Only then would dependence on capital be reduced and the agricultural sector produce the surplus with which an industrial sector might be established independently.

The rural population was encouraged to settle in the 'Ujamaa villages'. This concentration would facilitate the provision of services, and cooperation would lead to an increase in agricultural production. Besides the plot of land allocated to each family, an area would be cultivated communally by the farmers.

The basic idea was that people would move to these Ujamaa villages, lured by the prospect of increased agricultural production and better social services. There was to be no compulsion.

An inherent feature of the Ujamaa concept was the idea of cooperation at village level in the widest possible sense; the Ujamaa villages were to become the nucleus of multi-functional cooperatives. In addition, an umbrella 'cooperative union' was established in each district and, like the village cooperatives, was assigned an important political function, i.e. the promotion of the socialist Ujamaa ideology.

The rural population showed little enthusiasm for these changes: spontaneous resettlement in Ujamaa villages failed to materialise, and the forced transformation of the existing cooperatives - traditional organisations representing collective interests - into multi-functional village cooperatives met with resistance. The new cooperatives were also given a monopoly on the sale of agricultural products and the purchase of means of production. From 1973 the government reacted by making resettlement compulsory: some 9 million people, three quarters of the Tanzanian population at the time, were forced to move. It is not difficult to imagine the humanitarian and economic damage done by this disruption of traditional patterns imposed from above.

The cooperatives, in which the more prosperous farmers still called the tune, remained hotbeds of resistance to the policy imposed from above. They were therefore abolished in 1976, and newly created parastatal organisations took over the task of purchasing and marketing, again as a monopoly. As these organisations were extremely inefficient, the rural areas had to content with serious shortages of essential means of production and with structural marketing problems.

As a result, the farmers tried to minimise their links with the state and took to farming solely to meet their own needs, the supply of export products dried up, and the economy generated hardly any surpluses for investment in industry or for expenditure on the service sector, including government spending on health care and education.¹

The failings of the parastatal organisations that had been established to supply inputs and purchase agricultural produce led to the reintroduction of the cooperatives in 1982, though still in a mixed form of voluntary organisations pursuing a single, common economic objective and the socialist multi-functional village cooperative model with compulsory membership. However, there has been some change of late. A new law on cooperatives was passed and came into

force in August 1991. The most important reforms it introduces are that membership is now voluntary, that the cooperatives are no longer multi-functional and that they no longer have a monopoly on the purchase of means of production and the marketing of agricultural products.

2.3.b Economic growth and self-reliance

As a result of the developments outlined above economic development after the Arusha Declaration took the form of a gradual decline, which assumed the features of an economic crisis in the early 1980s. This crisis continued until about the mid-1980s, when after years of negotiation an agreement was reached with the IMF on the implementation of a structural adjustment programme, after which the economy began to show signs of recovery.

Before 1980 the average annual growth of GDP gradually fell from 5.5% in the period 1965-1969 to 3.6% from 1970 to 1974 and 3.4% from 1975 to 1980.

The surplus which the agricultural sector still managed to produce in the first decade after Arusha was, moreover, invested inefficiently.

Despite the importance of agriculture to Tanzania's economic policy, its share of total investment fell from 23% in 1966 to 13% in 1973 and to between 7 and 9% in the latter half of the 1970s. This led to a decline in total agricultural production from 49% of GDP in 1966 to 41% in 1978. As the population was growing at an average of 3.3% p.a. and the growth of agricultural production fell to 2.2% p.a. from 1965 to 1985, a larger proportion of agricultural output had to be used for domestic consumption. As agriculture traditionally accounted for 80 to 85% of total exports (coffee, cotton, tea, sisal, cashew nuts, cloves), the increase in domestic consumption had an adverse effect on agriculture's share of total exports.

Investment in industry rose to 25% of the total, but this did not result in any structural changes in the economy. After initial positive growth of industrial production in GDP terms it fell from 11.8 to 3.8% in the period 1965-1980 and even became negative in the early 1980s.

As unwise investment priorities were set, the trend in the import and export figures became even less favourable. From 1965 growth of GDP, though positive, declined from 5.5 to 1.1% p.a., while the volume of exports fell by 3.1% p.a. from 1960 and imports rose by an average of 1.9%. From 1972 to 1985 growth was negative, exports declining by an average of 6.2% p.a., imports by 3.3%. Although the terms of trade also fell by 2.7% p.a. during this period, the decline in export earnings was primarily due to the decrease in the volume exported. This led to a serious deterioration of the balance of payments and trade balance. The surplus of the late 1960s changed to a deficit in the early 1970s. This was due not only to internal factors but also to such external factors as the first oil crisis, the collapse of the East African Community and a number of poor harvests caused by flooding alternating with periods of drought. All these various factors resulted in export earnings being barely enough to finance 50% of imports in 1978, even though coffee and tea prices rose to record levels at this time. The result was increasing dependence on foreign financing and a rapidly growing foreign debt.

From the late 1970s, and particularly after the war with Uganda, the economic situation in Tanzania deteriorated rapidly. From 1980 to 1985 GDP growth fell by an average of 1.1% p.a. Imports and exports continued to decline. In volume terms imports fell to about 50% of the 1978 level. The even more rapid decline in exports led to a sharp increase in the balance-of-payments deficits. Total government spending rose from 17% of GDP in 1964 to 36% in 1980 and grew faster than revenue in the first half of the 1980s. As a result of the decline in revenue and an enforced reduction in government spending to 31% of GDP in 1985 the government had to reconsider its traditional role of the provider of free education and health care. Government spending on these two sectors as a percentage of GDP fell sharply after 1980.

The total foreign public debt rose from US\$ 250 million in 1970 to US\$ 4,091 million in 1988, equivalent to 19.5% and 139.8% of GNP respectively. Another source even refers to a total foreign debt in 1989 of US\$ 4.9 billion, 85% of which consisted of official debts. This is equivalent to 186% of GNP. Debt service rose officially from 5.3% of exports of goods and services in 1970 to 24.9% in 1988, or from 1.3% to 2.9% of GNP.

Total Official Development Assistance (ODA) from the DAC countries amounted to US\$ 882 million in 1987 and US\$ 978 million in 1988 and rose from 4.3% of GNP in 1970/71 to 31.2% in 1988. Aid per capita in 1988 amounted to US\$ 39.6. Little progress has been made in achieving the goal of self-reliance.

The structural adjustment policy

The steady economic decline in the late 1970s and early 1980s showed that the old planned economy model had been inappropriate. What the interventionist model had achieved politically in terms of nation-building and the establishment of central political and administrative power was also in danger of being lost unless measures were quickly taken to halt the economic decline.

In mid-1986, after years of negotiation, the situation resulted in Tanzania and the IMF agreeing to launch a structural adjustment programme. The main aim was to put the Tanzanian economy back on a sound footing by implementing an Economic Recovery Programme (ERP).

The most important medium-term objectives were positive growth of per capita income, a low rate of inflation and the restoration of a sustainable external balance-of-payments position, with the emphasis on measures to improve the allocation of resources and to encourage work, saving and investment.

Among the significant results achieved under the ERP were:

- an adjustment of the exchange rate
- the establishment of an Open General Licence (OGL) facility to improve the allocation of foreign exchange
- a real increase in producer prices
- the abolition of price controls on more than 400 products
- the setting of monetary and fiscal objectives

These measures actually brought the economic decline to a halt, and recovery in various areas began to take shape. From 1986 to 1989 GDP grew by an average of 4%, the volume of exports and agricultural production rose, and inflation was stabilised at 30% in 1987/88 (compared with 33 to 36% in previous

years) and fell to 25% in 1989. However, the balance-of-payments situation remained difficult, exports, for example, paying for only 36% of imports, and monetary stability had yet to be achieved. In the social sectors the only aim could be to stop the decline.

In 1989 the ERP was followed by a new three-year agreement with the IMF: the Economic and Social Action Programme (ESAP, also known as ERP II). The most important objectives of the ESAP were:

- a further increase in food production and in exports
- an improvement in the mobilisation and use of domestic resources
- the rehabilitation of the physical infrastructure in direct support of productive activities (the transport and telecommunications sectors)
- redressing the internal and external balance with appropriate fiscal, monetary and trade policies
- the modernisation of the industrial sector
- the rehabilitation of the social service sector through the identification and establishment of strategies and programmes, with the target group participating in decision-making and implementation.

By and large the ESAP thus continued the structural reforms that had begun under the ERP, while adding new activities designed to tackle a) the underlying structural causes of poverty in Tanzania and b) the limiting factors within the social sectors. To this end, a Priority Social Action Programme (PSAP) was established as an integral part of the ESAP with a view to combining planned economic and social objectives.

However, no progress at all has yet been made with the implementation of the PSAP, and no financial resources have been earmarked for it in the budget. This is an indication of the government's institutional weakness and of the lack of central organisation and coordination.

In March 1991 a new agreement in principle was concluded by Tanzania and the IMF and World Bank, the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF), and a new 'policy framework paper' was also adopted. The aspects considered in this paper include the exchange rate, the banking system, the cooperative system, the parastatal enterprises and the OGL system.

Where the exchange rate is concerned, the policy seeks to achieve the freest possible market, with supply and demand determining the exchange rate. The banking system is to be independent of the state and operate on a commercial basis. In general, there will be free buying and selling of cash crops, with the monopsonistic role of the cooperatives and/or other parastatal enterprises reduced with the legalisation of parallel marketing channels.

A serious obstacle to the implementation of adjustment programmes is the Tanzanian administration's institutional weakness at all levels. This is true of such ministries as Finance, Education and Health, of administrators at regional and district level and of such services as customs and immigration. One of the problems facing the government is the necessarily low level of salaries, which forces civil servants to supplement their incomes. As they are able to live on their official incomes for only one week in the month, they need additional incomes for the other three weeks.

2.3.c Demographic situation and policy

Tanzania has a total area of 945,000 sq.km. It had 10 million inhabitants in 1960 and 25 million in 1988, at a population density of 26 inhabitants per sq.km. The population is predicted to rise to about 40 million in 2000 and about 74 million in 2025. It is estimated that the sedentary population in 2050 will be 158 million. In 1987 80% of the total population lived in rural areas.

From 1960 to 1988, according to the various sources, the population growth figure fluctuated between 3.3 and 3.5% p.a. Estimates of the current growth rate vary from 2.8 to 3.7%, the former appearing to be more realistic, which would also mean that population growth has passed its peak.

Since 1965 the crude birth rate has remained virtually constant (49% then, 48% now), the crude death rate has fallen from 22 to 13%, and the total fertility rate has risen slightly from 6.6 to 6.7% (the projection for 2000 being 5.8%).

Average life expectancy rose from 41 years in 1960 to 48 in 1975 and 54 in 1987.

Infant mortality was 105 per 1000 live births in 1988; the mortality rate among children up to the age of 5 fell from 248 per 1000 in 1960 to 176 in 1988.

The national population policy has been the subject of a fruitless debate for many years. Birth control has hitherto been propagated as an extension of the traditional method of 'child spacing' and forms part of the care provided for mothers and children. It is estimated that not more than 7% of women use modern contraceptive methods. The availability of contraceptives is a problem outside the towns. Condoms are arriving in the country as part of the AIDS campaign. In the coming years the AIDS epidemic will have a major influence on Tanzania's demographic structure and overshadows the population problem. In a community where polygamy and changing sexual relationships are common preventing the spread of AIDS is no easy task. Married women in particular have little say in their own sexuality and even less in the sexual behaviour of their partners.

The growing population pressure has major implications for health services and education and for the total area of available agricultural land and food supplies.

2.3.d Environmental situation and policy

Tanzania has various ecological zones with climates to match. On the mainland six zones can be distinguished: the coastal zone, the arid areas, the semi-arid areas, the plateau zone, the highland zone and the four alluvial valleys.

As the fertility of its soil is relatively poor, the agricultural potential of the coastal zone is moderate, but forestry is certainly possible. Because of their poor soil composition the arid areas of the north and the Masai steppes (at an altitude of 500 to 1800 m) are unsuitable for dryland farming, even with irrigation. Short rainy seasons and overgrazing easily lead to erosion. In the semi-arid areas of the central and south-eastern parts of the country the agricultural potential is poor because of uncertain rainfall and low fertility. Irrigation is possible here and there (the Kilemsecu, Wani and Rufiji valleys). Although the plateau zone in the south and west, where rainfall varies between

800 and 1300 mm, has considerable agricultural potential, it also has limitations in terms of physical and social infrastructure. The highland zones in the south, west and south-west vary in altitude between 1000 and 2500 m and have an average rainfall of between 800 and 2000 mm, depending on altitude. This rainfall and the comparatively cool climate enable a wide range of crops to be grown.

The densely populated northern highlands (up to 165 per sq.km) south of Lake Victoria and around Arusha vary widely in rainfall and altitude. They have a long and a short rainy season. Their relatively high potential can be restored by rehabilitating existing plantations and building on traditional zero-grazing techniques.

The degradation of natural resources does not yet constitute a serious ecological problem, but it may soon become one, given the growing population pressure and other factors.

Agriculture contributes 80% of GNP and also accounts for about 80% of all exports. This has long led to pressure to increase agricultural production, and there is little inclination to improve the sustainability of the agricultural production system.

The introduction of the 'villagisation' programme, accompanied by the establishment of Ujamaa villages, and the emphasis increasingly placed on large-scale agricultural production systems have contributed to the disintegration of the traditional, more environmentally friendly system.

This is joined by rising population pressure, which will continue until the middle of next century, when the sedentary population will reach about 158 million. The need to increase the production of food and cash crops both to ensure domestic food security and in view of the macroeconomic importance of exports, combined with growing population pressure, will lead to an exponential increase in the pressure on the total area of available agricultural land. In the period 1984-1986 45% of potential agricultural land (49 million hectares) was already in use. The annual increase since 1965 has averaged 0.23% p.a. The population will triple by 2025 and increase sixfold by about 2050, whereas only half of the cultivable land is not being farmed. A possible solution will be to intensify agriculture. The large lakes and other inland waterways also offer potential for the further development of small-scale, traditional fishing.

According to not entirely reliable figures issued by the Ministry of Lands, Natural Resources and Tourism, annual deforestation amounts to between 300,000 and 400,000 ha. The most important reason for this is that 98% of household energy and 92% of total energy supplies are derived from firewood. This again illustrates the link between the energy, environment and poverty problems.

Environmental degradation, rising population pressure, the large proportion of energy derived from firewood and charcoal and the decline in agricultural production have led to growing awareness of the environment problem. In agriculture this has led to a return to small-scale labour-intensive production, and under the influence of the structural adjustment programmes the government will gradually withdraw from production and distribution and limit its role to creating favourable conditions, such as a better market and price policy, stimulating practical research geared to small farmers (e.g. farming

systems research, erosion control), etc., with the backing of a national environmental and population policy. Still in preparation is a National Population Policy, which will seek above all else to improve the quality and level of living standards and to ensure that more thought is given to the protection of the environment.

In consultation with the IUCN, SIDA and the World Bank Tanzania is to establish a National Conservation Strategy. The resulting national environmental policy will be primarily concerned with the following problems:

- Deforestation due to rapidly growing population pressure and the consequent demand for land, the use of firewood, overgrazing, etc.
- Soil erosion due to deforestation and the disintegration of the traditional farming systems.
- Preservation of wildlife.

The Tanzania Forestry Action Plan that already exists provides for activities geared to the management of the tropical forest, reforestation (for firewood supply) and technical and institutional support in the form of research, education and training activities of the Tanzanian forestry service, the preparation and production of educational materials, etc.

2.3.e Poverty situation and policy

The Human Development Index (HDI) for Tanzania is 0.413, putting it in the Low Human Development category, which includes all countries with an HDI below 0.500. On the HDI list Tanzania thus ranks 23rd from the bottom, whereas it ranks only 12th from the bottom in terms of per capita GNP.

Tanzania is somewhat higher - or, better, not so low - on the HDI ladder because, despite everything, the situation in the social sectors in Tanzania is better than in more or less comparable countries. However, the decline of the social sectors in the last decade has been alarming.

From 1965 to 1988 the downward trend in the growth of GDP was accompanied by a drop in per capita GNP averaging 0.5% p.a. Per capita income amounted to US\$ 180 in 1988. According to the World Bank Atlas of 1989, per capita income in that year was even as low as US\$ 120.

This continuing decline in per capita income was joined by growing inequality of income distribution until about 1987. Although the following figures are not really comparable over time, they give an impression of the trend towards increasing income inequality:

	ILO, 1976/77	Katona, 1988
Gini coefficient	0.51	0.57
Lowest 10%	38.8%	40.2%
Lowest 20%	57.8%	61.7%
Lowest third	9.2%	5.4%
Lower half	17.7%	12.4%

There may since have been a change in the trend towards greater income equality: the adjustment policy resulted in an improvement in the terms of trade for the rural areas compared with urban areas. Their deterioration had

been an important factor in the previous worsening of income distribution, for which the effective appreciation of the Tanzanian currency was partly to blame.

Nonetheless, the rural population (80% of the total) is at a disadvantage by comparison with the urban population. From 1985 to 1987 the various population groups had access to basic needs as follows:

	Health services	Safe water	Sanitation
Total population	76%	56%	68%
Rural population	72%	42%	58%
Urban population	99%	90%	93% ³

The economic decline even led to the relative discrimination against the rural areas being joined by an absolute reduction in the provision of social services. The first modest national attempts made in the early 1980s to halt the decline in the economy and social services failed because of their half-hearted nature, which also explains the lack of foreign (financial) support.

Although it gave some thought to the deterioration of social services, the main aim of the ERP, which did have international support, was economic recovery. It was only when the ESAP agreement was reached that a greater interest was taken in the backward social sectors as well as economic recovery. To this end, a Priority Social Action Programme (PSAP) was drawn up, with special attention paid to the following sectors: education, health, water, food security and, finally, income and employment. The PSAP does not, on the other hand, consider the problems specifically faced by women. Before the education and health sectors are discussed in greater depth, it should be pointed out that since the adoption of the Arusha Declaration in 1967 free education and health care has been a fundamental principle of Tanzanian policy. With the country's serious economic problems, this goal has increasingly become a fiction.

Where education is concerned, the high level of literacy is particularly striking: according to official figures, 93% of men and 88% of women were literate in 1986, an undeniable achievement of the policy adopted after independence of making education accessible to everyone. Since 1986 this percentage has undoubtedly fallen, partly because of the previous decline in the quality of and access to primary education. Although more recent figures are not available, insiders believe that in fact the literacy rates may well be between 60 and 70%.

Spending on education as a proportion of total government expenditure remained roughly constant (between 15.3 and 17.8%) throughout the period from 1970 to 1983, but then fell to 8.7% in 1987. As a percentage of GNP expenditure dropped from an absolute peak of 5.9% in 1980 to 1.7% in 1986. The latter figure is even below the average for all developing countries. As a result, the quality of education fell significantly. After growing in absolute terms for many years, the number of children attending primary schools fell from 3.5 million in 1979 to 3.2 million in 1988, while the population grew at an average of 3.4% p.a.

In relative terms the proportion of 7- to 13-year-old children attending schools fell from 96% to 78%. The quality of education also declined owing to a shortage of school books, poor curricula, poor staffing policy, deficient

maintenance of the schools, etc. The shortage of funds forced parents to contribute towards the recurrent costs of many (primary) schools. This indirect levying of school fees in the villages of the rural areas naturally results in the children of the poorest families being the first to be excluded from education.

Another example of the unsatisfactory state of the education system is the fact that only 3% of 14- to 17-year-olds attend secondary schools.

The health sector's share of the national budget fell from an absolute peak of 7.3% in 1977/78 to 6.2% in 1988. As the health policy that has been clearly defined since the Arusha Declaration is geared to the establishment of a primary health care system in rural areas, there has been a major improvement in average life expectancy at birth from 41 years in 1960 to 54 years in 1987 and a drop in the mortality rate among children up to the age of 5 from 248 per 1000 in 1960 to 176 in 1988.

As in education, a serious decline in the quality of health care is apparent, thus largely cancelling out the achievements of the 1970s. Financially, there is growing dependence on donors. The shortage of drugs has led to the emergence of a black market.

The rapid growth of the AIDS problem is revealed by the report on the National AIDS Control Programme (NACP) of the Ministry of Health published in September 1990. It shows that the number of cases of AIDS is increasing at an alarming rate. In general, it can be said that AIDS primarily affects the sexually active group between the ages of 15 and 45. This group, 39.4% of the total population, accounts for 87.7% of all registered cases of AIDS. The percentage is slightly higher among women than among men, and on average women are affected by AIDS at a younger age. Two risk groups are specifically mentioned: pregnant women and young people between the ages of 15 and 25. In the districts of Mbeya and Mwanza, for example, child mortality due to AIDS has risen to 50 per 1000. Of the children who are not infected, 11% will see one of their parents die of AIDS within ten years. The proportion of seropositive cases among young people aged 15 to 29 rose from 0% in 1987 to 7.2% in 1990 in the 15-29 age group and from 1.6% in 1987 to 8.2% in 1990 in the 20-25 age group. According to the NACP, this is a country-wide trend.

The Tanzanian AIDS policy is specifically aimed at influencing the sexual behaviour of the abovementioned risk groups with general information campaigns and with training and education in AIDS prevention. In all these activities the emphasis is on a decentralised approach, and contact is sought with the local PHC committees.

Food security in Tanzania is not a constant. The most important cause of the fluctuating scale of production is the climate. Diseases that suddenly affect crops are another cause. The regions also differ widely. Transport and, therefore, distribution problems prevent shortages in one area from being alleviated with supplies from a surplus area. A poor purchasing and marketing policy simply exacerbates the situation, as do fluctuations in the total output of each crop.

As a result of the shortage of food the average calorie intake is only 83% of the average required. This local shortage of food supplies is joined by the poverty problem, i.e. a lack of purchasing power in large lower-income groups. Other socio-economic factors that influence the household food situation are the

mother's level of education, the workload of women in rural areas, eating habits, diseases, etc. All these factors together make the food situation unstable and lead to malnutrition and undernourishment in certain risk groups, such as children under 5 and women who are pregnant or breast-feeding.

A survey conducted by the Tanzania Food and Nutrition Centre (TFNC) in 1986-1987 reveals that 16% of new-born babies were underweight, that 40% of children under 5 were undernourished and that 6% were seriously undernourished.

The 1989 PSAP provided for a number of priority activities to improve the health situation. They included the launching of a rehabilitation programme based on community participation, the introduction of alternative sources of funds, such as financial contributions from patients and the community, active participation by the community in the provision of services, an improvement in the supply of drugs (Essential Drugs Programme) and the introduction of a primary health care system in Dar es Salaam. In practice, as previously mentioned, little has been done to implement this programme.

Where water is concerned, the launching of a 20-year drinking water programme in 1971 complied with the Arusha Declaration, which called for each Tanzanian to have access to tap water at a distance of not more than 400 metres.

Backed by the influx of donors responding to the Arusha Declaration, a Water Master Plan was drawn up for 17 of Tanzania's 20 administrative regions, but only a small part of it was implemented by the donors. The absence of a clear sectoral policy meant that both the design of the various plans and their implementation lacked any kind of uniformity or that the cost of maintenance and use was not taken into account. As these factors, combined with chronic shortages of materials, parts and financial resources and, of course, the over-ambitious objective, resulted in only 46% of the rural population having access to safe drinking water by 1988 and in an estimated 40% of the systems installed not working, perhaps 70% of the rural population had to do without safe drinking water.

In 1988 the Tanzanian government drew up an extensive and all-embracing policy document for the water and sanitation sector. Unlike the first (20-year) programme, it clearly states that water supply cannot be achieved unless the beneficiaries themselves make an effort or meet the cost: 'The major focus of the water policy is self-reliance'.

Compared with water supply, the figures on sanitation indicate that a reasonable standard has been reached in Tanzania. The concept of the VIP (Ventilated Improved Pitlatrine) has yet to be introduced on a sufficiently large scale because of financial restrictions, the traditional types therefore remaining the most commonly used. Despite financial incentives, programmes designed to change this situation have not yet had much success, mainly because the users have other economic priorities. Nor is health education sufficiently integrated, and as this is true of most drinking water programmes, diseases spread by water are still relatively common.

2.3.f Military spending

As regards military spending compared to expenditure on the social sectors education and health care it should first be noted that little reliable information

is available. There are no figures on the same year and from the same source. Even figures from a given source based on a given reference year differ from year to year. Thus the 1990 HDR reveals a ratio of military to social spending in 1986 of 0.6:1 and the 1991 HDR a ratio of 1.14:1, again in 1986.

Since 1960 the trend in both military spending and expenditure on the social sectors can be said to have risen in absolute terms and in relative terms, i.e. as a percentage of GNP. In the late 1970s and early 1980s military spending was roughly equivalent to between 50 and 60% of expenditure on the social sectors. This was primarily due to the more rapid rise in expenditure on the social sectors. The drop in expenditure on the social sectors due to the economic decline is to blame for the deterioration in the ratio of military to social spending. In 1986 military spending was approximately 1.15 times higher than that on the social sectors.

As the PSAP is resulting in an increase in the interest taken in integrating the social sectors into the structural adjustment policy, government spending on the social sectors will undoubtedly rise and the ratio improve in their favour.

3 THE NETHERLANDS' AID PROGRAMME AND PLANNED POLICY

3.1 General

Introduction

Since the early 1980s it has been increasingly realised in Tanzania that structural changes occur before a process of sustainable economic development can be set in motion. The political administration must be reformed, and government must play a less dominant role in the political and economic spheres if such sustainable economic development is to be achieved. Political incompetence, a lack of political will and an international donor community that consequently lacked confidence and failed to provide enough support prevented these reforms from being launched in the first half of the 1980s, and the downward economic trend continued.

In 1986 agreement on a structural adjustment programme was at last reached with the IMF and World Bank. In the late 1980s such international fora as the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) and the Africa Conference at Maastricht discussed the need for the people to be actively involved in decision-making processes and for these processes to be made more transparent, with governments under a greater obligation to account to the people for their actions.

In the Tanzanian context this appeal for good governance means introducing political reforms and involving the people more closely in the decision-making on and implementation of development-oriented activities. This in turn means undertaking economic reforms with a view to creating a market-oriented economy, revising the banking system, adopting a liberal policy on the buying and selling of agricultural products, etc.

For the Netherlands' aid programme this means supporting the economic reform process with programme aid, to which conditions will be attached, where possible in a multilateral context. Where possible, the Netherlands will also actively support the political reform process. In addition, special attention will

be paid to rural development and the development of human resources (education, health) so that the people actually have the opportunity of participating in decision-making processes.

Poverty alleviation

The income situation in Tanzania's rural areas has suffered badly because of the monopoly which highly inefficient cooperatives and parastatal marketing boards once had (and still have by and large) on the purchase of produce and the distribution of seed, fertilisers, etc. Farmers were not paid for their products, or were paid far too late, and so discouraged from growing crops for the market. The removal of agricultural products from rural areas was also seriously hampered by the very poor state of the road network and of means of transport. Although reforms as part of the structural adjustment process have brought noticeable improvements in recent years, many farmers still see little opportunity for generating additional income by growing crops for the market. Most therefore confine themselves to food crops for their own consumption. As a result, purchasing power in the villages in many of Tanzania's rural areas is minimal, whereas the prices of consumer goods (if available) are high.

Of the Tanzanian population, 85% work in rural areas and depend on arable and/or livestock farming for employment/incomes. The majority of this population group are poor to very poor. Eliminating the constraints on the development of rural areas and the agricultural sector will make a major contribution to the alleviation of poverty. The Netherlands will help in this respect by providing aid for general sectoral reform measures and contributing towards the costs they entail and by granting selective project aid.

In agricultural and climatic terms there are more than enough opportunities in Tanzania to ensure food security. Half of the cultivable land is still unused and/or undeveloped. As long as many farmers continue to produce only for their own consumption, the overall food situation will not change and the danger of shortages after failed harvests will persist. Food supplies to urban areas in particular have benefited from the stimulation of production in rural areas.

As the majority of women in rural areas live at subsistence level, they lack the resources for investment in even the simplest of income-generating activities. There is little or no borrowing from the (almost bankrupt) banking system. Access to credit is hampered by the conditions to be satisfied, particularly the requirement that borrowers own real estate. The traditional law of inheritance also limits women's access to agricultural land. Where they do own a plot of land, it is usually very small, and productivity suffers from the shortage of labour and poor technology. About 20% of all families in Tanzania are headed by a woman. In some areas (Kagera) the percentage is far higher because of the mobility of the men.

Sectors/areas of priority interest

Rural development remains one of the most important sectors for Dutch aid. With a view to alleviating poverty the sector programmes will be geared to mobilising the local population and eliminating the government monopoly on both political and economic development. Enabling the local population to

adopt its own pattern of organisation can be seen as a specific form of poverty alleviation. Grass-roots organisations can then set about improving their own living conditions.

Apart from encouraging the government to pursue a favourable macroeconomic policy, the Netherlands places the emphasis on education and health care (including population policy). The identification of projects in these sectors has now been taken in hand.

Project, programme and budget aid

The vicissitudes of the Tanzanian economy in the post-colonial period make it abundantly clear that sustainable economic growth is vital to an improvement in the situation of the poorest of the poor, who can be said to form the majority of the population in Tanzania. Declining growth eroded the economic base for social services.

Although the Tanzanian economy is recovering from the crisis in the first half of the 1980s and investment is being encouraged, the growth of exports is still inadequate. Tanzania itself does not generate enough foreign exchange to pay for the imports it needs. Donor countries are therefore helping out with programme aid on a considerable scale. This aid will continue to be needed in the years to come, and the Netherlands will make its contribution.

During the early years of the structural adjustment programme (1985-1990) annual programme aid from the Netherlands averaged slightly less than 60% of its total aid volume. In the coming period it will be reduced to 40% in 1994. There are two reasons for this gradual decrease. Firstly, it is assumed that Tanzania will have less need for aid: as a result of the adjustment process it must increasingly earn the foreign exchange it requires. Secondly, the Netherlands wants to use the financial resources thus released to make a more purposeful contribution, through projects, to a sustainable improvement in the living conditions of the poor and of such relatively disadvantaged groups as women and children.

The pace at which these changes have an impact will depend on the trend in Tanzania's need for programme and project aid, its capacity for absorbing both forms of aid and the Netherlands' ability to oversee and manage the projects and programmes. A considerable proportion of programme aid will, moreover, continue to be devoted to the further strengthening of economic self-reliance.

A steadily decreasing proportion of Dutch import aid is being allotted to previously identified clients in the form of 'administrative allocations'. The advantage of this system is that it can be targeted. There is also the Open General Licence (OGL) system, which is more flexible, less labour-intensive and untied and benefits far more clients, including smaller ones. A growing proportion of Dutch import aid will be distributed through the OGL system in the coming years. In 1992 the ratio of administrative allocations to the OGL allocation will be 1:2. At the end of the period covered by this regional policy plan the administrative allocations will be terminated.

Some programme aid will also be provided in the form of budget aid and/or for selected imports to the benefit of the social sectors, the environment and WID.

A maximum of 12.5 million guilders has been earmarked for this purpose in 1992.

Geographical concentration

In the past three districts were identified for aid on the basis of such criteria as the scale of poverty and the relationship between agricultural and environmental problems. The flexible district programmes have become the mainstay of the Netherlands' rural development programme.

In the future the number of districts will be gradually increased from six in early 1992 to possibly ten in early 1994. The four district programmes already being implemented in the area to the west and south of Lake Victoria (Bukoba, Maswa, Meatu and Mbulu) will be joined by the SNV's new district programmes in the Ruvuma and Dodoma regions. The embassy is in the process of identifying two or three districts adjoining districts in which the Netherlands is already active, with a view to launching additional district programmes.

Dutch bilateral activities are also being undertaken in the Tanga area and Zanzibar. These remain target areas for Dutch aid. The previously mentioned area to the south of Lake Victoria is also receiving Dutch aid under the cotton programme. The areas in which Dutch activities are being undertaken are shown on the map. Apart from aid to activities at national level, new Dutch bilateral action will be confined to these target areas.

Co-financing/the role of NGOs

Part of the bilateral programme is coordinated in one way or another with the World Bank through agreements on activities, consultation on the conditions attached to aid and co-financing.

Within the various sectors contributions will be made to activities of the SNV, co-financing organisations and such multilateral organisations as WHO, FAO, UNICEF and ILO.

3.2 Rural development

The rural development policy is geared to specific target groups, with particular emphasis on women. The participation of the target group in decision-making and implementation is a precondition in this context. The strengthening of local organisations is both a means and an end. Another feature of the rural development policy will be geographical concentration.

The main aim of this concentration is the continuation of various sectoral activities under the district programmes. These are, specifically, agricultural research and training activities designed to increase production, such as farming systems research, soil research and the training of extension officers. Outside the district programmes livestock farming activities in the Tanga and Kagera areas, drinking water and sanitation activities in the Morogoro and Shinyanga areas and agricultural and environmental activities in Zanzibar will continue. Small-scale irrigation and the creation of employment in small firms will be handled through the SNV, for example. The assignment of a specialist in small-scale employment to the region will act as a stimulus in this respect. The

Netherlands continues to take an interest in the environment, under the district programmes and otherwise, by supporting soil research, reafforestation activities forming part of the Tanzania Forestry Action Plan, etc.

As far as possible, new sectoral activities will be launched in situations where they have the effect of reinforcing existing activities. In the context of rural development the Netherlands will thus consider how far it can help with the construction of a network of rural roads, which may, after all, be very important for an area's economic development. Preference is given to the construction of such roads with local resources, i.e. without inputs from abroad.

Outside the sphere of rural development proper two other Dutch activities should be mentioned at this juncture. Since the early 1980s the Netherlands has been involved in the rehabilitation and expansion of the cotton sector in Tanzania. This sector provides employment and incomes for farmers on some 550,000 small farms and is Tanzania's second most important source of foreign exchange. If agreement can be reached with the Tanzanian government on the effective removal of institutional constraints and if Tanzania itself makes an appropriate effort to finance the cotton programme, the Netherlands will again make a substantial contribution to the further development of this subsector in the coming period.

On the basis of previous agreements, including one relating to the formulation of an appropriate Tanzanian policy for the sugar sector, which may enable it to pay its way in the future, the Netherlands has declared its willingness to make a further contribution to the rehabilitation of Tanzanian sugar production, which must then stand on its own feet. The Dutch contribution will meet not more than one third of the cost of rehabilitation, the remainder being provided by Tanzania itself.

3.3

Environment

Since the previous country policy plan greater attention has been paid to environmental aspects in the identification and formulation of activities.

Ecological carrying capacity, soil and water conservation, erosion control and reafforestation are areas of interest in the flexible district programmes in Bukoba, Maswa, Meatu and Mbulu. These programmes receive the direct or indirect support of Farming Systems Research and the National Soil Service activities. Farming Systems Research is also investigating the possibility of intensifying agriculture and improving the relationship between arable farming, forestry and livestock farming.

In the activities being undertaken by the SNV to increase the scale of village woodland and small-scale irrigation appropriate account is taken of the environment. The aim of the woodland scheme is to improve supplies of firewood and timber, and the situation up- and downstream is considered in the case of irrigation.

A small-scale, but interesting, activity similarly assigned to the SNV is the DLUMP (Dodoma Land Use Management Project). After the villages around Dodoma have been surveyed, land can be allocated on the basis of the resulting maps. The aim of this activity is to achieve a situation in which the land rights of men and women are properly regulated so that people to whom land is

allocated to manage and/or to own will invest in their plots by taking measures to protect the environment. This activity is intended as a pilot project and may act as a model for district and other programmes.

Environmental aspects are also appropriately considered in activities relating to livestock farming, as demonstrated by zero-grazing activities and the rotational growing of, say, legumes.

The abovementioned programmes will be expanded in the coming period. New activities may take the form of participation in the TFAP (Tanzania Forestry Action Plan) and further work on land use rights and the relationship between arable farming, forestry and livestock farming.

Where possible, activities will conform to the environmental policy being developed, or a contribution will be made to its development.

3.4 Women in development

Although the Arusha Declaration of 1967 formally stipulated that men and women are equal, women still play little part in the planning and decision-making processes. The party's and government's formal recognition of the contribution made by women to the development process has resulted in very few practical changes in official policy, programmes and activities. Women still have little chance of owning land, cattle or capital (credit!) and have limited access to technology.

Since 1985 the agency responsible for the implementation of the policy on women has had a special department, and since the elections in October 1990 there has been a separate ministry: the Ministry of Community Development, Women's Affairs and Children. Although the interest taken in women's affairs has thus become more visible, the question remains, given past experience, whether this will also lead to a more decisive government policy in this sphere. The draft policy plan Situation of Women in Tanzania, for example, though drawn up in 1988, still awaits official approval. Promising developments are the formation of 'women's sections' in various ministries and the fact that for the first time the Women in Development aspect has been specifically considered in a five-year plan (1988-1993).

Studies in 1983 and 1986 revealed that the Netherlands' development policy in Tanzania had hitherto given little or no thought to women. With the arrival of an expert on Women in Development in 1987 and the adoption of a new policy plan, it was decided to integrate WID activities into existing activities relating to rural development (small-scale arable and livestock farming) and institution-building and into programmes and projects forming part of the structural adjustment process.

Despite this approach, it has become clear that only a small number of activities specifically aimed at women satisfy the DAC/WID criteria. It can also be said that in these activities greater emphasis has been placed on economic self-reliance than on the ability of women to defend themselves in society, i.e. breaking down their traditional role pattern.

Future Dutch WID activities will be geared to supporting the Tanzanian WID policy (government, universities, NGOs, etc.) and, on this basis, gender-specific

training and information activities. The political and organisational position of women will also need to be actively strengthened with a view to giving them a greater say in general and specific programmes and in their own lives.

More aid will also be provided for direct poverty alleviation programmes that increase the participation and, therefore, the autonomy of women and are designed to integrate them into productive activities (provided the latter are linked to activities that ease their burden). Aid will also be provided for measures to stimulate the active participation of women in education and for preventive primary health care activities that specifically benefit women and children.

Encouragement will also be given to innovative initiatives outside central government, e.g. initiatives taken by such pressure groups as women in the media, women lawyers and women in the trade union who raise such issues as greater autonomy, the use of physical violence, the right to property and the right to reproduce.

Particular attention will be paid to the strengthening of programmes and activities of local NGOs aimed specifically at women.

3.5 Urban poverty

As stated in the introductory chapter on the regional policy, the nature and scale of the urban poverty problem in Tanzania is not such that its alleviation will be considered an area of priority interest in the development relationship.

3.6 Health care, drinking water and sanitation

Having made a name for itself in the 1970s in the field of primary health care, Tanzania was unable to keep up the standard in the following decade. The country's serious economic problems led to a steady decline in the effectiveness of the health system. In the first few years of structural adjustment all thoughts then turned to reviving economic growth, and the needs of the social sectors were neglected for the time being. Under the second structural adjustment programme (ESAP), which came into operation in 1989, the government explicitly sought, however, to ensure that the social sectors would benefit from the adjustment process and from more government and donor funds. The Priority Social Action Programme (PSAP) outlines the framework for a population and health policy. The sustainability of the planned recovery is to be ensured, for example, by an increase in client contributions and an improvement in management. There is, however, still no sign of further elaboration, let alone implementation of these intentions.

Tanzania can still boast a relatively good and evenly spread primary health care structure, although it functions very unsatisfactorily owing to a lack of maintenance and a chronic shortage of drugs. The country will undoubtedly have insufficient funds in the coming years for the drastic rehabilitation which the existing system needs to undergo. On the other hand, it can already count on fairly extensive donor support in this sphere. In the past the Netherlands too has supported a number of activities relating to health care and research in this field, and it intends to step up its involvement in the future. Health care for

all is the main aim of the new policy. Health care is an investment in human development.

Where vaccination, the care of mothers and children and family planning in Tanzania are concerned, links can be forged with the current district programmes for rural development. A flexible, participatory approach based on articulated needs and existing local structures, with a maximum input of local expertise at all levels, is, after all, highly commensurate with the design of the district programmes. The regional concentration of Dutch aid that has been advocated also calls for links with the district programmes. At macro level the Netherlands can participate primarily through such multilateral organisations as WHO, UNICEF, UNFPA and the World Bank.

As for the AIDS problem, a research project (TANERA) concerning the development of the most effective possible means of preventing the spread of AIDS is currently being implemented. It is now being considered how the findings of this research can be integrated into the district programmes. Given the seriousness of the situation, particularly in the Mwanza and Kagera regions, speed is of the essence in this context.

It is being considered how the Netherlands can finance birth control activities. There is certainly a need for such activities in Tanzania, where the population growth rate is undoubtedly 2.8%. It is an issue that is still being hotly debated in the country itself. From religious quarters in particular there are strong objections to family planning, but the consequences of uncontrolled population growth, which is largely cancelling out the rise in GNP, are becoming increasingly apparent.

The National Policy Document on the Population Problem of which there has been talk for some time has yet to appear, however. An integrated approach ensured by an umbrella, coordinating unit is therefore impossible, which constitutes an obstacle to structural aid from the Netherlands for the time being.

Although safe drinking water is needed for both the rural and the urban population, the Netherlands has placed greater emphasis on rural water supply in view of the importance it attaches to rural development. It will continue to do so in the coming period. However, a 1987 evaluation of the Dutch drinking water programme in the Morogoro and Shinyanga regions over the previous twenty years showed the end result to be extremely unsatisfactory, particularly in terms of sustainability. The facilities installed were inadequately used, most were poorly maintained, and many were out of service. In 1988 a programme specifically geared to maintenance and use by the beneficiaries was launched. This programme is commensurate with Tanzania's National Water Policy. Its aim is to establish a functional institutional organisation to oversee the use and maintenance of water supply facilities at village to regional level so that sustainability may be ensured. The results show that, while the system works, it still needs some adjustment.

Although sanitation should preferably form part of a water supply programme, there are circumstances which justify a programme geared exclusively to sanitation. A sanitation programme is needed particularly in situations of the type that may occur in urban areas and densely populated rural areas, where the absence of adequate sanitation constitutes a health hazard. Here again, the involvement of the beneficiaries in planning and implementation should be

appropriately ensured. Careful attention should be paid to information on health and hygiene.

The combination of the interest being taken in rural development in general and in the water sector in particular gives rise to the following kinds of activity:

Support for drinking water supply programmes, with particular attention paid to the sustainability of use and maintenance, will continue in the Morogoro and Shinyanga regions and, where possible, they will be integrated into rural development programmes. This does not, however, rule out the possibility of separate drinking water programmes.

More attention will be paid to planning and implementation at district level, i.e. to institutional support. The districts must, after all, assume responsibility for planning and implementation and for the eventual supervision of use and maintenance. Thought will also be given to integration into a broader framework, such as regional planning, the previously mentioned National Master Water Plan and, ultimately, a form of water resources management. Smaller water programmes implemented by non-governmental or international organisations can also be supported provided that they comply with the principles outlined above.

In view of the very high investment needed support for sanitation programmes will be modest and form part of health education or drinking water programmes. Another option is the rehabilitation of sanitation in urban areas, partly on health and environmental grounds.

3.7

Education and research

Like health care, education in Tanzania underwent unprecedented growth until the late 1970s and early 1980s. With the decline of the economy, some of this growth was lost again, and the quality of education fell, relative enrolment figures dropped, and illiteracy rose. This was true of both primary education and (primary) vocational training.

In the first years of the structural adjustment programme this downward trend continued. The first attempts to reverse it were made with the 1989 Priority Social Action Programme, very little of which has, however, been actually implemented. The World Bank is currently drawing up a sectoral report on education. At the meeting of the Consultative Group in 1991 it emerged that various donors intend to help improve the very serious situation that has arisen particularly in primary education and vocational training. These donors include the Netherlands. After an inventory has been made on the basis of the available data, possible means of providing support will be identified in 1992. The aim is to integrate training and education activities into such existing sectors and areas of interest as rural development, health, water and sanitation, the environment and women. As regards geographical concentration it can be said in advance that the planned Tanzanian policy of decentralising to district level conforms to the Dutch principle that, where possible, projects should be concentrated on a limited number of districts.

To underline the growing importance of education under the regional policy in general and in Tanzania in particular, it should be pointed out that in 1992 a

specialist in education will be assigned to Dar es Salaam (from where he will serve the whole region).

Where research activities are concerned, a distinction is made between 'old' research activities, those already being undertaken, and 'new' research activities yet to be launched.

The 'old' research activities include such classical, horizontal activities as soil research and farming systems research in support of the four district programmes. They are joined by the Economic Policy Research Programme, the aim of which is to produce more reliable figures and analyses for Tanzania's macroeconomic policy and the previously mentioned TANERA research project, in which means of combating and preventing AIDS are being sought.

For the programme of 'new' research a socio-economic research programme geared to processes of change will be formulated. On the one hand, this will be commensurate with the existing district programmes for more detailed studies of the activities already being supported by the Netherlands. On the other hand, a multi-annual, integral and multi-disciplinary socio-economic research programme of this kind can act as a basis for the identification of future activities at district and sectoral level, geared to processes of change in poverty alleviation and the improvement of the environment and of the position of women and children.

Notes:

- 1 Van Cranenburgh draws attention here to the paradox of the authoritarian state which is so lacking in power that it is unable to enforce the implementation of its plans. This paradox resulted in deadlock between government and farmers. Hyden refers to the 'uncaptured peasantry', who would not accept the plans which the government wanted to 'impose from above'.
- 2 Katona as quoted in Davids (1988): *The Economic and Social Impact of Structural Adjustment in Tanzania*.
- 3 What these figures do not reveal is that the quality of the health service in urban areas is far better than in rural areas, while the requirements that sanitation must meet are far more stringent in urban areas.

IV UGANDA

1 INTRODUCTION

Having been suspended in 1977, the development cooperation relationship with Uganda was resumed on 1 January 1991. In the intervening period, however, the Netherlands had continued to provide emergency aid. If developments in Uganda so warrant, the Netherlands envisages a substantial programme, although it will be introduced gradually.

2 POLITICAL SITUATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC POLICY

2.1 Political situation

Ethnic, cultural and religious conflicts and economic differences have long determined political developments in Uganda. After independence in 1962 the government headed by Milton Obote tried to establish a state of national unity, but was thwarted by the largest ethnic group, the Baganda, who opposed the integration of the politically and economically powerful Kingdom of Buganda into the state of Uganda. The seizure of power by former Army Chief of Staff Idi Amin put an end to the Obote government in 1971. Amin's 'Ugandisation' of the economy and the widespread terror led to the dislocation of Ugandan society. Amin's reign of terror was brought to an end in 1979 with the help of the Tanzanian army.

Initially, the Uganda National Liberation Front formed under pressure from Tanzania's President Nyerere took power. As a result of the acts of terror and revenge during Obote's second period in office the divisions along ethnic and religious lines reached unprecedented heights, eventually leading to the complete political and economic disintegration of the country.

In 1985 another coup took place, and Tito Okello was appointed president. In the meantime the fighting among various armed groups that had flared up while Obote was in power continued. In 1986 the National Resistance Army (NRA), the armed branch of the National Resistance Movement (NRM), managed to gain control over the west and south of Uganda and to capture the capital, Kampala. The NRA's leader, Yoweri Museveni, was installed as President. However, it was to be September 1988 before the government army was able to bring part of the north and north-east of the country under control. Acts of violence perpetrated by small rebel factions and bandits are still a regular occurrence, particularly in the districts of Kumi, Soroti, Kitgum and Gulu.

The political structure in Uganda was reorganised by the NRM in an attempt to achieve national reconciliation and unite the country and so to overcome the traditional differences. Since the 1989 elections many tribal, religious and political groups have been represented in local and regional administrative bodies, and at national level as many groups as possible are involved in the exercise of power. The parliament has some influence. Supreme authority is, however, vested in the President, who is also chairman of the National Resistance Council and Minister of Defence. Presidential power is not subject to a sound system of checks and balances.

A commission has been set up to prepare a new constitution and is expected to submit a draft in mid-1992 following a broad social debate.

The promise to return to normal government in 1990 could not be kept because of the security situation and the inadequate progress made in restoring the physical infrastructure. The transitional period will continue until 1995.

Relations with Uganda's neighbours Rwanda and Kenya are subject to the usual tensions. The rebels who attacked Rwanda from Uganda on 1 October 1990 were Rwandan refugees, some of whom were serving in the Ugandan government army. They made an important contribution to president Museveni's power structure. Uganda denied direct involvement in the conflict. There is some doubt about this, however. Relations between Rwanda and Uganda have become very cool.

Relations with Kenya have also been difficult in the past, partly because of the Ugandan economy's dependence on the import of goods and raw materials through Kenya. A number of incidents involving armed force on the frontier between the two countries and the personal animosity which the two heads of state have for each other have also added to the tense relationship.

2.2 Human rights situation

The human rights situation in Uganda is undoubtedly better than it was before 1986. After a long period of civil war, disintegration and gross and systematic violations of human rights Uganda seems, under Yoweri Museveni's leadership, to be returning slowly but surely to calmer waters.

The security situation has improved since 1986. The pacification of the north and north-east of Uganda is making progress. Nevertheless, the civilian population in this area still comes under frequent attack from rebels (particularly factions of the Holy Spirit Movement and the Uganda People's Army) and bandits and suffers during the army's subsequent mopping-up operations. Some of the human rights violations committed by the army are attributed to central government's lack of control over the commanders and units concerned.

In general, arbitrary arrests and detention and the restriction of the due process of law continue to cause serious concern. A number of civil freedoms, such as the rights of association and assembly, are still restricted: political parties are not banned, but their activities are impeded. The press enjoys a considerable measure of freedom: it is able to report openly on human rights violations by the army, the fighting in the north and corruption in the army and government and to criticise the government's policy.

It is important to realise that the human rights violations are partly due to shortcomings in the operation of such institutions as the army, the police and the judiciary. Restructuring and strengthening the police and judiciary at regional and local level may help to prevent violations of human rights in the future.

2.3 Socio-economic situation and policy

2.3.a Economic growth and self-reliance

Review

When the National Resistance Movement led by Yoweri Museveni, now President, came to power in early 1986, it inherited a completely shattered economy. Insecurity and poor economic management had changed the once so strong and varied economy into one that depended on coffee for more than 95% of its export revenues. Both agriculture and industry had collapsed. The communications network of roads, railways and telephone services was in a serious state of decay. Energy and water supplies were also inadequate and unreliable, and the once excellent social infrastructure lay almost in ruins. From 1969 to 1985 total GDP fell by 16%, per capita income by 50%. Living standards throughout the country were very low. The debt had risen to US\$ 1.2 billion. Tax revenues were minimal, and the budget deficit was financed with bank loans, which led to high inflation and the devaluation of the Ugandan shilling.

To bring the economic problems under control, a programme of economic recovery was established for the financial years 1987/88-1990/91 with the help of the World Bank and the IMF. The main aims of this programme were to restore internal financial stability, to improve the balance-of-payments position, to increase the rate of capacity utilisation in industry, to restructure the public sector, to increase government revenues and to make the use of resources more efficient. The programme also provided for specific measures to increase productivity and improve access to basic social services for the most vulnerable groups.

The programme has resulted in GDP growing by 6% p.a. in real terms over the past three years and in inflation falling from 233% in mid-1987 to 27% in early 1991, although this was followed by a fresh rise to 39% in mid-1991. A rigid fiscal and monetary policy in recent years and economic recovery also led to an increase in tax revenues from the very low level of 5% of GDP in 1986/87 to 8% in 1990/91. Low government revenues mean, however, a very low level of government spending (11% of GDP), for which the relatively small amount of aid Uganda receives from donors must also take some blame: 30% less than the average for sub-Saharan Africa. Per capita income is estimated at US\$ 300 p.a.

Present situation

Although macro-economic stability has improved, very serious financial and structural problems persist. Owing to the sharp decline in the price of coffee savings and tax revenues have fallen substantially, as has, therefore, their contribution to investment and economic growth. The debt burden is relatively very high - over US\$ 2.0 billion at the end of 1990: amortisation and interest payments consume 92% of the value of exported goods and services. The redeployment options are limited. The balance-of-payments position is also poor owing to the sharp drop in the price of coffee and the large oil bill. Revenue from the export of coffee has fallen in the past three years from US\$ 300 million to US\$ 125 million in 1991 because of reductions in prices and the volume exported. Besides the economy's excessive dependence on coffee production, the use of obsolete technologies, the shortage of energy, the qualitatively

and quantitatively very low level of services in the health care and education sectors and very inefficient government services pose structural problems.

Happily, there are also a number of promising aspects, among them the agricultural sector, which has enormous potential for sustainable development if it makes use of improved technology, infrastructure is restored, more inputs become available and incentives are provided. The government has also shown that it does not intend to evade the problems, and provided that priorities in government spending are fundamentally changed, it should be possible to create a smaller and more efficient administration with sufficient funds to undertake essential activities in the main economic and social sectors. There is also the extensive safety net of the private sector (farmers, businessmen, local communities and NGOs), which is developing self-help activities with great commitment.

The Ugandan economy is making the transition from rehabilitation and stabilisation to sustainable economic growth and diversification. The reform measures which Uganda has agreed with the World Bank and IMF as part of the structural adjustment programme are primarily geared to the development of the private sector and the improvement of management in the public sector. Agriculture remains the driving force of economic growth. It is predicted that real growth of GDP will average 5.5% p.a. over the next four years, at a population growth rate of 2.5%.

If the private sector is to develop, the investment climate must improve. A new investment code adopted in 1991, which contains rules on investment and measures to encourage domestic and foreign investors, is a step in this direction. The government has also promised to find an early solution to the lingering problem of the outstanding claims from expelled Asians to their former property. In addition, a serious attempt is to be made to reduce the growing corruption. Comprehensive reforms or closures of state-owned enterprises will reduce the government's participation in productive and distribution activities significantly and increase the role played by the private sector.

One of the most serious problems Uganda faces is the payment of its civil servants. As the civil service is large and government revenues are limited, the salaries paid by the government are very low. This is accompanied by particularly poor motivation among civil servants and considerable inefficiency. It has been decided to restructure the administration (organisation and size) completely and drastically with the aim of improving efficiency and cost control. Civil service salaries will also be raised to an acceptable level in a number of stages. Specific plans for this were announced when the budget for the 1991/92 financial year was presented.

National budget

In the past two years some 28.5% of the total budget (which is small - only 16.6% of GNP) has been devoted to economically productive sectors, with 10% spent on the agricultural sector and 15% on infrastructure. Only 23% has gone to the social sectors, including 12% to education and 8% to health care. A large proportion (30%, or 3% of GDP) has been spent on defence and a similarly large proportion of 18% on general government services.

The Rehabilitation and Development Plan for 1990-91/1993-94 does not set any clear-cut sectoral priorities. In 1991 the government will (under pressure from donors) develop a new sectoral strategy with clear priorities for the use of budget funds. A higher priority will be given to primary health care and elementary education, drinking water supply, the maintenance of the road network and the improvement of agricultural research and extension services. The funds for this will have to be found primarily by reducing defence and other non-productive spending, including expenditure on unprofitable state-owned enterprises and services, and by increasing tax revenues and obtaining more aid from donors.

Economic sectors

The most important economic sector in Uganda is agriculture. It accounts for two thirds of GDP, 99% of export revenues (coffee 95%), 80% of employment and 40% of government revenues. It also forms the economic base for many industrial firms and services. Uganda's agricultural land is amongst the most fertile in Africa, partly because of a climate that makes two annual harvests possible in some parts of the country. Of the total cultivable land, 85% is farmed, mostly by small landowners. Small farmers account for 95% of output, with women playing a very important role. Traditional farming methods are used, and productivity per unit of labour and land is low. The level of production is still lower than it was in the late 1960s. Land ownership rights are laid down in the Land Reform Decree of 1975, which transformed traditional forms of ownership into rights to cultivate land under leaseholds issued by the government for a period of not more than 99 years. Food crops account for about 75% of output. Improved security and incentives have resulted in food production rising by about 6% p.a. since 1986. Only 30% of the food produced is marketed. The policy is geared to self-sufficiency in food. As more than 18% of Uganda consists of well-stocked lakes or wetlands, fishing is an important source of food. Of the cash crops (coffee, sugar, tea, cotton and tobacco), coffee is by far the most important.

As the price paid to farmers for their coffee is low, some have gone over to growing food crops. New measures must be taken to raise coffee production and exports. The once flourishing cotton industry is still in a wretched state owing to structural, institutional and financial problems and the insecurity in northern Uganda. The livestock sector in the south of the country is slowly recovering from the 30% decline in the past fifteen years due to rustling and a deterioration in measures to control diseases.

The country lacks a good economic infrastructure for the supply of essential means of production and the removal of products. There is a serious shortage of seed and equipment, and credit and transport facilities are also limited.

In a report describing the problems in the agricultural sector the SNV and the Netherlands Organisation for International Development Cooperation (NOVIB) refer to deficiencies in the trade structure. The cooperatives suffer from the same shortcomings as their Tanzanian counterparts, which can be briefly summarised as the absence of organisations representing farmers' interests in the true sense of the term, those that do exist being extensions of government, government bureaucracy or the party.

Trade in food crops is almost entirely in the hands of the private sector, but faces two fundamental problems. There is a need for a good wholesale structure to act as a link between small buyers and the retail trade and for regional storage capacities. The government has such capacities, but private traders do not have access to them. The food-processing industry similarly lacks good infrastructure and foreign exchange for inputs and has limited access to credit. Thus, if the agricultural sector is to develop, these aspects must be considered along with an increase in production.

The most common agricultural production unit in Uganda is the small family farm. The average size of farm varies from 1.5 ha in the east and west, where bananas, coffee and tea are the main crops, to 3 ha in the north, where millet and cotton are the staples. Agro-ecological conditions and the balance between population and available land can be generally described as good. Uganda is therefore able to meet its own food requirements, and very few of its people are landless. Periods of famine and food shortages are confined to the drier areas, where people make a living from nomadic cattle breeding and semi-nomadic farming. There is also a food problem among refugees and the urban poor.

The absence of an effective network of agricultural research and extension services is a serious obstacle to an increase in yields.

In the industrial sector, which is geared to agriculture, capacities are badly underutilised, technology is obsolete, and the highly inefficient state-owned enterprises are in a dominant position. The policy is to rehabilitate the parastatal sector and limit government's role to participation in a minimum number of strategic enterprises. A problem in this context, however, is the government's preference for transferring firms to Ugandan businessmen, who lack the necessary financial strength. There are very few large businessmen in this category or financial instruments for mobilising large numbers of small investors. The few foreign investors who have shown an interest are prepared to invest only if the government creates a better investment climate.

In the transport sector attention is shifting from the repair of main roads to the restoration of the extensive network of smaller roads in rural areas, with a view to opening up a number of important parts of the country, and to the maintenance of roads that have already been repaired.

There is very little information on the incomes of individual households or on the effect that the macroeconomic adjustment policy is having on living conditions. It can be assumed that the increase in agricultural production has improved the income and food situation of broad sections of the Ugandan population.

2.3.b Demographic situation and policy

Uganda is a land-locked country with an area of 241,038 sq.km, 34% of which consists of wetlands (including open water) and 12% of forest and protected nature reserves. As it is located at a fairly high altitude, it has a favourable climate, the temperature varying from 17 to 26°C. Rainfall in the central, western and south-western parts of the country is high from March to May and low from September to December. The north has far less rainfall. Soil conditions vary accordingly. Consequently, Uganda has humid tropical vegetation in the south and savannas and semi-desert vegetation in the north.

Regional agricultural potential is determined by these climatic conditions; the carrying capacity of the land is closely related to its agricultural potential. 90% of the population live in rural areas.

According to a census carried out in January 1991 Uganda has a population of 16.6 million, and the trend in population growth, 2.5% in 1991, is downward. At an average of 7 children per woman, the fertility rate is high. The figure is lower among women in urban areas. Research shows that, on average, better educated women have fewer children (five) and that 60% of women have their first child before the age of 20. One of the main reasons for the high fertility rate is the age at which women marry: 54% before the age of 18, only 2% never marrying. Women who have had a secondary or higher education marry about four years later. Polygamy is widespread, 33% of women living in such marriages. Research indicates that the period of breast-feeding and post-natal continence is becoming shorter, especially among younger, urban and educated women. The high fertility rate is also due to the limited use of contraceptives. Although 84% of women are familiar with at least one form of contraception, only 5% use it regularly. Research nonetheless reveals a clear need for family planning.

According to a 1969 census, Uganda has a young population, 46% being under the age of 15 and 19% under 5. Only 10.7% were older than 50. In 1980 there were 98.2 men for every 100 women, compared with 101.9 men in 1969, the proportion of men thus having declined.

In 1980 the population density in Uganda was 64 inhabitants/sq.km. While this makes Uganda the fifth most densely populated country in Africa, the figure varies significantly from 12 per sq.km in some parts of Karamoja to 223 in Kabale and Mbale. On the other hand, Uganda is one of Africa's least urbanised countries, although urbanisation is on the increase. 89% of the population live in rural areas. The cities are small, Kampala being by far the largest, with some 750,000 inhabitants in 1991, or about 41% of the total urban population. The size of families averages five to six people, smaller than in other sub-Saharan African countries owing to a high infant mortality rate.

Uganda has relatively pronounced regional, cultural and ecological differences. There are four large language groups: Bantu, Nilotic, Nilo-Hamitic and Sudanic. The Bantus inhabit the more fertile and advanced south, the other groups the drier north. The traditional social and political organisation and the economic activities of these groups also differ.

In development terms the north is (far) less advanced than the south. The current differences in ethnic origin, culture, religion and economic wealth have been largely to blame for political and economic confrontation in recent years. Access to schools and health facilities, public services, employment and industry is more limited in the north, and the civil war had an even more devastating effect on this part of the country than on the south. This contrast between the north and south, which has been exacerbated by the events of recent years, is one of the most serious problems that Uganda will continue to face in the future. The Karamajong of the Moroto and Kotido districts have never been integrated into the national economy. Traditional cattle rustling persists, and with the availability of modern weapons, the accompanying violence is assuming increasingly serious proportions. Since 1985 this phenomenon has spread outside the areas to which it was once confined and, with other rebel activities, has come to form a destabilising factor in adjoining districts in the north.

and higher education, and most of this is spent on items related to education, such as board and lodging and grants, a legacy of the colonial education system. The Ugandan government has drawn up a policy memorandum with a view to improving the quality of education and access to primary education.

The policy includes the abolition of such privileges as board and lodging and grants. But a great deal of political opposition has to be overcome before major changes are made. As an indication of how serious the situation is reference can be made to an estimate by the Ministry of Education that, to achieve no more than a reasonable quality of education, total spending by government and parents would have to be increased by a factor of five for primary education and of three for secondary education.

Drinking Water

95% of Uganda is situated in the White Nile River Basin, where the high rainfall provides the country with ample surface water. Ground water reserves, on the other hand, are small and difficult to tap because of geological factors. Despite this, most drinking water supplies depend on springs and open wells. The long civil war has reduced drinking water supply to the level of the early 1960s. Only 20% of the population has access to clean and safe drinking water. The institutional capacity of the Ministry of Water is very weak. A disproportionate share of government funds is spent on the urban sector. The government has no clear-cut long-term strategy in this field. A plan of action is being implemented for Kampala and six other cities with the aim of supplying some 80% of the population with water by the year 2000, but there is no clear strategy for sanitation. In the rural areas the government intends to adopt an integrated approach covering water supply, sanitation and health education. It is not, however, in a position to bring all these plans to fruition. Although UNICEF's rural water and sanitation project, which forms part of PAPSCA, covers all the southern districts, only a small proportion of the population in these districts benefits. It is clear from the current drinking water programmes that the government is giving a high priority to the participation of the local population in the hope that, with the support of local government, they will keep the facilities installed in operation. The government should confine itself to supporting and supervising the maintenance of the infrastructure installed, investing capital in the construction of facilities and providing for planning, research and training in this field. It is unlikely that the local population will be able to pay for the installation of facilities since this would exceed the financial capability of most villages. In the institutional sphere a major problem is the lack of manpower at district level, the Ministry of Water being very inefficient. The main problem is the lack of willingness among staff due to the very low pay they receive for working in the districts.

Women

Life in Uganda is harder for women than for men: longer working hours, more economic responsibility and added health risks due, among other things, to frequent pregnancies and confinements. (Despite this, the average life expectancy among women is over 6% higher than among men). The government is considering measures to improve the situation of women. Of the 37 ministries, however, only two are headed by a woman, the Ministry of Women, Culture and Youth and the Ministry of Agriculture. On the other hand, women

do sit on the (39) Resistance Committees: in each district at least one seat is reserved for women to ensure that they are given a hearing in national politics. In this context, a number of laws that discriminate against women are currently under review. Despite this interest in women, there is a distinct lack of institutional capacity.

The Ugandan government's agricultural programmes are not yet attuned to women, even though they are the most important agricultural producers. Although women do most of the work involved in the production of both food and cash crops, it is primarily the men who control the sales proceeds. For most women subsistence farming is the only option. Women have no right to own goods acquired during marriage; nor can they legally inherit property. Only a small proportion of women (9%) can claim to own land that may be used as collateral for commercial loans. The Ugandan government is trying to meet the need for women to borrow money by setting up two institutions specifically concerned with lending to women: the Uganda Women's Finance Credit Trust and the Rural Farmers Credit Scheme of the Uganda Commercial Bank.

Given their inferior position and their ignorance of the procedures, many women in rural areas also lack the courage to apply for a loan. Yet women are increasingly forced to pay for items for which men were (traditionally) responsible. In 1988 30% of women with children of school age had to meet all or part of the associated costs. While women account for 30% of formal employment in the public sector, only 0.05% have senior posts. More women are involved in trade, at least half of all traders being women, and they occupy a strong position in small-scale urban business.

The dominant view in Uganda is that the woman's place is (still) in the home, in line with the traditional role pattern. Three quarters of Ugandan mothers want to see their daughters in a caring role, even if this means working in the formal sector. Although many women know from personal experience how physically debilitating frequent pregnancies and confinements are, the socio-cultural and economic pressure to produce numerous children is so great that most women still attach considerable importance to this task. Hence their ambivalent attitude towards (the use of) contraceptives: 84% of the female respondents in a survey conducted in 1988/89 were familiar with at least one form of contraception and 7% had used contraceptives 'from time to time'. Only 3% of the women interviewed were actually using a contraceptive at the time.

Participation

An important factor in any policy geared to poverty alleviation through participatory processes is a good institutional framework. The situation in Uganda is poor in this respect, given the desolate conditions in which government services operate. Some hope has been pinned on the system of Resistance Committees and Resistance Councils, which can in practice play a very useful role in organising development activities in the villages in which the local population have a considerable say and participate actively.

2.3.d Environmental situation and policy

Serious damage has been done to the environment in recent years. Some 95% of the energy consumed in Uganda is derived from wood, which is sold as charcoal. Some ecosystems in Uganda are under pressure. The acreage of natural forest,

for example, has been reduced to 4% over the years, and there is serious pressure for the non-sustainable reclamation and utilisation of the wetlands (excluding open water) that make up about 10% of the total area of the country. The accompanying loss of biological diversity and of water buffers and sedimentation-filtering capacity is forcing the Ugandan government to find ways of using both the forests and the wetlands sustainably.

A policy that meets this requirement has been mapped out for the wetlands in recent years. In the coming period it must be ensured that this policy is implemented at lower levels of administration.

Where the natural forests are concerned, little can be done other than protect the few remaining 'islands' communally, while providing the local inhabitants with alternative means of meeting their wood requirements.

It can be said that the government is willing to take action to protect the environment, but is hampered by a lack of know-how and, above all, funds.

2.3.e Military spending

As already mentioned during the discussion of the national budget, 30% of this budget (3% of GDP) is spent on defence and 18% on general government services. A breakdown of these figures into expenditure on development and recurrent costs reveals a very sharp rise in recurrent expenditure in the defence budget to 46% and a decline in funds for education from 19% to 13% in recurrent expenditure. In 1986 military spending was 2.47 times as high as expenditure on health care and education combined.

At the last meeting of the Consultative Group in March 1991 the government gave an assurance that defence spending, which it claimed had had to be high because of the need to form the original guerrilla units into a proper army and to restore security, would fall in real terms over the next few years.

3 THE NETHERLANDS' AID PROGRAMME AND PLANNED POLICY

3.1 General

In 1990 the Netherlands government decided to resume the bilateral cooperative relationship with Uganda after an interruption of 14 years. Even earlier, in 1987, the SNV had decided on this course and set out its policy in a policy plan for the period 1989-1994. The SNV's policy for the future is geared to institution-building, women in development, income-generating activities, the rehabilitation of rural health and drinking water facilities and the environment. The SNV is working in areas with underdeveloped, but high potential, especially in the south of Uganda.

In 1989 NOVIB decided to launch a joint programme in Uganda with the SNV. Priority in this joint programme is given to institution-building, particularly by networking NGOs, women in development and an increase in incomes from agriculture and related activities. The Central Agency for the Joint Financing of Development Programmes (Cebemo) and the Inter-Church Coordination Committee for Development Projects (ICCO) are also active in Uganda, Cebemo in the fields of primary health care, primary education and district

development, ICCO in small-scale industrial development and the organisation of vocational training for unemployed young people in the textile trade.

In recent years the development cooperation budget has been used to fund only humanitarian emergency aid and aid to refugees, apart from such worldwide schemes as the fellowship programme and the small embassy projects.

The absence of a bilateral programme at present makes for a great deal of freedom in the formulation of a development cooperation policy towards Uganda. The policy will be determined by the underlying principles set out in the memorandum 'A World of Difference', related to Uganda's aid requirements. As the Netherlands' long absence from Uganda means that its knowledge of the country is poor, it is difficult to decide how funds can be used most effectively. The Netherlands must rely on research and know-how in Uganda, the experience of other donors in Uganda and its own general experience in the use of certain channels. Consequently, a policy plan for Uganda will necessarily be of a provisional and - where the planned longer-term policy is concerned - general nature, to be added to and, if necessary, adjusted as knowledge and experience are acquired in the future. In other words, a flexible approach will be adopted.

Ratio of project to programme aid

The macroeconomic analysis in section 2.3.a has shown that Uganda's external position will continue to be very weak in the years to come, partly because of its heavy dependence on coffee exports, its large foreign debt, the narrow base for exports other than coffee and the extensive imports needed to stimulate the domestic economy. Despite aid already pledged by donors and financial support from the World Bank and the IMF, these institutions forecast an external financing deficit averaging US\$ 60 million p.a. from 1991 to 1993. The Ugandan government is therefore giving a very high priority to obtaining additional import aid to finance the structural reform process. In 1991 Uganda received 35 million guilders of balance-of-payments aid from the Netherlands. In support of efforts to achieve greater economic self-reliance, some aid will continue to be provided in the form of import aid or budget aid, provided that the assessment of the Ugandan government's macroeconomic policy remains positive. Some of this aid will be used specifically to support the sectors to which the Netherlands' policy gives priority.

Geographical concentration

The description in section 2.3 of the socio-economic situation in Uganda reveals some inequality in development between the generally more prosperous south and the less well endowed north. Northern Uganda has fewer natural resources, and it has always lagged behind the south in development. It suffered most during the latter years of the civil war. Some parts of the north are still unsafe. This area is suffering extreme hardship. People are gradually taking up their daily lives again. The economic and social infrastructure, however, has been completely destroyed. It is therefore logical that the Netherlands should take a particular, though not exclusive, interest in northern Uganda. In the eventual shaping of the Netherlands' programme the security situation in the north and thus the possibility of taking effective action will, of course, be carefully considered.

In April and October 1991 the Netherlands participated in missions to northern Uganda to identify opportunities for activities in various sectors. An in-depth study is being made of the ways in which the Netherlands might support the options for an integral plan for northern Uganda identified by this mission. The plan focuses on the provision of non-recurrent aid to raise the standard of services. This aid may mark the beginning of long-term structural aid, especially to areas where security has been restored, i.e. the north-west.

Choice of channels

In view of the comments in section 2.4 multilateral channels and NGOs clearly need to be involved in the implementation of a bilateral programme. The Ugandan government's financial and implementing capacity is so limited that it has been decided to delegate the task of improving services for the economic and social sectors to the many NGOs and to multilateral organisations. The NGOs differ widely in quality. Contact will be sought with NGOs of proven capacity, most of which belong to the umbrella organisation DENIVA. There is also a danger that a large influx of donor aid will exceed the limited implementing capacity of the NGOs, resulting in a loss of quality. If this approach alone were adopted, what has been said in the introductory chapter would apply: the government agencies that must ultimately take responsibility for providing these services would not be strengthened. The channel will therefore be chosen as circumstances dictate. Bilateral experts will undoubtedly be involved in implementation. The possibility of involving multilateral organisations on a multi-bi or co-financing basis will also be considered. One of the options is the provision of import aid through co-financing with the World Bank in support of one of the adjustment programmes.

Sectors/areas of priority interest

The civil war has thrown Uganda back to the level of economic and social infrastructure that existed well before the war. Although there has been some recovery in the south, a joint analysis by the Ugandan government and the World Bank makes it abundantly clear that for development in the short and medium term top priority must be given to:

- the diversification of exports;
- the restoration of primary health care;
- a quantitative and qualitative improvement in primary education;
- agricultural research and extension services;
- the maintenance of rehabilitated roads and the repair of the most essential parts of the road network;
- electricity supply;
- the rehabilitation of drinking water supply;
- the reform of government services.

Poverty alleviation considerations, regional concentration and aid already pledged by other donors have led to the following sectors being chosen in Uganda:

- primary health care, with special attention paid to measures to combat AIDS (and its consequences) and to population planning, drinking water supply and sanitation;
- aid to the education sector;
- rural development;

- women in development;
- the environment.

The overriding principle in the choice of activities is that poverty must be alleviated. In view of the vulnerable position of women and children, as previously described, considerable emphasis in the implementation of projects will be placed on improving their position. Where possible, emergency measures for orphans will be considered. Considerable importance is attached to environmental assessment criteria in the selection of projects, and every effort will be made to preclude the possibility of environmental degradation and a reduction in the forest acreage.

3.2 Rural development

The Netherlands' policy will be aimed at achieving a structural improvement in the position of the poorest in rural areas and groups hardest hit by the civil war.

Emergency aid aside, donors have thus far concentrated on the southern half of Uganda for security reasons. However, operations in a few northern districts have recently become possible.

In broad outline, there are three options for Dutch activities in the rural development sphere in northern Uganda:

- joining in the many small-scale local initiatives that have benefited from donor aid;
- participating in the extensive Northern Uganda Reconstruction Programme, which is to be financed and implemented by and with the World Bank;
- establishing flexible programmes in a number of districts, similar to the current Dutch programmes in Tanzania and Kenya.

The first option, joining in local initiatives, is attractive, but too elaborate for the Netherlands at this stage. For the moment the Netherlands is poorly equipped for such activities. They could, on the other hand, be supported through third parties, e.g. the World Bank with its programme for Northern Uganda, the second option. This programme includes not only a capital-intensive component geared to the restoration of the physical infrastructure but also a component for the financing of small projects implemented by local communities themselves, examples being the installation and repair of drinking water systems, roads, the construction of schools and other communal services. The programme is in fact a mixture of emergency aid and long-term structural aid and lays the foundations for northern Uganda's economic and social recovery. The Netherlands is considering participation in the programme, if only because it may furnish the know-how required if longer-term aid is to be provided. In the longer term the third option - the establishment of a number of flexible, integrated district programmes - is undoubtedly desirable. A programme of this kind is highly commensurate with the Ugandan plan for the extensive decentralisation of development efforts.

Such factors as poverty, development potential, environmental considerations, Dutch know-how and experience, as well as the security situation, play a part in the choice of districts. The drier (semi-arid) areas of northern Uganda will clearly be chosen: the Netherlands has meanwhile acquired the necessary know-how and experience in similar areas of Kenya. As soon as the security situation

permits operations in these areas, the details of this option will be worked out. How the establishment or strengthening of planning units in ministries and the districts can be supported as part of the ASAL programme will also be considered at that stage.

Given the large underutilised potential of the agricultural sector and its major importance to the economy as a whole, this sector should obviously be seen as the foremost point of departure for a substantial improvement in living standards in Uganda and for the creation of income-generating employment. Diversifying the crops grown - without abandoning the objective of self-sufficiency in food - could make a significant contribution to a reduction in the structural balance-of-payments deficit. If this ambitious, yet realistic objective is to be achieved, the physical and marketing infrastructure in rural areas should be improved, the government should provide the agricultural sector with more effective and efficient services, and appropriate infrastructure for agricultural exports should be created. A favourable macro-economic policy is absolutely essential.

A clear plan for the development of Uganda's agricultural potential does not appear to exist at present. Applied agricultural research is an important element in the wide range of activities that a systematic increase in production is bound to entail. Formulating agricultural research projects is far from easy at this stage. Once Uganda has an umbrella agricultural research organisation, the prospects in this respect will improve. An organisation of this kind is being developed. As the Netherlands is heavily involved in the comparable Kenyan organisation, KARI, it has been decided to support this development by providing technical assistance for the establishment of a structure and the setting of research priorities. The Netherlands might then participate in the implementation of certain aspects of the national research policy by funding research projects.

In this way a contribution can be made to improving the efficiency of small farming households. The additional incomes that result may enable farmers, for example, to make a lasting contribution of their own to education and health care.

Projections indicate, however, that, if agricultural technology remains at its present (low) level, Uganda faces a shortage of land by the year 2000 both for the satisfaction of its own food requirements and for the generation of sufficient foreign exchange by exporting cash crops. As food accounts for 75% of agriculture's total contribution to GDP and 90% of agricultural land, an improvement in yields per hectare is vital to the future growth of agriculture. Future research must therefore focus on this aspect, it being essential to guarantee the preservation of natural capital.

One of the Ugandan authorities' first priorities is - for obvious reasons - the diversification of exports and the production of non-traditional export crops. Horticulture would seem to be an option here, since Uganda's climate and soil are very suitable for this activity. Studies show that most of Uganda's horticultural products are of a very high quality and may be highly competitive in the world market. Options for supporting this sector will be considered.

An important factor for the development of the agricultural and informal sectors is the availability of credit. Credit facilities may be particularly

important for women. The establishment of a Rural Enterprises Project should be considered. Options in this context are being examined.

It is also important for the development of the agricultural sector that rural areas should be provided with an adequate road network. Its development will be supported where necessary, especially when construction can be financed with local resources.

The regional Rural Development specialist based in Nairobi will play an advisory role in the further elaboration of the policy, under which the aim will be to spend 50% of all project aid to Uganda on rural development.

3.3 Environment

In contrast to some other areas in the region, land in Uganda has not yet reached the limits of its carrying capacity, and an increase in production seems possible if more fertilisers and pesticides are used. However, to prevent undesirable effects on the environment and to promote sustainable development in agriculture, particular attention will be paid to the environmental aspect in agricultural research.

Within the environmental sector the main aim will be to ensure careful management of natural forests and wetlands. Consideration may also be given to support for the formulation of an environmental policy and for the development of the administrative and legal structure on which the implementation of this policy must be based.

In this sector the advice of the environmental specialist based in Nairobi will play an important part in the identification of projects. Aid to this sector will progressively rise to at least 10% of total project aid funds.

3.4 Women in development

A great deal of effort (and time) is still needed to make Ugandan society more aware of the important role played by Ugandan women and to encourage them to have more self-confidence and to improve their economic position. The initiative taken by the Ugandan government in reserving a seat on the Resistance Committees for a secretary responsible for women's affairs is an important step towards the recognition of women's right to a say.

Ways of increasing women's social and economic independence by strengthening organisations representing their interests and improving their legal position will be considered. In addition, the national and regional agricultural programmes should be more closely attuned to women. Priority should be given both to improving women's real incomes as agricultural producers and to easing their (re)productive tasks. Better access to credit for women is essential in this respect and something to which the Netherlands can make a contribution. In the support provided for activities relating to health care, the population problem and AIDS prevention priority should be given to women.

The Women in Development specialist based in Nairobi will identify the options for a WID programme in Uganda. Education for girls and literacy programmes for women form an area of interest in this context.

3.5 Urban poverty

As in Tanzania, the nature and scale of the urban poverty problem in Uganda is not such that its alleviation needs to have priority in the development relationship.

3.6 Health care, drinking water and sanitation

As already stated in section 2.3.c, the government does not have a clear health care strategy. In practice, most money goes to the hospitals rather than rural health centres. Given the problems, a pragmatic health policy might consist first and foremost in a guarantee of cost-effective primary and preventive health services for as many people as possible, with the rehabilitation of hospitals as necessary referral centres as the secondary objective. A policy of this kind should be based on the strengths of the health system, and its weaknesses should be eliminated. Its strengths are the quantity and quality of the medical staff potentially available in and outside Uganda, the excellent work done by the large and growing number of NGOs, the success of the two vertical programmes financed by donors (immunisation of children and provision of essential drugs) and the willingness of the people to pay for services. The main weaknesses of the system are the low salaries paid to the medical staff, overmanning, serious shortages of drugs, the limited interest taken in rural areas, the very poor state -or, in the north, the complete absence - of health facilities, the lack of management capacities and good planning and the poor administrative structure. In view of this analysis the Netherlands' policy will be geared to making as effective a contribution as possible to primary health care.

Within this policy there is scope for the restoration of health facilities, the training of medical staff and institutional support. Options for action to prevent AIDS will be actively sought. At the instigation of WHO, UNICEF and others, a Uganda AIDS Commission was recently established with a view to developing a more effective policy on AIDS. The Commission, which reports to the Office of the President, is responsible for coordinating the various activities in this field. To this end, an attempt will shortly be made in consultation with donors to identify a number of areas of priority interest in the efforts to combat AIDS. Once the priorities have been set, various ministries, possibly with the backing of technical assistance, will try to formulate a policy that is coordinated with their own specific activities. The chairman of the AIDS Commission expected particular attention to be paid to the following aspects: information, care of patients, facilities for orphans, the wider use of condoms and research. It goes without saying that the Netherlands' involvement in measures to combat AIDS will be decided in the near future in consultation with the Commission.

This involvement might consist in providing technical assistance for the Commission itself or one of the ministries concerned. In addition, UNICEF is cooperating with the AIDS Commission in the development of a project proposal in which the emphasis will be placed on improving information and the channels used to disseminate it (the total annual cost, according to UNICEF, will be US\$ 2.5 million). Ways of co-financing the UNICEF proposal will be examined.

Thanks to the contribution made by donors, progress is being made in the supply of drinking water in certain areas of southern Uganda. In these activities both the government and donors place considerable emphasis on the participation of the people in the hope that this will ensure the maintenance of facilities. The results achieved in pilot projects show that local communities are willing to meet the operating and maintenance costs.

The Ugandan policy is geared to an integrated approach to drinking water supply, sanitation and related health education. Although UNICEF and various NGOs are active in this sector, additional support from donors is badly needed. If poverty is to be alleviated, good, safe and accessible drinking water is very important. It can help to improve health, particularly among children and women, the statistics indicating that many diseases afflicting this group are due to the drinking of contaminated water. This demonstrable need and a rural drinking water supply strategy announced by the government provide a basis for active participation the Netherlands in this sector. Where possible, support will also be provided for the development of Ugandan capacities for the identification and planning of and control over ground water reserves. A mission will be dispatched to make a more detailed study of projects and channels for the implementation of projects in the health care, drinking water and sanitation sector.

The Women in Development specialist based in Nairobi will play an important advisory role in the identification of programmes to be supported by the Netherlands in this sector. The policy is to spend 20% of project aid on health care and population activities in the coming period.

3.7 Education and research

Both the quality of and access to education, especially primary education, are very poor. Many children of poor parents have no access to this basic need. A future policy must focus on the rehabilitation of existing facilities, universal access to education, an improvement in quality and the rationalisation of the education budget to favour primary education and primary/secondary vocational training. In a statement he made in 1990 President Museveni referred to education as being very important for sustainable economic development. Where primary and secondary education are concerned, steps must be taken to improve administration, quality standards, the development of curricula, the provision of textbooks and other school materials, to increase teachers' salaries and to improve supervision. The government must ensure adequate financing of operating costs and refrain from paying all manner of grants.

There is clearly an enormous need for additional external aid. It has yet to be decided how Dutch aid to this sector can be used to greatest effect. A high priority must be given to support for primary education and primary/secondary vocational training, with particular attention paid to the promotion of participation by girls in education. Dutch aid might be provided for teacher training, the supply of basic materials to schools in rural areas and perhaps the improvement of curricula. Here again, as the need appears to be greatest in northern Uganda, it will receive special attention.

Aside from the support for agricultural research described in the section on rural development, it is still unclear how the development of research capacities

can be supported effectively. A more detailed study will be made of the need for research for the further development and implementation of the policy in the sectors chosen. Thought will also be given to socio-economic research for poverty alleviation in the target region.

The education specialist based in Dar es Salaam will play an advisory role in the identification of projects in this sector, on which 15% of the available project aid funds will eventually be spent.

V RWANDA

1 INTRODUCTION

Rwanda has had sector country status in Dutch development cooperation since 1983. The sector to which cooperation has been confined is rural development. The programme has been implemented through third parties. The concentration on rural development will continue in the coming period of the regional policy plan, in which Rwanda has become one of the four countries of the East Africa region.

2 POLITICAL SITUATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC POLICY

2.1 Political situation

Unlike most other African countries, but like its southern neighbour, Burundi, Rwanda is not a political product of the colonial rulers, but was a kingdom for many centuries. The Tutsis, an ethnic minority had long dominated the Hutu majority. During the colonial period the Tutsis' position initially became even stronger. The Belgian administration's policy of democratisation in the late 1950s resulted in the Hutus coming to power after the elections in 1959. After independence in 1962 the political exclusion of the Tutsis was followed by violent confrontation between the two population groups, culminating in mass murders to which over 10,000 Tutsis fell victim; many Tutsis fled the country.

In 1965 Rwanda became a one-party state. Power was concentrated in the hands of a few Hutus from the central part of the country. A few years later this led to increased tensions, not only between Tutsis and Hutus but also among the Hutus themselves. As a result, Major General Habyarimana seized power in 1973 and geared his policy to national reconciliation and development. There followed a period of relative political stability.

In 1989 it became clear that the President's position had weakened considerably; the deterioration in the economic situation and the steadily growing population pressure led to unrest among the people. The dislike of the Tutsis, who had continued to play an important role in the Rwandan economy, also re-emerged. In addition, the government prevented large numbers of refugees living in neighbouring countries from returning on the grounds that Rwanda was already overpopulated.

On 1 October 1990 armed Rwandan refugees invaded the north-east of Rwanda from Uganda. This group largely consisted of Tutsis who had served for many years in the National Resistance Army of Uganda's current President, Museveni. The invasion caused serious political, economic and regional instability. Although the invaders withdrew to the frontier with Uganda after a few months, skirmishes still occur. A further major problem is posed by the increased ethnic tensions among the Rwandan people.

Even before the invasion took place, President Habyarimana had announced steps towards greater democracy and openness in political decision-making, and this has led to the adoption of a national political charter, which pivots on the principle of political pluralism, but rejects the formation of parties on ethnic and religious lines. At the congress of the only political party, the Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement, in May 1991 it was decided to amend the constitution to permit the introduction of a multi-party system in 1992.

2.2 Human rights situation

Before the invasion of 1 October 1990 the human rights situation in Rwanda had deteriorated in some respects. The government had taken steps to control the freedom of the press, of association and of religion. In general, however, Rwanda's reputation in the human rights sphere was relatively good.

After the rebel invasion this situation changed completely: hundreds of people were killed in the fighting between the rebels and the Rwandan army and in clashes between ethnic groups. The government declared a state of emergency, which prevented large-scale ethnic violence. However, the state of emergency also led to mass arrests and a restriction of the freedom of movement of all citizens. The numbers seeking refuge in neighbouring countries increased. In March and April 1991 thousands of detainees were released.

2.3 Socio-economic situation and policy

2.3.a Economic growth and self-reliance

The various sectors make the following contributions to GNP:

Agriculture 38%

Industry 22%

Services 40%.

The agricultural sector's share has fallen sharply in recent years. In the late 1960s it contributed 75%, compared with 40% today. It is still by far the most important employer: 93% of the population are directly dependent on the agricultural sector for a living. It should be pointed out in this context that a very large proportion of agricultural activities (95%) consist of subsistence farming. Industry accounts for 3% and the service sector for 4% of employment.

From the early 1970s Rwanda experienced a reasonable rate of economic growth, averaging 5% p.a. This helped to make a stable financial policy possible. Inflation was kept to a minimum. High coffee prices in the latter half of the 1970s enabled considerable reserves of foreign exchange to be accumulated. During this period, which lasted until the early 1980s, the Rwandan population was more prosperous than the average for sub-Saharan Africa.

From 1980 to 1985 the growth of the economy slowed. During this period growth averaged 3.2% p.a., less than the 3.7% average in the growth of the population. In the late 1980s growth even ceased altogether, and the economy contracted. GNP fell by 9% in 1989 and by about 5% in 1990.

The main cause of this trend was the sharp decline in revenues from the export of coffee due to much lower prices in the world market and to an additional decline in coffee yields owing to the poor quality of the coffee beans. All this was further exacerbated by the overvalued national currency, which made it increasingly difficult for Rwanda to compete in the world market.

As a result, the favourable balance-of-payments situation deteriorated rapidly in the mid-1980s. Rwanda reacted by pursuing a very stringent policy on the award of imports licences, which had the direct effect of reducing domestic economic activity.

The deterioration in the balance of payments led to a substantial reduction in foreign reserves, from the equivalent of five months' imports at the end of 1986 to two months' in 1989.

The cautious economic policy and the option of using previously accumulated foreign reserves have resulted in Rwanda's foreign debt being relatively small, although it has risen sharply of late. At the end of 1988 it amounted to about US\$ 560 million, or slightly less than 30% of GNP. As a percentage of exports, 7% of this was needed for amortisation and interest payments, but by 1988 the figure had risen to 23.3%. Compared with other countries in sub-Saharan Africa, this is not unfavourable, but the economic situation certainly cannot be described as satisfactory. The private sector, for example, was unable to create enough jobs to offset the decline in employment in the public sector. In addition, per capita food production fell, and in 1989 500,000 people were directly affected by food shortages because they lacked purchasing power. There is already enormous pressure on the land. Some 60% of the area of Rwanda is suitable for agriculture. In 1986 this meant 440 people per cultivable square kilometre.

As its economic problems were structural, Rwanda appealed to the World Bank and IMF for help in late 1989. This led to a structural adjustment programme for the period 1991-1993. Despite the unexpected difficulties Rwanda faced as a result of the rebel invasion, which put heavy pressure on the transport, tourism and trade sectors in particular, or led to their total collapse, and also resulted in a sharp rise in military spending, the first adjustment measures were taken in late 1990: a) the Rwandan franc was devalued by 40%; b) domestic oil prices were raised by 79%; c) interest rates were adjusted; and d) the price controls on many products were lifted.

The aims of the adjustment programme set out in the Policy Framework Paper are: a) the revival of economic growth; b) a tight monetary and credit policy to ensure low inflation; c) a reduction in internal and external payment imbalances; d) the promotion of a favourable climate for private investment; e) the reform of the public sector; f) the development of existing human potential; and g) better management of natural resources. This programme is backed by a Structural Adjustment Loan of US\$ 90 million from the World Bank.

These aims have resulted in the following practical measures being taken: a) the gradual introduction of a flexible exchange rate and the liberal allocation of foreign exchange; b) reforms of the tariff system; c) the liberalisation of domestic trade, including the abolition of most price controls; d) the rationalisation of government spending, including a social safety net that complies with the macroeconomic policy to be pursued; e) measures to increase coffee and tea production; and f) political reforms, such as a revision of the tax system and the adjustment of the labour legislation.

If the adjustment programme is implemented in full, it is assumed that 1) GNP will grow by 3.8% in 1993; 2) inflation will be reduced from 28% in 1991 to 5% in 1993; 3) investment will rise from 12.5% of GNP in 1990 to 16% in 1993; 4) the government deficit will be reduced; and 5) exports will begin to rise and a foreign reserve equivalent to three months' imports will have again accumulated by 1993. It is hoped that the current-account deficit will be reduced from the present 15% of GNP to 11.4% in 1993.

The adjustment programme is, of course, intended to improve living standards in Rwanda. To prevent a situation in which the most vulnerable in society have to shoulder a relatively heavy burden, the following programmes are being developed

to preclude the worst problems: 1) financing of part of the parents' contribution to the education of the children of the poorest 10% of the population; 2) labour-intensive projects for the maintenance of minor roads and erosion control; 3) promotion of small-scale industries; 4) food security programmes for specific groups, especially in areas affected by drought; 5) employment programmes for employees of state-owned and parastatal enterprises who lose their jobs.

In more general terms a high priority is given to population policy (family planning, a reduction in child mortality) and to the establishment of an environmental action plan.

The financing of the abovementioned three-year programme will require an estimated capital injection of US\$ 332 million p.a. Assuming that the (temporarily?) high level of military spending is reduced to the pre-1990 level, the capital requirement can be met in the following way: 1) US\$ 130 million p.a. in donations and 2) US\$ 140 million p.a. in loans/investment/new projects/IDA and IMF funds for structural and sectoral adjustment programmes, leaving a shortfall of US\$ 180 million (over the three-year period), for which supplementary multi- or bilateral balance-of-payments aid is being sought. Various donors made commitments at the meeting of the Consultative Group held in Paris in the spring of 1991. The interim balance in September 1991 showed there still to be a shortfall of some US\$ 50 million.

2.3.b Demographic situation and policy

The climate in Rwanda is very equable. The average temperature varies from about 18°C in Ruhengeri at an altitude of 1,860 m to 24°C in Bugarama at an altitude of 900 m. Rainfall is directly related to these altitudes, amounting to about 800 mm p.a. in the lower parts of the country and to 1,300 mm p.a. in the higher areas. Rain falls during two periods, the long rainy season from mid-February to the end of May and the short rainy season from mid-September to mid-December. The regions do not differ significantly. The favourable rainfall situation makes two harvests a year possible in many cases, the great advantage of this being that the period to be bridged between successive harvests is relatively short.

As stated above, the growth of the economy in the 1980s lagged behind population growth (3.2% vs 3.7%). If population growth continues at its present rate, the Rwandan population, now estimated at 7 million will rise to 10 million in the year 2000 and to roughly twice the present figure in 2010. The structure of the population has the same features as in many countries of sub-Saharan Africa: 48% of the population are younger than 15, and 50% are aged between 14 and 65.

The Document Cadre de politique économique et financière à moyen terme (1991-1993) du Rwanda puts the fertility rate at 8.6, the highest in the world (in Uganda, for example, it is 7). To limit the growth of the population, efforts are being made to reduce this rate to 4. It is hoped to reach the whole target group with an intensive information campaign in 1992. A major obstacle in this respect will undoubtedly be the influential position of the Roman Catholic Church in Rwanda.

The enormous population growth rate has now increased population density to almost 300 people per square kilometre, making Rwanda the most densely populated country in Africa. The vast majority of the population are still directly dependent on agricultural production, urbanisation still being lower than expected. Only Kigali has grown significantly in recent years, now having almost half a million

inhabitants. At 7.4%, population growth in this urban area is twice the national average.

The most important population groups are the Hutus (arable farmers) and the Tutsis (livestock farmers). The Hutus settled in this area soon after the beginning of the Christian era, the Tutsis from 1200 to 1600. The original inhabitants, the (Ba)Twa pygmies, make up no more than 1% of the population. 85% of the population is Hutu and the remaining 14% Tutsi. In reality, the divisions are less distinct. There has been much intermarrying of Hutus and Tutsis. Some 35% of the population is of mixed origin. However, as Tutsi women have married Hutu men in most cases and descent is by the male line, 85% of the population is registered as Hutu. For centuries the Hutus were subordinated to the Tutsis. In the first few years of colonial domination this was further exacerbated by the fact that, by opting for indirect rule, first Germany and then Belgium strengthened the existing power structure.

From the early 1960s the situation changed dramatically in the Hutus' favour. This enormous shift in the balance of power, or the ousting of the Tutsis from political power, led to serious disturbances. Many Tutsis were killed, and many fled to Uganda. In 1986 the UNHCR reported that some 110,000 Rwandan refugees were registered in Uganda and that a similar number had probably settled there permanently. Appreciable numbers of Rwandans are also to be found in Tanzania. The presence of these refugees is a continuing source of tension both for Rwanda, given the danger of invasions, and for the surrounding countries.

2.3.c Poverty situation and policy

Despite the relatively favourable climatic conditions, the poverty problem is becoming more urgent. With population growth high, the pressure on agricultural potential has assumed such serious proportions that fewer and fewer people are able to earn enough to meet their own food requirements. Inheritance has reduced the size of plots, making it impossible to produce enough to meet the family's needs. In years when climatic conditions have been somewhat less favourable this has immediately resulted in major food shortages. The shortage of agricultural inputs and declining revenues from coffee have accelerated this process of impoverishment. According to the UNDP's 1990 Human Development Report, 19% of the rural population are living below the poverty line, three times the percentage given for the urban areas.

The Human Development Index for Rwanda is 0.304, putting Rwanda 21st from the bottom of the HDI list. In per capita GNP terms (US\$ 300) Rwanda ranks slightly higher: 25 countries have a lower per capita income.

No detailed figures on unemployment are available. Given the sharp growth of the population and the zero or very limited growth of non-agricultural employment, unemployment is becoming an increasingly serious problem.

A good indicator of poverty is the ability to obtain sufficient food. Translated into the nutritional status of children, the Food Security Working Paper of the World Bank/World Food Programme quotes the following percentages of undernourished children in four prefectures in 1982/83 (National Budget and Consumption Survey), 1985/86 (National Nutrition Survey) and 1989 (Rapid Assessment World Food Programme):

Prefecture	1982/83	1985/86	1989
Butare	31	26	47
Gikongoro	25	23	50
Gitarama	42	22	44
Kibuye	37	26	48
Rwanda total	33	28	n.a.

The percentage of undernourished children has been high for some considerable time, rising sharply in 1989 to almost 50%. The structural deterioration of the living conditions of large groups in rural areas has become more obvious with the growing frequency of requests for food aid in recent years. It is estimated that in 1989 500,000 people did not have enough food.

2.3.d Environment

The limits to the scope for the use of the environment in Rwanda have been reached, if not exceeded. Erosion due to deforestation and the use of unsuitable land is already a serious problem. Almost all land that can be used in some way is being used, either for agricultural production or for wood production to meet the constantly growing demand for fuel. Agricultural land could be extended into the wetlands on only a limited scale, with all the adverse consequences the drainage of these areas would have. A more radical, but final, option would be the construction of terraces on the steep slopes that are already being cultivated.

2.3.e Health

According to the Human Development Report, 27% of the population have access to health care. In the past the emphasis has been placed on curative care, but priority has latterly been given to preventive care.

Child mortality is estimated at 121 per 1000. 82% of children are vaccinated in their first year, one of the highest percentages in the group of least developed countries.

Expenditure on health care has been fairly constant in the past, amounting to 0.5% of GNP in 1960 and 0.6% in 1986.

The problems include a shortage of qualified personnel and of essential drugs. The government is drawing up plans to increase the effectiveness of health care, with priority to be given to the training of qualified personnel.

AIDS is a growing threat. In certain areas of the capital, Kigali, 50% of the people are already seropositive.

2.3.f Drinking water

Despite the high rainfall and the efforts that have been made to improve drinking water supply, the proportion of the population with access to clean and safe water fell from 68% in 1975 to 50% in 1987.

This is yet another example of the difficulty Rwanda has in maintaining a certain standard of services at the present rapid rate of population growth. There is no clear plan for this sector. Since the mid-1980s the Rwandan policy has been to require users to finance and manage the wells themselves. An important role in the expansion and improvement of drinking water supply has been assigned to various NGOs.

2.3.g Education

The literacy rate has risen over the years. The figures for people over the age of 15 are as follows:

	women	men	Rwanda
1970	21%	43%	32%
1985	33%	61%	47%

Source: UNDP, 1990

Of the pupils admitted to primary education, slightly fewer than half complete the course. 24% of the national budget or 3.2% of GNP (1987) goes to the education sector. In 1960 no more than 0.3% of GNP was spent on education. A large proportion of the education budget is earmarked for primary education. Distribution among the various levels of education is as follows:

Primary education	70%
Secondary education	16%
University education	14%

As in many countries of sub-Saharan Africa, education is hardly tailored to the daily practical needs of the pupils and students. In primary education there is also a shortage of teaching staff (one teacher to 57 pupils), added to which only 78% have formal qualifications. In secondary education fewer than half of the staff have had sufficient training to give lessons.

The participation of girls in education is rising steadily. In the 1987/1988 school year 49% of pupils in primary education were girls. The numbers moving on to other forms of education are still small. In 1987/1988 34% of pupils in secondary education and 17% of university students were women.

Unless drastic action is taken, the number of children attending schools is likely to fall from the present 60% to 49% in the future because of population growth. With a view to improving the education situation, Rwanda has presented an extensive restructuring plan in cooperation with UNDP and the World Bank. Its main aims are:

- a reduction in primary education from 8 to 6 years (making room for an additional 12,000 pupils);
- an increase in the number of classrooms, thus creating an additional 84,000 places;
- (in-service) training of staff and the strengthening of management capacities;
- the modification of curricula to place greater emphasis on aspects of health, nutrition, the environment and the population problem.

To implement this programme, US\$ 23.3 million is needed. UNDP is contributing US\$ 2 million, and the remainder will be financed by the World Bank. The

Rwandan government also intends to make more funds available for primary education, and it is hoped that private funds (NGOs, village communities) will be invested in the education sector.

2.3.h Women

The position of women in Rwanda is similar to that in other African countries. Their responsibility for the welfare of the family is considerable. In addition to the time they spend looking after the children in particular, it is their task to provide water and food. The labour supply in Rwanda comprises almost 50% of the total population, i.e. it is assumed that almost everyone aged from 15 to 64 is economically active. 48% of this group are women. It can be concluded that women are as actively engaged in the economic process as men. No figures on women's contribution in the modern sector (industry and services) are available.

In the rural areas women play an important part in the growing of food crops. In addition, 25% of households are headed by a woman. Cash crops and especially sales proceeds are a male preserve. Information, credit and other inputs are primarily geared to food crops.

Initiatives are being developed to introduce such other income-generating activities as the keeping of small animals and the processing of agricultural products. Information on such activities must be geared more explicitly to women.

2.3.i Military spending

The latest figures available date back to 1986. In that year military spending amounted to 1.9% of GNP. This was equivalent to 50% of expenditure on education and health care combined (UNDP, Human Development Report 1991). The activities of the rebels in late 1990 led to a sharp rise in military spending. The government of Rwanda has promised to reduce this expenditure substantially once the security situation permits. This reduction has yet to be made.

3 THE NETHERLANDS' AID PROGRAMME AND PLANNED POLICY

3.1 General

This former sector country received some 10 million guilders p.a. in the past. Half of this sum was spent on the rural development sector programme, the remainder on the extensive SNV programme, under which some 40 people are working in the field, and on activities of MFOs (ex. Category IV). The activities undertaken by ICCO and NOVIB are highly commensurate with the policy pursued under the former rural development sector programme. Cebemo's activities tend to be focused on the education sector. The SNV is primarily concerned with integrated rural development and drinking water supply. Some of the rural programme funds found their way to Rwanda through international NGOs and such multilateral organisations as the ILO, UNFPA and FAO.

A limited amount of humanitarian emergency aid was provided in the past, along with balance-of-payments aid in 1986 (10 million guilders). The rural development programme was covered by an extensive IOV evaluation, which revealed, among other things, that the sectoral projects (drinking water, forestry, small wood-fuelled

stoves) had been more successful than the more integrated, participatory projects. It should be noted in this context that, as the latter projects are of recent vintage, it is still difficult to measure the effects they have had.

The fundamental problems facing Rwanda are high population growth and environmental degradation. It is noticeable in the latter respect that there is little evidence in Rwanda that the limits to the scope for the use of the environment have been reached. Unlike other countries where desertification is all too obvious, Rwanda appears at first sight to be a green oasis with a mild climate, somewhat barer than it used to be as a result of logging, but still green as far as the eye can see.

As has been said, 93% of the population are directly dependent on the country's potential for agricultural production. Owing to the high population growth rate and the continuing division of agricultural land to which it gives rise, 43% of farms are smaller than 0.75 ha. It is estimated that 34% of the rural population, or about 1.9 million people, are directly dependent on these small farms for a living. If agricultural production on these farms does not increase and if population growth continues at the high level of 3.7% p.a., this group alone will increase by about a million people by the year 2000. Activities in the following fields may help to alleviate the problems: a) stringent population planning; b) migration from rural to urban areas and to such neighbouring countries as Zaire and Tanzania; c) intensification and specialisation in agricultural production; and d) an increase in non-agricultural employment.

Rwanda's development policy is geared to increasing agricultural production, with priority given to food crops. This was originally prompted by declining revenues from the production and sale of cash crops (coffee) and by Rwanda's goal of self-sufficiency in food. The shift of emphasis to food crops was understandable, since it was the reduction in revenues from cash crops that prevented households from buying food elsewhere to make up the deficit. Little progress has so far been made towards achieving the goal of self-sufficiency, partly because of the insecurity, particularly in the north-east of the country, and the drought in recent years.

This policy has not led to an increase in per capita food production. The reason for this is not only the previously mentioned exhaustion of the land, which has reduced output, but also the limited availability of the findings of applied research and the lack or absence of extension services geared to the production of food crops.

A modest attempt to diversify exports has had little impact. Besides coffee, small quantities of good-quality tea have been exported in recent years. In theory, Rwanda should be seeking to intensify agricultural production by labour-intensive means. However, its location makes it difficult for the country to exploit comparative advantages. Small quantities of horticultural products and flowers are now being exported.

Besides considering the options for the diversification of agriculture, Rwanda must give priority to improving food production by labour-intensive means, tailored to the specific conditions prevailing in the various ecological zones. In Rwanda it is the poorer people in rural areas who are heavily dependent on the production of food crops, and in 25% of cases this concerns farms run by women. Food production can be increased only if every effort is made to restore soil fertility or at least to prevent it from deteriorating further. Until alternative cash crops are found, emphasis on the production of food crops will be justified in view of the

high priority that small farms in particular give to ensuring supplies of food to meet their own needs.

Improving the living conditions of the non-urban population is not, of course, merely a question of increasing agricultural production capacity: an improvement in health status, or in access to medical services, especially for the poorer members of society, may contribute just as directly to an improvement in the nutritional status of many people and to a reduction in the incidence of undernourishment.

Giving priority to activities directly related to food production does not rule out the need for non-agricultural employment in rural areas to be considered in an effective poverty alleviation strategy.

Despite the optimistic view expressed at the Consultative Group's meeting in 1991 that production could easily be tripled provided that adequate inputs were available, the agricultural sector will not be able to provide employment for an additional 90,000 people each year.

3.2 Sectors

It is difficult to suggest a solution to all Rwanda's problems. Population growth is currently very high, and the limits to the scope for the use of the environment have been reached. The agricultural sector and related activities must provide part of the solution in the immediate future. Ideas on a more fundamental approach are still theoretical. Employment undoubtedly needs to be created in new sectors now that agriculture cannot possibly be considered capable of absorbing the increase in the working population, but it is unclear at present what form these activities might take.

As activities in former sector countries continue to be largely confined to one sector, the Netherlands' activities will be geared to rural development in Rwanda's case. As in the past, Dutch aid will preferably be channelled through the multilateral organisations, NGOs and SNV.

As the policy is formulated,

- account will be taken of the insights gained from the IOV evaluation,
- rural development will be viewed in the widest sense, with particular attention paid to the position of women. New projects that do not satisfy the DAC/WID criteria will not be launched. In view of the interest taken in the position of women, food crops will have priority over export crops. The pressing environmental and population problems and the desirability of creating income-generating non-agricultural employment in rural areas will also be considered. Research on the growing of food crops has hitherto had a low priority in Rwanda. Such research will be encouraged to support the activities to be undertaken in this field. Particular attention will be paid in this context to research for the development of Low External Input Sustainable Agriculture (LEISA).

The programme will also provide scope for activities that improve the welfare and productive capacity of the rural population. Particular attention should be paid in this context to education, partly because only a well educated population can tackle the long-term problems, however they may be solved. Support for this sector may also be provided under the participatory programmes, given the options presented by the Rwandan government for the adjustment of the

primary education curriculum at local level. In view of the seriousness of the problem, measures to combat AIDS will be supported.

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V LE RWANDA

1. INTRODUCTION

Depuis 1983 le Rwanda est un "pays de secteur", c'est-à-dire qu'il bénéficie d'une aide sectorielle des Pays-Bas. Cette aide sectorielle a porté d'emblée sur le développement rural, le programme d'aide étant mis en oeuvre par des tiers. Le développement rural continuera d'être au centre du programme d'action régional pour l'Afrique orientale, région dont le Rwanda fait désormais partie, avec le Kenya, la Tanzanie et l'Ouganda.

2. CONTEXTE POLITIQUE ET POLITIQUE SOCIO-ÉCONOMIQUE

2.1. Situation politique

Contrairement à la plupart des autres États africains, le Rwanda, tout comme son voisin le Burundi, n'est pas issu de la volonté politique des puissances coloniales; pendant des siècles il fut un royaume. Les Tutsis, l'éthnie minoritaire, ont toujours dominé la majorité hutue. Au début de la période coloniale, la position des Tutsis a d'abord été renforcée. Mais la politique de démocratisation menée sous mandat belge à la fin des années cinquante amena les Hutus au pouvoir lors des élections de 1959. L'éviction politique des Tutsis fut suivie, après l'indépendance en 1962, par de violents affrontements entre les deux ethnies, affrontements qui dégénérent en massacres faisant plus de dix mille victimes parmi les Tutsis; de nombreux Tutsis ont alors fui le pays.

En 1965 le Rwanda est devenu un État à parti unique, le pouvoir étant concentré entre les mains d'une poignée de Hutus originaires du centre du pays. D'où, quelques années plus tard, des tensions accrues, non seulement entre Tutsis et Hutus, mais aussi au sein de l'éthnie hutue. Suite à cette agitation, le général Habyarimana prit le pouvoir, en 1973, et mena une politique de réconciliation nationale et de développement. Il s'ensuivit une période de relative stabilité politique.

En 1989, la position du Président s'était, à l'évidence, considérablement affaiblie: l'aggravation de la situation économique et la pression démographique croissante provoquèrent des troubles dans la population, et l'antipathie à l'égard des Tutsis, qui avaient continué à jouer un rôle important dans l'économie rwandaise, réapparut. De plus, le gouvernement empêcha le retour d'un grand nombre de Rwandais qui s'étaient réfugiés dans les pays voisins arguant que le Rwanda était déjà surpeuplé.

Le 1^{er} octobre 1990, un groupe de réfugiés rwandais attaquèrent le nord-est du Rwanda depuis l'Ouganda. Ce groupe était constitué en majorité de Tutsis qui avaient servi pendant des années dans "l'armée nationale de résistance" de l'actuel président ougandais Museveni. Cette invasion conduisit à une grande instabilité politique, économique et régionale.

Bien que les envahisseurs se soient retirés quelques mois plus tard sur la frontière ougandaise, les accrochages se poursuivent. Les tensions accrues entre les deux grandes ethnies rwandaises constituent également un grave problème pour le pays.

Les mesures de démocratisation et d'ouverture dans le processus de prise de décision politique annoncées par le Président Habyarimana dès avant l'incursion des rebelles ont conduit à l'adoption d'une charte politique nationale, qui consacre le principe du pluralisme politique mais refuse la formation de partis sur une base ethnique ou religieuse. Le Congrès de l'unique parti politique rwandais, le "Mouvement révolutionnaire national pour le Développement", a décidé en mai 1991 de modifier la Constitution de façon à rendre possible l'introduction du multipartisme en 1992.

2.2. Droits de l'Homme

Au cours de la période précédant l'incursion des rebelles le 1^{er} octobre 1990, la situation en matière de droits de l'homme au Rwanda s'était quelque peu dégradée. Le gouvernement avait pris des mesures pour restreindre la liberté de presse, la liberté d'association et la liberté de religion. Mais, d'une manière générale, le Rwanda pouvait se vanter d'avoir une réputation relativement bonne dans le domaine des droits de l'homme.

Après l'invasion des rebelles, la situation changea du tout au tout: des centaines de citoyens trouvèrent la mort à la suite des combats entre les rebelles et l'armée rwandaise et des violents incidents entre groupes ethniques. Le gouvernement proclama l'état d'urgence, ce qui permit d'éviter la généralisation de la violence entre les groupes ethniques. Mais l'état d'urgence conduisit aussi à des arrestations massives et à la limitation de la liberté de mouvement de tous les citoyens. Le nombre de réfugiés dans les pays voisins augmenta.

En mars et avril 1991 des milliers de prisonniers ont été libérés.

2.3. Situation et politique socio-économiques

2.3.a. Croissance économique et acheminement vers l'autonomie

La part des différents secteurs dans le PNB est la suivante:

Agriculture 38%

Industrie 22%

Services 40%

La part de l'agriculture a beaucoup baissé ces dernières années: à la fin des années soixante elle atteignait 75%, actuellement elle n'est plus que d'environ 40%. Mais en termes d'emplois ce secteur reste de loin le plus important: 93% de la population vit directement de l'agriculture. Il faut remarquer ici que la majeure partie de l'activité agricole (95%) concerne la production axée sur l'auto-alimentation.

Les 7% restant se répartissent en 3% pour l'industrie et 4% pour les services.

Depuis le début des années soixante-dix, le Rwanda a connu une *croissance économique* raisonnable, de 5% en moyenne par an, qui lui a permis de mener une politique financière stable. L'inflation est restée très limitée. Ce sont surtout les prix élevés du café dans la deuxième moitié des années soixante-dix qui lui ont permis de constituer des réserves considérables en devises. Pendant cette période, qui a duré jusqu'au début des années quatre-vingt, le niveau de vie de la population rwandaise se situait au-dessus de la moyenne de l'Afrique subsaharienne.

Entre 1980 et 1985 la croissance économique s'est ralentie, tombant à 3,2% en moyenne par an, c'est-à-dire moins que la croissance démographique qui était de 3,7% en moyenne. À la fin des années quatre-vingt, on ne peut même plus parler de croissance, mais plutôt d'un tassement de l'économie. En 1989, le PNB a chuté de 9% et en 1990, d'environ 5%.

La cause principale en est la forte baisse des revenus du café, due à la fois à des prix beaucoup plus bas sur le marché mondial et à la mauvaise qualité des grains. Cela a encore été aggravé par une surévaluation de la monnaie nationale, ce qui a rendu le Rwanda de moins en moins compétitif sur le marché mondial.

La *balance des paiements*, qui était excédentaire, s'est par conséquent rapidement dégradée au milieu des années quatre-vingt. Le Rwanda a immédiatement réagi en menant une politique très réservée en matière de délivrance d'autorisations d'importation, d'où une réduction de l'activité économique nationale.

La dégradation de la balance des paiements a entraîné une réduction considérable

des réserves de devises. Alors que fin 1986, les réserves équivalaient encore à cinq mois d'importations, en 1989, elles ne correspondaient plus qu'à deux mois d'importations.

Le Rwanda a une *dette extérieure* relativement faible, bien que celle-ci ait fortement augmenté récemment; c'est là le résultat de la politique économique prudente et du recours aux réserves de devises constituées dans le passé. Fin 1988, la dette extérieure atteignait environ 560 millions de dollars, soit un peu moins de 30% du PNB. Alors qu'en 1986 7% des recettes d'exportation suffisaient à payer les intérêts et l'amortissement de la dette, en 1988 ce pourcentage atteignait 23,3%. Comparé à d'autres pays de l'Afrique subsaharienne, le Rwanda n'est pas sur ce point dans une situation préoccupante. Cependant on ne peut pas dire que la situation économique soit bonne. Ainsi, le secteur privé n'a pas été capable de créer suffisamment d'emplois pour compenser la réduction des emplois dans le secteur public.

De plus la production alimentaire par habitant a chuté et en 1989 cinq cent mille personnes ont été directement touchées par la disette, leur pouvoir d'achat étant insuffisant. Les terres sont déjà trop sollicitées. En effet, environ 60% de la superficie du Rwanda étant cultivable, chaque kilomètre carré de terre cultivable devait, en 1986, produire la nourriture de 440 habitants.

Devant le caractère structurel de ses problèmes économiques, le Rwanda a demandé l'aide de la Banque mondiale et du FMI fin 1989. Cela a conduit à un programme d'ajustement structurel pour la période 1991 à 1993. Malgré les difficultés imprévues auxquelles le Rwanda a été confronté à cause de l'incursion des rebelles, ce qui a entraîné l'affaiblissement, voire l'effondrement, des secteurs du transport, du tourisme et du commerce, et a provoqué en même temps une forte augmentation des dépenses militaires, les premières mesures d'ajustement ont été appliquées fin 1990: a) le franc rwandais a été dévalué de 40%; b) les prix du pétrole sur le marché intérieur ont été relevés de 79%; c) les taux d'intérêt ont été ajustés, et d) le contrôle des prix a été supprimé pour de nombreux produits.

Les objectifs du programme d'ajustement, inscrits dans le "Document Cadre de Politique économique et financière à moyen terme du Rwanda" sont les suivants: a) reprise de la croissance économique; b) politique de rigueur en matière monétaire et de crédit pour juguler l'inflation; c) réduction des déséquilibres de la balance des paiements; d) stimulation d'un climat favorable pour les investissements privés; e) réforme du secteur public; f) développement des ressources humaines disponibles; g) amélioration de la gestion des ressources naturelles.

Ce programme est soutenu par un prêt à l'ajustement structurel, de la Banque mondiale, d'un montant de 90 millions de dollars. La mise en oeuvre du programme a donné lieu aux mesures concrètes suivantes: a) introduction progressive d'un taux de change flexible et d'une politique libérale en matière d'attribution de devises; b) réforme du régime du tarif douanier; c) libéralisation du commerce intérieur, notamment par l'abolition de la plupart des mesures de contrôle des prix; d) rationalisation des dépenses publiques, y compris en matière d'accompagnement social des mesures de politique macro-économique; e) mesures destinées à augmenter la production de café et de thé; f) réformes politiques, telles que la réforme de la fiscalité et la révision de la législation du travail.

Si le programme d'ajustement est entièrement réalisé, on devrait atteindre les résultats suivants: 1) croissance du PNB jusqu'à 3,8% en 1993; 2) baisse de l'inflation (de 28% en 1991 à 5% en 1993); 3) augmentation des investissements (16% du PNB en 1993, contre 12,5% en 1990); 4) réduction du déficit budgétaire; 5) reprise des exportations et constitution d'une nouvelle réserve de devises équivalant à trois mois d'importations en 1993.

On devrait parvenir à réduire le déficit de la balance des paiements courants, qui atteint actuellement 15% du PNB, pour le ramener à 11,4% en 1993.

Le programme d'ajustement a évidemment pour but d'augmenter le niveau de vie au Rwanda. Pour éviter que les plus vulnérables aient trop à pâtir de l'ajustement, plusieurs programmes ont été mis au point qui sont destinés à prévenir les problèmes les plus graves: 1) financement d'une partie de la contribution financière des parents à la scolarisation des enfants pour les 10% les plus pauvres de la population; 2) projets à haut coefficient de main-d'oeuvre en matière d'entretien de voies tertiaires et de lutte contre l'érosion; 3) encouragement des petites industries; 4) programmes de sécurité alimentaire pour certain groupes spécifiques, en particulier dans les régions touchées par la sécheresse; 5) programme pour l'emploi des fonctionnaires et des agents d'entreprises semi-publiques ayant perdu leur emploi.

Des mesures de caractère plus général sont prévues dans le cadre de la priorité accordée à la politique démographique (planning familial, réduction de la mortalité infantile) et à l'élaboration d'un programme d'action pour l'environnement.

Le financement de ce programme triennal nécessite une injection de capitaux estimée à 332 millions de dollars par an. En admettant que les dépenses militaires, actuellement élevées, seront ramenées au niveau d'avant 1990, on pourra pourvoir aux besoins en capitaux de la manière suivante: 1) dons: 130 millions de dollars par an; 2) prêts/investissements/nouveaux projets/fonds de l'AID et du FMI pour des programmes d'ajustement structurel et sectoriel: 140 millions de dollars par an. Il reste donc 180 millions de dollars à trouver pour la période de trois ans du programme: on cherche des fonds au titre de l'aide, bilatérale ou multilatérale, à la balance des paiements. Lors de la réunion du "Groupe consultatif" au printemps 1991 à Paris, plusieurs donateurs se sont déjà engagés à fournir une aide. En septembre 1991, il manquait encore environ 50 millions de dollars.

2.3.b. Situation et politique démographiques

Le climat du Rwanda est assez uniforme. La température moyenne varie de $\pm 18^\circ$ à Ruhengeri, situé à 1860 mètres d'altitude, à 24° à Bugarama, situé à 900 mètres d'altitude. La pluviosité est directement liée à l'altitude. Ainsi dans les régions de basse altitude il tombe + 800 mm de pluie par an et dans les régions élevées 1300 mm par an. La pluie se concentre sur deux périodes: une longue saison des pluies, de la mi-février à la fin mai, et une courte saison des pluies, de la mi-septembre à la mi-décembre. Il n'y a pas d'écart important entre les régions. Ce régime des pluies permet dans bien des cas deux récoltes par an, et présente le grand avantage que la période entre deux récoltes consécutives est relativement courte.

Comme signalé plus haut, pendant les années quatre-vingt la croissance économique a marqué le pas par rapport à la croissance démographique (3,2% contre 3,7%). Si la croissance démographique se poursuit, la population du Rwanda, estimée actuellement à 7 millions d'habitants, atteindra les 10 millions en l'an 2000 et les 14 millions en 2010. La structure de la population rwandaise présente les caractéristiques de nombreux pays d'Afrique subsaharienne: 48% de la population a moins de 15 ans et 50% a entre 14 et 65 ans.

Le "Document Cadre de Politique économique et financière à moyen terme (1991-1993) du Rwanda" fait état d'un taux de fécondité de 8,6 pour mille, le plus élevé du monde (en Ouganda, par exemple, le taux est de 7 pour mille). Afin de limiter l'accroissement démographique, on s'efforce de ramener ce taux à 4 pour mille. Grâce à une intense campagne d'information, on espère toucher la totalité du groupe cible en 1992. Mais la position influente de l'Église catholique au Rwanda sera certainement un obstacle de taille à cette politique.

À cause de cette formidable croissance démographique, la densité atteint maintenant près de 300 h/km², ce qui fait du Rwanda le pays le plus peuplé d'Afrique. La grande majorité de la population vit toujours directement de

l'agriculture. L'urbanisation est encore assez faible: seule Kigali a enregistré une forte croissance ces dernières années et compte actuellement près d'un demi-million d'habitants. Avec un taux de 7,4%, la croissance démographique dans cette région urbaine est deux fois supérieure à la moyenne nationale.

Les principaux groupes ethniques sont les Hutus (agriculteurs) et les Tutsis (pasteurs). Les premiers se sont installés au Rwanda peu après le début de notre ère et les seconds au cours de la période allant de 1200 à 1600. La population d'origine, le peuple pygmée des Twas ou Batwas, ne représente pas plus d'1% de la population. Les Hutus représentent 85% au moins de la population, les Tutsis 14%. Mais la réalité est moins tranchée. Il y a eu beaucoup de brassage entre les Hutus et les Tutsis: 35% au moins de la population est métisse. Mais comme ce sont en majorité des femmes Tutsis qui ont épousé des Hutus et que l'origine est déterminée par la ligne masculine, 85% de la population sont enregistrés comme Hutus. Pendant des siècles, les Hutus ont été dominés par les Tutsis. Pendant les premières années de la domination coloniale, l'Allemagne, puis la Belgique, ont contribué à renforcer les rapports de force existants par le système du gouvernement indirect.

Au début des années soixante, ces rapports de force se sont radicalement modifiés à l'avantage des Hutus. Ce glissement considérable dans les rapports de force, l'éviction du pouvoir des Tutsis, est allé de pair avec des troubles graves. De nombreux Tutsis furent tués, et beaucoup s'enfuirent en Ouganda. Selon un rapport du HCR, en 1986 environ 110.000 réfugiés rwandais étaient enregistrés en Ouganda et un nombre égal de Rwandais s'était vraisemblablement déjà établi définitivement en Ouganda. En Tanzanie également, il y a un nombre considérable de Rwandais. La présence de ces réfugiés s'avère une source permanente de tensions aussi bien pour le Rwanda, qui court le risque d'incursions, que pour les pays voisins.

2.3.c. Pauvreté et politique de lutte contre la pauvreté

Malgré les conditions climatiques relativement favorables, le problème de la pauvreté est de plus en plus aigu. La charge qui pèse sur l'agriculture à cause de la croissance démographique élevée a pris des formes tellement dramatiques que de plus en plus de gens sont incapables de pourvoir à leurs besoins alimentaires. Les parcelles sont de plus en plus petites du fait des pratiques d'héritage, si bien qu'elles ne permettent plus de produire suffisamment pour nourrir une famille. Dès que les conditions climatiques sont un peu moins favorables, il s'ensuit immédiatement une grave disette. Le manque d'intrants agricoles et la baisse des revenus du café ont renforcé ce processus d'appauvrissement. Selon le Rapport sur le Développement humain (PNUD 1990), 90% de la population rurale vit au-dessous du seuil de pauvreté, soit trois fois plus que dans les régions urbaines.

L'Index du Développement humain pour le Rwanda est de 0,304, ce qui place le Rwanda à la 21^e position dans la liste des pays ayant l'index le plus bas. En termes de produit national brut par habitant (300 dollars par an), le Rwanda s'en tire un peu mieux: vingt-cinq pays ont un revenu par habitant plus bas que celui du Rwanda.

On ne dispose pas de statistiques détaillées sur le chômage. Toutefois, compte tenu de la forte croissance démographique et de la croissance très faible ou nulle de l'emploi dans le secteur non agricole, le problème devient de plus en plus grave.

Le fait d'avoir ou non suffisamment à manger est un bon indicateur de pauvreté. Le document de travail sur la sécurité alimentaire de la Banque mondiale/PAM donne une traduction chiffrée de l'état de nutrition des enfants et indique en pourcentage les chiffres suivants d'enfants sous-alimentés dans quatre préfectures, pour les années 82-83 (*National Budget and Consumption Survey*), 85-86 (*National Nutrition Survey*) et 1989 (*Rapid Assessment World Food Programme*).

Préfecture	82/83	85/86	'89
Butare	31	26	47
Gikongoro	25	23	50
Gitarama	42	22	44
Kibuye	37	26	48
Total Rwanda	33	28	--

Si le pourcentage d'enfants sous-alimentés a été élevé pendant une longue période, il a connu une forte hausse en 1989, atteignant presque 50%. La dégradation structurelle des conditions de vie d'une grande partie de la population rurale apparaît de façon encore plus manifeste si l'on considère la demande sans cesse renouvelée d'aide alimentaire ces dernières années. On estime qu'en 1989 500.000 personnes étaient sous-alimentées.

2.3.d. Environnement

Au Rwanda, les limites de la marge écologique, c'est-à-dire la capacité d'assimilation de l'environnement, sont atteintes, voire même dépassées. À cause de la déforestation et de la mise en culture de terres impropres, l'érosion est devenue un réel problème. Pratiquement toutes les terres un tant soit peu cultivables sont utilisées, soit pour la production agricole, soit pour la production de bois de chauffage, la demande ne cessant de croître. Il n'y a plus moyen d'étendre la superficie cultivable que de façon limitée, à savoir dans les zones humides, avec toutes les conséquences négatives qu'entraîne l'assèchement de ces zones. L'ultime ressource, plus radicale encore, est de construire des terrasses sur les escarpements déjà cultivés.

2.3.e. Santé

Selon le "Rapport sur le Développement humain", 27% de la population a accès aux services de santé. Alors que dans le passé, l'accent était mis sur les soins curatifs, ces derniers temps la priorité est donnée aux soins préventifs.

La mortalité infantile est estimée à 121 pour mille. Le pourcentage d'enfants vaccinés à l'âge d'un an est de 82%, soit un des taux les plus élevés du groupe des pays les moins développés.

Les dépenses de santé sont assez constantes: en 1960, elles représentaient 0,5% du PNB, en 1986, 0,6%.

Les principaux problèmes sont le manque de personnel qualifié et la pénurie de médicaments de première nécessité. Les pouvoirs publics travaillent à l'élaboration de programmes pour améliorer l'efficacité des services de santé. La priorité sera donnée à la formation de personnel qualifié.

Le sida représente une menace de plus en plus grande. Dans certains quartiers de Kigali, la capitale, 50% de la population sont déjà séropositifs.

2.3.f. Eau potable

Malgré les fortes pluies et les efforts déployés dans le domaine de l'approvisionnement en eau potable, la part de la population ayant accès à de l'eau potable fiable a reculé au cours de la dernière décennie, passant de 68% en 1975 à 50% en 1987.

C'est là un exemple de plus des difficultés auxquelles le Rwanda est confronté pour maintenir un certain niveau de développement dans une situation de croissance démographique rapide. Il n'y a pas de programme bien défini dans ce domaine. Depuis le milieu des années quatre-vingt, la politique suivie par les autorités rwandaises part du principe que ce sont les usagers qui doivent s'occuper du financement et de la gestion des puits. Différentes ONG jouent un rôle important dans l'extension et l'amélioration de l'approvisionnement en eau potable.

2.3.g. Éducation

Le taux d'alphabétisation a augmenté ces dernières années. Pour les personnes âgées de plus de 15 ans, le taux d'alphabétisation est le suivant:

	Femmes	Hommes	Moyenne nationale
1970	21%	43%	32%
1985	33%	61%	47%

Source: PNUD, 1990

Des enfants admis dans l'enseignement primaire, un peu moins de la moitié seulement termine ce cycle. 24% du budget de l'État sont consacrés à l'Éducation (1987), ce qui correspond à peu près à 3,2% du PNB. En 1960, le budget de l'Éducation n'était que de 0,3% du PNB.

Une grande partie du budget de l'Éducation est destinée à l'enseignement primaire; la répartition par niveau d'enseignement est la suivante:

Enseignement primaire	70%
Enseignement secondaire	16%
Enseignement universitaire	14%

Comme c'est le cas dans de nombreux pays de l'Afrique subsaharienne, le contenu de l'enseignement est peu adapté à la vie quotidienne des élèves, tant dans l'enseignement secondaire que dans l'enseignement primaire. De plus, il y a un manque d'instituteurs (un pour 57 élèves), et 78% d'entre eux seulement sont qualifiés. Dans l'enseignement secondaire, moins de la moitié du personnel enseignant a une formation pédagogique suffisante.

La scolarisation des filles augmente constamment. Pour l'année scolaire 1987-1988, il y avait 49% de filles dans l'enseignement primaire. Mais le passage des filles dans l'enseignement secondaire et supérieur est encore insuffisant. En 1987-1988, les femmes représentaient 34% des élèves de l'enseignement secondaire et 17% des étudiants universitaires.

Si aucune mesure radicale n'est prise, la croissance démographique entraînera une chute du pourcentage d'enfants scolarisés; celui-ci passera de 62% actuellement à 49% dans les prochaines années. Pour améliorer la situation, le Rwanda a présenté un plan de restructuration de l'éducation très important, élaboré en collaboration avec le PNUD et la Banque mondiale. Les principaux éléments de ce plan sont les suivants:

- réduction de la durée de formation de base de 8 à 6 années, ce qui crée une capacité supplémentaire de 12 000 élèves;
- augmentation du nombre de salles de classe, permettant de créer 84.000 places supplémentaires;
- formation et recyclage du personnel enseignant et renforcement du management;
- adaptation des programmes de sorte qu'une plus grande d'attention soit accordée à la santé, à la nutrition, à l'environnement et aux problèmes démographiques.

Un montant de 23,3 millions de dollars est nécessaire pour la mise en oeuvre de ce programme: le PNUD apportera une contribution de 2 millions de dollars, le reste sera financé par la Banque mondiale. Parallèlement à ce financement, les pouvoirs publics rwandais ont l'intention de mettre davantage de crédits à la disposition de l'enseignement primaire et espèrent que des fonds privés (ONG, communautés villageoises) seront investis dans l'Éducation.

2.3.h. Femmes

La position des femmes au Rwanda est comparable à celle dans d'autres pays africains. Leur responsabilité dans le bien-être de la famille est grande. En plus du temps qu'elles passent à s'occuper directement de la famille, des enfants en particulier, ce sont elles qui ont la charge de l'eau et de la nourriture. Le potentiel de main-d'oeuvre au Rwanda représente près de 50% de la population, c'est-à-dire que, pratiquement, toutes les personnes âgées de 15 à 64 ans sont censées faire partie de la population active. 48% des actifs étant des femmes, on peut dire que les femmes participent autant que les hommes au processus économique. On ne connaît pas la part de la contribution des femmes dans l'industrie et les services.

À la campagne, ce sont les femmes qui jouent le rôle important dans la production des cultures vivrières. De plus, dans 25% des ménages, c'est une femme qui est chef de famille. Les cultures de rapport et les revenus de la vente en particulier sont laissés aux hommes. L'information, les crédits et autres intrants sont surtout destinés à ces cultures de rapport.

Des initiatives sont déployées pour introduire d'autres activités génératrices de revenus, comme le petit élevage et la transformation des produits agricoles. L'information dans ces domaines devra s'adresser plus explicitement aux femmes.

2.3.i. Dépenses militaires

Les statistiques les plus récentes datent de 1986, année où 1,9% du PNB a été consacré aux dépenses militaires, soit 50% du total des dépenses d'éducation et de santé. (Source: PNUD - Rapport sur le Développement humain, 1991).

À la suite des actions des rebelles fin 1990, les dépenses militaires ont considérablement augmenté. Le gouvernement du Rwanda s'est engagé à réduire fortement ces dépenses dès que la situation sera plus sûre, ce qui n'est pas encore le cas actuellement.

3. PROGRAMME D'AIDE NÉERLANDAIS ET PROJETS

3.1. Généralités

Ce pays, qui bénéficiait d'une aide sectorielle néerlandaise, a reçu environ 10 millions de florins par an ces dernières années. La moitié de cette somme était à la charge du programme sectoriel Développement rural. Le reste relevait de l'important programme de la SNV, comprenant environ 40 coopérants, et des activités d'organisations néerlandaises de cofinancement (catégorie IV). Les activités déployées par l'ICCO (Organisation oecuménique de Coopération au Développement) et par la NOVIB (Organisation néerlandaise pour la Coopération internationale au Développement) s'inscrivent dans le prolongement de la politique menée dans le cadre de l'ancien programme sectoriel Développement rural. La CEBEMO (Organisation catholique de Cofinancement des Programmes de Développement) se concentre plutôt sur l'éducation. Quant à la SNV, elle est surtout active dans les domaines du développement rural intégré et de l'approvisionnement en eau potable. Une partie des fonds pour le programme Développement rural a été accordée par l'intermédiaire d'ONG internationales et d'organisations multilatérales telles que l'OIT, le FNUAP et la FAO.

Une aide humanitaire d'urgence a été octroyée, de façon limitée, au cours des dernières années, et un soutien à la balance des paiements de 10 millions de florins a été accordé en 1986. Le programme Développement rural a fait l'objet d'une importante évaluation par l'IOV (Service d'Examen des Opérations). Cette évaluation a fait apparaître que les projets sectoriels (eau potable, sylviculture, fours à bois) ont donné de meilleurs résultats que les projets plus intégrés, nécessitant davantage de participation. Il faut remarquer ici que ces derniers projets sont assez récents, et qu'il est donc encore difficile d'en mesurer les conséquences.

Les problèmes majeurs du Rwanda sont la forte croissance démographique et la dégradation de l'environnement. À cet égard, il est frappant de constater que l'on se rend à peine compte que les limites de la capacité d'assimilation de l'environnement sont atteintes. Contrairement à d'autres pays où la désertification est patente, à première vue le Rwanda donne l'impression d'être une oasis de verdure avec un climat doux, un peu moins vert qu'autrefois certes à cause des coupes de bois.

Comme indiqué plus haut, 93% de la population vivent directement de l'agriculture. La forte croissance démographique entraînant un morcellement toujours plus grand des terres cultivables, 43% des exploitations ont une superficie inférieure à 0,75 ha. Ces petites exploitations font vivre 34% de la population rurale, c'est à dire environ 1,9 million de personnes.

Si la production agricole de ces exploitations n'augmente pas et si la croissance démographique se poursuit au rythme élevé de 3,7% par an, ce groupe de la population aura augmenté en l'an 2000 de 1 million de personnes environ. Seules des activités déployées dans les domaines suivants peuvent contribuer à atténuer les problèmes: a) planning familial très strict; b) migration, aussi bien des campagnes vers les villes que vers les pays voisins comme le Zaïre et la Tanzanie; c) intensification et spécialisation de la production agricole, et d) création d'emplois dans les secteurs non agricoles.

La politique du Rwanda en matière de développement vise à accroître la production agricole, la priorité étant donnée à la production de cultures vivrières. Cette politique a surtout été dictée par la chute des recettes provenant de la vente des cultures de rapport (café) et par la volonté du Rwanda d'arriver à l'autosuffisance alimentaire. La priorité aux cultures vivrières s'imposait puisque c'est justement la baisse des revenus provenant des cultures de rapport qui empêchait les ménages d'acheter ailleurs les vivres manquants. L'autosuffisance est à peine réalisée, à cause de la situation d'insécurité qui règne, notamment dans le nord-est du pays, et de la sécheresse de ces dernières années.

Cette politique n'a pas entraîné d'augmentation de la production alimentaire par habitant. Cela est dû non seulement à l'épuisement des sols, et donc à une baisse des rendements, mais aussi au manque de possibilités d'application de la recherche et à l'absence ou la quasi-inexistence d'un service de vulgarisation sur la production de cultures vivrières.

Une timide tentative de diversification des exportations a eu peu de résultats. En plus du café, le Rwanda exporte depuis quelques années à petite échelle du thé de bonne qualité. Théoriquement le Rwanda devrait pouvoir tirer profit d'une intensification de la production agricole par l'utilisation d'une main-d'oeuvre abondante. Mais la situation géographique du pays rend difficile de profiter d'avantages comparatifs. Actuellement, des produits horticoles et des fleurs sont exportés à petite échelle.

En plus de l'attention accordée aux possibilités de diversification de l'agriculture, il faudra donner la priorité à l'amélioration de la production vivrière par l'utilisation d'une main-d'oeuvre abondante en tenant compte des conditions spécifiques des différentes zones écologiques. Au Rwanda, ce sont les populations rurales les plus pauvres qui dépendent le plus de la production de cultures vivrières et, dans 25% des cas, il s'agit d'exploitations dirigées par des femmes. Il ne sera possible d'augmenter la production vivrière que si l'on s'efforce de rendre les sols à nouveau fertiles ou en tout cas de stopper la dégradation des sols. Aussi longtemps qu'il n'y aura pas de solutions de substitution aux cultures de rapport, l'attention portée à la production de cultures vivrières sera justifiée puisque la priorité est donnée à l'autosuffisance alimentaire, surtout dans les petites exploitations.

L'amélioration des conditions de vie de la population rurale n'est évidemment pas seulement liée à l'augmentation de la capacité de production agricole. Une

amélioration de la situation sanitaire et de l'accès aux services médicaux, pour les plus pauvres en particulier, peut contribuer directement à améliorer la situation alimentaire de nombreuses personnes et à réduire la sous-alimentation.

Accorder la priorité aux activités directement en relation avec la production vivrière n'exclut pas qu'il faille, pour lutter efficacement contre la pauvreté, se préoccuper également de créer des emplois non agricoles dans les zones rurales.

Malgré l'optimisme affiché pendant la réunion du groupe consultatif tenue en 1991 quant à la possibilité de tripler facilement la production à condition de disposer des intrants nécessaires, le secteur agricole ne sera pas capable de créer 90.000 emplois supplémentaires par an.

3.2. Secteurs d'action prioritaire

Il est difficile de résoudre tous les problèmes du Rwanda. La croissance démographique est encore très élevée alors que les limites de la capacité d'assimilation de l'environnement sont atteintes. Il va falloir trouver à court terme une partie de la solution des problèmes du pays dans le secteur agricole et les activités connexes.

La réflexion sur une approche plus fondamentale n'en est pas encore au stade de la réalisation pratique. Ce qui est d'ores et déjà certain, c'est qu'il faudra créer des emplois dans de nouveaux secteurs puisque l'agriculture ne saurait absorber à elle seule la croissance de la population active; mais il reste encore à préciser de quels secteurs il pourrait s'agir.

L'aide aux anciens pays de secteur se limitant à un seul secteur, la coopération néerlandaise au Rwanda se concentrera donc sur le développement rural. Comme par le passé, l'aide néerlandaise sera de préférence canalisée au niveau multilatéral, par les ONG et la SNV.

La politique néerlandaise sera mise en oeuvre compte tenu des acquis de l'évaluation menée par l'IOV (Service d'Examen des Opérations), étant entendu que le développement rural sera compris au sens le plus large du terme et qu'un intérêt particulier sera accordé à la position des femmes. Tout nouveau projet devra satisfaire aux critères du Comité d'Aide au Développement de l'OCDE (CAD/WID). Étant donné l'intérêt accordé à la position des femmes, la production de cultures vivrières passera avant celle de cultures de rapport. Une attention particulière sera également accordée aux graves problèmes environnementaux et démographiques, ainsi qu'à l'opportunité de créer dans les zones rurales des emplois générateurs de revenus hors du secteur agricole.

Jusqu'à présent, la recherche sur les cultures vivrières n'a guère la priorité au Rwanda. Pour soutenir les activités prévues dans ce domaine, la recherche sera encouragée, en particulier pour la mise au point de systèmes d'Agriculture à Faible Taux d'Investissement (AFTI).

En outre, le programme fera une place aux activités qui accroissent le bien-être et la capacité productive de la population rurale. L'éducation devra bénéficier d'une attention particulière, compte tenu du fait que les problèmes à long terme - quelle que soit la manière dont ils seront résolus - ne pourront être abordés que par une population ayant un bon niveau de formation. Une aide pourra aussi être apportée dans le cadre des programmes participatifs, par les possibilités que les pouvoirs publics rwandais offrent en matière d'adaptation au niveau local des contenus de l'enseignement primaire. Enfin, la lutte contre le sida bénéficiera d'une aide particulière, compte tenu de la gravité du problème.

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