



*When Aid Workers Sustain Sex Workers:  
A study of post-conflict urban livelihoods in Kigali, Rwanda*

*By Lisbeth Bakke  
December 2011*



*Google pictures*

*Note on photo: the photograph is meant solely to illustrate local bars where international development aid workers meet. None of the people depicted are either perpetrators or victims of sexual abuse, exploitation or sex workers or even from Rwanda*

The Department of International Environment and Development Studies, Noragric, is the international gateway for the Norwegian University of Life Sciences (UMB). Eight departments, associated research institutions and the Norwegian College of Veterinary Medicine in Oslo. Established in 1986, Noragric's contribution to international development lies in the interface between research, education (Bachelor, Master and PhD programmes) and assignments.

The Noragric Master theses are the final theses submitted by students in order to fulfil the requirements under the Noragric Master programme "International Environmental Studies", "Development Studies" and other Master programmes.

The findings in this thesis do not necessarily reflect the views of Noragric. Extracts from this publication may only be reproduced after prior consultation with the author and on condition that the source is indicated. For rights of reproduction or translation contact Noragric.

© Lisbeth Bakke, December 2011

lisbetbakke@yahoo.no

Noragric

Department of International Environment and Development Studies

P.O. Box 5003

N-1432 Ås

Norway

Tel.: +47 64 96 52 00

Fax: +47 64 96 52 01

Internet: <http://www.umb.no/noragric>

## Declaration

I, (Lisbeth Bakke), declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature.....

Date.....



*Fig 1. Rwanda*



*Fig 2 Kigali*

## ABSTRACT

As billions of aid dollars has been flourishing from the North to the South the past six decades, many developing countries are still poor and destitute. This thesis argue that by giving cash to the poor, they will know how to promote development in a much more sustainable manner than when international NGOs are in charge of complex development aid projects. The study is set in Kigali, Rwanda where local sex workers are common within the international aid community. Based on qualitative interviews the object of this study is to explore the impact large sums of dollars for sex trade is affecting development within urban poor households. The city of Kigali is home for a vast number of international development aid projects and agencies working to fulfill the Millennium Development Goals. Still the rapidly growing urban settlement is far from reaching these goals despite the intensive development aid efforts. The findings of this thesis conclude that when the poor are receiving cash, they will not waste it but rather promote development for themselves on a far greater extent than traditional aid agencies until now have accomplished.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My deepest and most sincere thanks and gratitude goes to UMB who the past 5 years have provided me with such excellent knowledge and mind-blowing experiences. The staff of wonderful professors has enlightened my mind I and I have enjoyed every lecture and seminars to the fullest.

I am forever grateful to my supervisor, Professor Darley Kjosavik who, apart from being an excellent lecturer, is always full of support, encouragement and patience.

A sincere thanks to the wonderful respondents in Kigali who allowed me into their world and freely shared their stories with me

My two beautiful daughters, Lorensa and Martine, deserve an applaud for the profound and mature understanding they have shown to the many hours I have spent writing this thesis when I should have been with them at their many activities.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATION

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
FHH	Female Headed Households
DFDI	Department for International Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
RPF	Rwanda Patriotic Front
SLA	Sustainable Livelihood Approach
SLF	Sustainable Livelihood Framework
STD	Sexual transmitted Diseases
UN	United Nations
UNACTAD	United National Conference on Trade and Development
UNAIDS	United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNICEF	United Nations
WB	World Bank
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development



**DECLARATION.....iv**  
**ABSTRACT.....vi**  
**ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....vii**  
**ABBREVATIONS .....viii**

## Innhold

Declaration..... iv

Introduction..... 1

1.2 Problem Statement and Objectives ..... 3

    1.2.1 Objective 1..... 3

    1.2.2 Objective 2: ..... 3

1.3 Terminology..... 4

    1.3.1 Sex-worker..... 4

    1.3.2 Development Aid Worker..... 5

    1.3.3. Urban Livelihoods..... 6

1.4 Justification of the Study..... 7

1.5 Thesis Structure..... 8

2.1 A Snapshot of Rwanda’s History..... 10

    2.1.1. Poverty in Rwanda..... 12

    2.1.2 Women in Rwanda ..... 13

    2.1.3 Sex Trade in Rwanda ..... 15

2.2 A New Paradigm Shift?..... 16

3.1 International Development Aid..... 19

    3.1.1 Poverty and the feminization of it..... 21

3.2 The Millennium Development Goals..... 23

    Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger ..... 24

    Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education ..... 24

    Goal 5: Improve maternal health..... 25

    Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases ..... 25

    Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability..... 25

    Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development..... 26

3.3 The Sustainable Livelihood Approach ..... 27

    3.3.1. *The Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF)* ..... 28

        Capital Assets, ..... 31

4.1 Kigali ..... 33

4.2 Research Design .....	35
4.3 Data Collection and Analysis .....	35
4.4 The Respondents .....	36
4.5 Cultural differences .....	37
4.6 Validity and Reliability .....	38
4.7 Ethical Consideration .....	39
5.1 The respondents notion of poverty and vulnerability .....	40
5.2 Livelihood Analysis: Access to assets before sex trade .....	41
5.2.1 Access to Human capital .....	41
5.2.2 Access to Physical Capital .....	44
5.2.3 Access to Financial Capital .....	46
5.2.4 Access to Social Capital .....	47
5.2.5 Livelihood strategies and outcomes .....	48
5.3. Sex trade as a Livelihood Activity .....	48
5.4.1 MDGs on an Individual level .....	51
5.5.2 MDGs on the Community Level .....	55
5.5.3 MDGs on the National Level .....	57
5.6 The unintended Consequences of development .....	58
<b>6. Conclusion.....</b>	<b>61</b>

# Chapter 1

---

*The poor will never cease to be in the land; therefore I command you, saying, "you shall freely open your hand to your brother, to your needy and poor in your land".*

Holy Bible, Deuteronomy, 15:11.

## Introduction

The past six decades have seen trillions of dollars donated from the rich north to the poor and underdeveloped South. The noble quest of alleviating poverty and bring human well-being have however only seen modest results. Despite hundreds of thousand development aid workers who each year work intensely to bring expert knowledge and economic know-how in order to stimulate economic growth and bring dignity among the poor, the South and especially Sub-Saharan Africa, remain for the most part as poor as it was sixty years ago. Despite billions of dollars spent on local government officials to be trained and educated in western universities for administration and leadership training, "underdeveloped" and "least developed" countries are still labeled "under developed" or "least developed". (Easterly, 2006)

It has thus become academically and politically correct to exercise elaborated criticism towards the development apparatus as such, for its many failures to promote economic growth and dignity, and its reminiscence of former colonialism, imperialism and patriarchy. The development discourse has been under the suspicion of entrenching state control and serves a hidden political agenda although it claims to be apolitical (Ferguson, 1994). A common popular view among development aid scholars is that the international development agencies on a structural level employed in the South do more harm than good. (Easterly, 2006; Ferguson, 1994)

However, little attention and lack of the same level of scrutiny has been subject to analysis of the administrators and aid practitioners out in the field, the many individuals employed by various NGOs and UN missions who grow custom to the culture and people in their host country during

their average two years contract period. The masculine subculture that is often prevalent in the international development aid community is seldom discussed, nor is the social behavior of the development aid worker and the openly participation in the sex trade market, seemingly interesting or debated profoundly. Several reports have however revealed UN- and NGO personnel consorting with sex-worker to the point that former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan in 2003 articulated a zero-tolerance policy against sexual exploitation of local populations. In 2005 a Conduct and Discipline Unit was established to address the problem. However, a “boys will be boys” attitude, famously coined by the UN’s top official Yashushi Akashi, is still prevalent within a masculinized development apparatus. (Lynch, 2005)

As Martin Vanderberg, the director of *The Women’s Project for Human Rights Watch* (Domi, 2005) noted “Sex trade is the dirty secret of UN interventions around the world – the nasty underbelly that no one wants to confront.”

This thesis will set out to do just that, confront this “dirty secret” and “nasty underbelly”, and argue that when poor urban women when given cash can and will fulfill the Millennium Development Goals on a household, community and national level faster than traditional development aid apparatus in Kigali.

Important to note is that this study is not about sex trade as such or about the development aid worker consorting to sexual abuse and sex-trade of the local population in Kigali. Rather it is about the poor urban woman’s ability and line of thoughts of how to manage money that has been given to her without conditionality’s or a set of rules from a well-meaning development agency of how to spend it, but about the development outcome she creates out of her own free will.

Furthermore, this study will only address female sex workers own free choice to be involved in sex trade, over the age of consent, and only those affiliated with international development aid workers. I am therefore not addressing exploitative situations and issues of child sex-trade, trafficking, or street sex workers, etc. Neither will the study address destructive psychological, social or moral issues commonly attached to sex work, but only aspects of livelihood outcomes related to the Millennium Development Goals that may or may not be achieved.

## 1.2 Problem Statement and Objectives

Kigali is saturated with foreign aid development projects addressing all the mainstream development issues of education, poverty reduction, health infrastructure, human rights, water and sanitation projects, to name but a few.

The many development aid workers present in Kigali reinforce the rationale for sex-workers and the sustaining of the sex trade market as the reputation of dollars “flowing” generously at the bars is well known and constitutes a “bee to the honey pot” association.

This study reasons that, while the social and economic benefits of international development aid is important in Rwanda, key issues of development consequences regarding the social behavior of the development aid workers and their participation in the sex-trade market, has been overlooked. The overarching problem statement I wish to explore is to what extent money gained from sex trade with development aid workers has on development on an individual, community and national level and to identify if this is “Jeopardizing the country’s path to development” within the Millennium Development Goals framework.

In order to gain insight and knowledge of this phenomenon, the study was carried out with the following objectives in order to sufficiently answer the problem statement:

### 1.2.1 Objective 1.

To identify the fulfillment of the MDG’s before the decision to participate in the sex trade market

Research Questions: What is the sex workers notion of poverty and vulnerability?

How was their access to assets before they started sex trade?

What is sex trade to them?

### 1.2.2 Objective 2:

To examine the impact money from sex trade has on livelihood outcomes and the MDG on an individual, community and national level

Research Questions: Has sex trade improved socio-economic factors on a household level?

What effect has sex trade had on the status of women?

## 1.3 Terminology

### 1.3.1 Sex-worker

The popular definition of sex-trade is “an act or practice of sexual intercourse for money”. The term holds notions of sexual exploitation, social deviance, criminal behavior and moral deprivation. (Sanders, 2009)

After the publication of *Sex: writings By Women In The Sex Industry* (1980) by Carol Leigh, the term sex worker became the academic and common new term for prostitutes and sex trade renamed the old term of prostitution. By replacing these negative and highly stigmatized terms with more positive laden associations to work and trade would according to Leigh, “avoid the connotations of shame, unworthiness or wrongdoing” and “assert an alternative framing that is both sexual identity...and a normalization of sex-worker as “service workers”. (Leigh quoted in Bernstein, 1999:91) The term sex worker has since Leigh’s publication been adopted into academic circles and discourse, NGO’s, governmental and intergovernmental aid apparatus. (WHO, 2005)

Both the terms of sex-trade and sex work have been subject to intensive debates concerning oppressive patriarchal societies allowing sexual slavery and the legitimized exploitation of a victimized group. Sheila Jeffreys, an anti- feminist do not agree to the new term of sex worker, as she consider “prostitute” holds a stronger emphasis on the victimization of women and male dominance, a cultural hegemony of men over women (Truong, 1990)

Another anti-sex-trade feminist, Melissa Farley, argues that

*"Some words hide the truth. Just as torture can be named enhanced interrogation, and logging of old-growth forests is named the Healthy Forest Initiative, words that lie about sex-trade leave*

*people confused about the nature of sex-trade and trafficking. The words 'sex work' make the harms of sex-trade invisible."* (Farley, 2006)

### **1.3.2 Development Aid Worker**

The Development aid industry consists of non-governmental organizations (NGO's) and charity organizations such as e.g. Oxfam. It is also represented by multilateral development agencies like the World Bank, or the United Nations Agencies such as UNDP; UNICEF; UNIFEM, UNAIDS among many more. More than 500 000 development aid workers and practitioners (Dambosa, 2009: 54) invest yearly their time, economic and technical skills, and their intellectual capacity in order to promote economic growth and well governed societies in developing countries. Highly paid consultants design complex "programs for the impoverished". (Easterly, 2006)

By improving infrastructure, by implementing a vast number of projects and programs within agriculture, health, schooling, and the protection of the environment, and by encouraging local entrepreneurs, development aid workers are part in various levels of creative solutions to end poverty, representing prestige and institutional power, (Lancaster, 2007)

From a donor's viewpoint and recipient countries alike, these development aid workers represent an ample supply of resources, protection, prestige, power and providers of hope for a better future for post-conflict and poverty ridden societies in dire need of economic and human development.

There is an overwhelming share of male development aid workers in various development aid projects in the developing world. This is attributed to the fact that many posts are considered not safe or unsuitable for families with children as there are no school systems with western standard and other limited social factors.

The many reports of peacekeeping missions and development aid workers consorting to sex trade when employed in developing nations, is a "phenomenon of global proportions" notes Agathangelou and Ling, (2003) They label the international development community present in

developing nations as “Desire Industries” and points to several reports revealing UN personnel sexual exploitation and abuse of local sex traders in Cambodia and the Balkans in the 1990s. Here the local sex trade increased by 3.5 times leaving 25% of the UN employees with HIV/AIDS. (Agathangelou, 2004). Same reports were filed from West Africa Missions in 2001-2001, and the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2004. It is perceived as a “hyper-masculinized Self rescuing the Native, (frequently a feminized other)” in order to “liberate native women, to justify Western colonialism and imperialism in the guise of virile benevolence” argue Agantholou and Lingh. ( 2003)

Despite a zero-tolerance policy against sexual exploitation and sexual abuse of local populations, and the Conduct and Discipline Unit to address the problem, reports of aid workers engaging in sex trade continued to follow from Cyprus, Kosovo, Sudan, Liberia; Haiti, and the Ivory Coast. (Lutz et al, 2009: 2)

### **1.3.3. Urban Livelihoods**

The term urban was coined by the sociologist Louis Wirth in 1938 who used it to describe the characteristics of a lifestyle within a city. (Thomas and Allen, 2000: 427) Cities in developing countries are commonly perceived having large areas of overcrowded slums, poor families living on the pavement, elementary services close to non-existent and outbreaks of epidemics and diseases occurring frequently. But within these slums and squatter settlements exist also a vast potential of human creativity and entrepreneurship. (ibid)

UNCHS (2001) define the term urban as “built-up or densely populated areas...suburbs and continuously settled areas...compromising the formal local government area as a whole and its primary commuter areas”.

A livelihood is understood mainly as the measures people make in order to earn money to feed oneself. Chambers and Conway gives this definition a more academic twist by emphasizing that a livelihood “compromise(s) the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with



and recover from stresses and shocks and manage to enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base”.

(Chambers and Conway, 1992).

An urban livelihood differs in many ways from the rural livelihood context. The vulnerability aspect in urban settlements cuts deeper as the dependency for cash to meet basic needs, the constant economic pressure of achieving enough money for house rent, food, clean water, health care and transport, represent generally a costly expenditures for urban settlements and restricts the quality of life. Furthermore argues Wratten (1995) that urban livelihoods face a high risk of diseases due to poor housing construction without proper water and sanitation systems. Lack of sewage disposal and defective water supply and drainage causes severe health problems. As these settlements are crowded, due to lack of safety standards, urban livelihoods are more exposed to violence and crime

Another factor, according to Wratten, is that maintaining and building up social networks within the heterogeneity of urban dwellers is more difficult than it appears in rural areas.

Finally, the plethora of norms, regulations and rules within a city is more likely to cause confrontation with the authorities than in rural settings. The government bureaucracy influences access to land use, enterprise, products, and employment. As such, urban settlers are more vulnerable to “bad” governance (Satterhwaite, 2002)

In 1990, poor urban livelihoods constituted of 662 million. In 2010, this number had increased to 860 million. According to the UNHabitat,(2010) it is predicted that within the next 25 years, there will be a total of 2 billion poor urban settlers in developing countries.

## **1.4 Justification of the Study**

I chose to focus on the women engaging in sex trade linked to development aid workers of several reasons. As I lived in Rwanda for six years (1999-2005) as an expat and part of the international development aid community, I witnessed how marginalized and vulnerable women

were in the midst of the plethora of NGOs that almost choked the capital Kigali. Secondly, as most of these women fit in the category of female headed households (FHH), they have traditionally less access to education that would have empowered them to influence their future or influence where decisions are made (UNDP, 2001, World Bank 2001) Thirdly, according to UNDP, poverty “has a woman’s face” and women are thus considered poorer than men. They resort to sex-trade to make ends meet for the benefit of their families and risk degrading social stigma and exclusion from their family and community, as well as contracting deadly diseases such as HIV/AIDS. (ibid)

Finally, as the development apparatus is assumed to fight poverty, promote legal order, empowerment and representation, sex trade with a marginalized and poor population of the host country, do not fit well into this sober picture of development aid. The general western opinion commonly oppose of sex trade as a legitimized criminal activity or exploitation as a type of labor.(Farley, The voices of the women working in the sex trade business are never heard or asked of their view or opinion on the matter. To my knowledge there are limited studies conducted revealing how the “demoralized, shameful and stigmatized “income” is spent. (Soble, 2002) This thesis argues that the information provided by sex workers in this study, is important to the ongoing discussion of development aid’s purpose and effectiveness. Their answers will be key to new knowledge and angels of development and provide an overview of alternative methods to fight poverty and to meet the Millennium Development Goals.

## **1.5 Thesis Structure**

This chapter has provided an introduction to the topic of the thesis and explained the problem statement, as well as given an account of specific terms used in the thesis.

Chapter two gives a brief political history of Rwanda and the status of women up to the time of this research in order to understand the context these women are living in. This chapter will also introduce the literature employed as base for the study in order to discuss different angels of development.

Chapter three comprises the theoretical framework relevant to the study where the Sustainable Livelihood Approach and the Millennium Development Goals are essential

Chapter four consists of a presentation of Kigali as the research area, as well as presenting the methodology employed for this study. Chapter five presents and interprets, based on the theoretical framework and literature review, the live testimonies and responses from the targeted women of this study, their definition of poverty and their strategies to achieve development.

Chapter six consist of a short conclusion were a summary of the argumentation will be presented.

---

# Chapter 2

## Rwanda – The Land of a thousand Hills

---

*This chapter will give a brief overview of the complex history of Rwanda and its women in order to understand in which context the informants are living under. This chapter also presents existing development aid literature relevant to the problem statement in chapter 1.*

### 2.1 A Snapshot of Rwanda's History

Rwanda is a tiny east Central African Republic, a beautiful mountainous landlocked country with borders to DRC, Tanzania, Burundi and Uganda. With its 11 million inhabitants it is the most densely populated country in Africa. Rwanda is popularly referred to as the “land of a Thousand Hills” and the “Switzerland of Africa”. (Badernouk, 2000) However, despite its natural beauty, before the gruesome slaughtering of one million Tutsis and moderate Hutus within one hundred days from April 6<sup>th</sup> in 1994, it was considered a land with close to none geo-strategic significance. The slaughtering of the Tutsis that accounts “for the most effective mass killings since the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki” (Gourevitch, 1999: Frontcover) and which killed “five times more than the Jews being killed by the Nazis during WWII” (Melvern, 2000: 4) put Rwanda definitely on the map. A common popular notion why this country never hit the global radars of influential mass media prior to the genocide and abandoned to its bloodbath of horror, is that the international community was indifferent to Rwanda's internal matters as it didn't have its aid connected to a Cold War rationale. The truth however, is that Rwanda was one of the most “aided” countries in the world. (Uvin, 1998)

A hundred years before the genocide that shocked the world, the three ethnic groups Hutus, Tutsis and the Twas, resided in peaceful co-existence in a society based on rights and responsibilities. (Bodnarchuk, 2000) When the German and later the Belgian colonial powers controlled Rwanda, they deliberately favored the tall, intelligent and sophisticated Tutsis over the “less intelligent” and “flabnosed” Hutus. (ibid) The Tutsis were made rulers of the society and received privileges within the political, economic and cultural life. This forced racial prejudice was incorporated into the state ideology, and until the late 1950’s, Tutsis were the ruling class and elite, blessed by the Belgian powers. With the overthrow of the Tutsi King in 1958 and as Rwanda gained its independence from Belgium in 1962, Hutu uproar towards the Tutsis generated mass killings and hundreds of thousands of Tutsis had to flee the country in 1959, 1963, and 1973.

The Belgians, who had elevated the Tutsis to royal superiorities, now instantly changed sides and instead supported the Hutus in their quest of Hutu Power. As the persecutions, terrorizing and mass killings of Tutsis continued, more and more Tutsis found refuge in Kenya, Tanzania, Congo and Uganda. When financial crisis hit Rwanda in the late 1980s with the international collapse of coffee and tea prices, Rwanda’s most important export article, state enterprises were pushed into bankruptcy. (Melvern, 2000)

Rwanda then received Structural Adjustment Loans from the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), providing an overall foreign aid increase, in addition to existing aid programs by 50% from 1989-1993. (Easterly, 2006: 132) The children of the many Tutsi refugees in the neighboring countries formed a guerilla group, RPF (The Rwanda Patriotic Front) under the leadership of Fred Rwigyema and Paul Kagame. Negotiations between RPF and the Rwandan President Habiarimana of the right to return to Rwanda as equal citizens took place in Arusha, Tanzania, under the orchestration of the international community. During this period, from 1990-1994, mass import of machetes and weapons from China flooded in to Rwanda which at this time became the third largest importer of weapons and machetes in Africa. (Melvern, 2000: 65) In fact, Rwanda was, until 1994 one of the smallest countries in the world receiving

most development aid in the world. 80% of the total investment budget of the Rwandan government was provided by Western development aid donors. (Uvin, 1998: 226)

Towards the end of these negotiations where President Habiarimana had to give in for RPF's claims of the Tutsis right to return to their homeland under the pressure of the international community and their withdrawal of aid if he refused, the President was killed as the plane was shot down over Kigali. At this point, April 6<sup>th</sup> 1994, Rwanda was saturated with weapons and as such an excessively militarized society funded by international development aid, ready for the "final solution", (Melvern, 2000) Conveniently, the Tutsis were blamed for the shooting down of the airplane and within hours the seed of jealousy and inferiority complex planted one hundred years ago by the colonial powers, exploded into full blossom.

### **2.1.1. Poverty in Rwanda**

Today, 16 years after the genocide, Rwanda has made tremendous progress in ways the most optimistic observer couldn't have imagined (Ruxin, 2010). Under the leadership of President Paul Kagame, the former leader of RPF, international aid has shown impressive results as healthcare, agriculture, basic infrastructure and social services has led Rwanda to become "one of the most active reformers of business regulation worldwide, according to the WB. It ranks at 139 in the World Bank Business rankings in addition to be among the top third of Sub-Saharan African countries.

Nevertheless, despite uplifting and remarkable economic development, the 2010 Human Development Index (HDI) that ranks human well-being in a country, Rwanda is only ranked as 152 out of 169 of the "Low Human Development" category. (World Press, Rwanda)

Rwanda's only natural resource is land and agriculture and the most critical sector to Rwanda's economic development which contributes over 35% of total GDP. 90% of the population survives on subsistence farming as the industrial activity is limited to a few commodities such as soap, beer and flowers and provides little employment. Only 35% of Rwanda's land is arable, and

considering the high population growth puts high pressure on the land as it is subject to intense farming. This leads to famine and malnutrition. 20% of the land is for pasture and the remaining 11 contains marshes, swamplands, protected national parks, volcanos and woodland areas, as well as urban and mountainous regions. (Rwanda Vision, 2000)

The unemployment rate in Rwanda was 30 percent in 2008. (Trading Economics Analytics, 2011)The country being overpopulated and landlocked with no access to the ocean, train or other mode of transportation, instability in neighbouring states and the global downturn that hurts export demand and tourism, has limited economic growth. (Odongo, 2011)

Crushing poverty labels 47% of the 11 million inhabitants as extreme poor, while 56.9% lives under the poverty line of 250 Rwandan francs per day (about US\$0.43). Despite Rwanda's fertile ecosystem, food production often does not keep pace with demand, requiring food imports. 22% of the households are food insecure and more than 50% of all the children in Rwanda are malnourished. (IFAD, xxx) The government has embraced an expansionary fiscal policy to reduce poverty by improving education, infrastructure, and foreign and domestic investment and pursuing market-oriented reforms. Rwanda is still a substantial recipient of foreign aid and obtained in 2005-06 the IMF-World Bank Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) initiative debt relief. It has also received a Millennium Challenge Account Compact in 2008. (Rwanda Economy, 2011)

### **2.1.2 Women in Rwanda**

Due to the massive slaughter of Tutsi male population, the high number of Hutu men fleeing into exile and of men imprisoned for genocidal criminal acts, the female population of Rwanda increased to 70% in 1994. An estimated 50% of the household were headed by women and children. (African Rights, xxx). Today, 60% of the population is below 20 years, and women are still over represented by 57% between the ages of 20-64. Rwanda has been, and still is a typical patriarchal society where women traditionally have subordinate roles both in the society and

under the law. Women could not inherit or own land, and her traditional role has been the idealized position as wife and child bearer. (Human Rights Watch Africa)

As women are overrepresented in the agriculture and informal sectors, provides a profound gendered disparity and underrepresentation in administrative and management sector. In the public sector, women occupy 34% of job positions while men represent 65%. In the non-public sector women are represented in 31.9% of the workforce compared to 68.1% for men.

However, after the new government in 2003 in May 2003, Rwanda adopted one of the world's most progressive constitution's equal rights for all, gender equality, and with 56 % female representation in Parliament. Rwanda is the first country in the world with highest female representation in decision making institutions. (Republic of Rwanda, 2011) Laws that prevented women from inheriting land are now overturned, new laws and regulation against domestic violence and child abuse have passed, and Rwanda considers rape as one of the most seriousness offenses sentenced with jail for the perpetrators. (Human rights Africa) (Rwanda Vision) The progress of Rwandese women and gender equality and women's empowerment are admired worldwide (Aftenposten Innsikt, 2011; The Guardian, 2010)

However, despite such admiration, challenges are bountiful for women trying to improve their poor standards of living for the most part of Kigali. Many women in Rwanda fulfill multiple roles as they try to balance responsibilities as single parent heads of households, primary breadwinners and caregivers to their family, and searching for or working as paid workers outside the household. As Kalibata, Rwanda's Minister of Agriculture puts it: "*Rwanda's economy has risen up from the genocide and prospered greatly on the backs of our women...Bringing women out of the home and fields have been essential to our rebuilding. In that process, Rwanda has changed forever...We are becoming a nation that understands that there are huge financial benefits to equality.*" (Mucunguzi, New Times)

Many women of Rwanda carry post traumatic experiences of rape during the genocide. The UN special rapporteur on Rwanda estimated in 1996 that up to 500 000 women were raped during the



genocide, stating that “rape was the rule, and its absence the exception” and that “rape was systematic and used as a weapon by the perpetrators of the massacres.” The African Unity’s International Panel of Eminent Personalities stated that: “We can be certain that almost all females that survived the genocide were direct victims of rape or other sexual violence, or were profoundly affected by it.” (OAU, 2000) More than 5000 children is perceived to be a results of these rapes (UN Commission on Human Rights)

### 2.1.3 Sex Trade in Rwanda

Sex-trade is since 2007 illegal in Rwanda, and punished with severe fines. Due to openly sex trade in Kigali, President Kagame declared in 2007, that

"Sex-trade is an illicit act that will never be tolerated by the authorities as it jeopardizes the country's development," ....being an “abomination that may contribute to the deterioration of values of the Rwandan culture," He also noted that“ it is not a part of Rwanda’s path to development” and "if there are people who can't respect their integrity on the ground that sex-trade is part of modernisation, they can go and do this trade elsewhere outside Rwanda,". (Africa News)

Article 221 of the Penal code on sex workers says: "Any person who practices the profession of sex-trade shall be liable for a term of imprisonment ranging from six months to three years and a fine ranging from fifty thousand to five hundred thousand Rwanda Francs." (Equivalent to US\$100-1000) (The Independent, 2010)

Employment opportunities for unskilled women in Rwanda are limited, and those which do exist are usually extremely low paid. The financial situation for many women is therefore desperate without education and limited job opportunities, or the economic support of a family, sex-trade often appears to be the best of a poor bunch of economic alternatives (McLeod, 1982)

There are no comprehensive recording of the number of women involved in sex-trade at this level in Kigali, nor has the number of development aid workers who purchase sex from this group been investigated.

## 2.2 A New Paradigm Shift?

As already mentioned in the introduction, the theoretical point of departure for this thesis is not foremost about sex trade as such, but moreover of the idea of development and the wisdom and effectiveness of complex anti-poverty programs.

James Ferguson (1994) is an accredited post-modernist scholar who is critical to the biased effect western development apparatus have on the targeted South. He claims that the discourse the development aid apparatus construct is blind to reality. Nevertheless, the constructed truth the development discourse represents legitimizes development aid interventions although they do more harm than good. As such argues Ferguson, development aid is a failure and serves only the interests of the leading elite, the rich North. Ferguson accuses the development aid apparatus for entailing a hidden political agenda with its seemingly apolitical and neutral technocratic solutions to political issues such as poverty, hunger, illiteracy, etc.

The former Economist journalist Hancock, agrees with Ferguson when he describe the results of the western development aid discourse as “The Masters of Disasters”, “The Lords of Poverty”, “The Aristocrats of Mercy”, and finally “The Lords of Poverty”. (Hancock, 1989)

Of other mainstream critics of development aid and its negative impact, William Easterly, (2006) a NYU professor and a former research economist at the World Bank, has written extensively of how the development aid strategies to alleviate poverty in developing countries have failed, and continues to fail. The main reason for this, argues Easterly, is the West’s arrogance in its similarities to colonial reasoning, claim to know what works best for the poor. As Easterly writes in his foreword where he recites Bono, the lead singer of the famous Irish pop group U2, when he tells the world that “it is up to us” to alleviate poverty of the South. According to Easterly, this is just the continuation of former colonial approach and attitude, where we in the west know what to

do. However, this “it is up to us” strategy that Bono represents is the same top down approach that has obviously failed the past six decades.

The key issue in development aid is, according to Easterly, feedback from the poor in need of aid. Western “planners” have depressingly little to show for as a result of their “big plans” fabricated in air conditioned Geneva based offices. Despite the outpouring of trillions of dollars, the trouble spot in need of fixing in order to fulfill the utopian aid plan is still not found. Instead, Easterly argues, aid has intensified human suffering for the poor and it is due time that the development aid agencies start to listen to the poor, and bypass self-congratulatory bureaucrats and corrupt dictators in assessing international aid projects on a ground- level planning. (Easterly, 2006)

Roger Riddell’s book *Does Foreign Aid Really Work?* (2008) notes however that there are plenty of evidences that aid serves a purpose and that it is contributing to improving both human and economic development. “Lives have been saved, livelihoods improved, and poverty reduced” notes Riddell. (Ibid: 355) However, although aid works it has yet to live up to its potential. The core problem argues Riddell, is that hundreds of donors remain in almost total control of their aid, and because of political, strategic and commercial interests, they are not prepared to give up that control. Thus the aid which is provided is not allocated in any systematic, rational or efficient way to those who need it most.” (ibid: 358)

"Just give cash to those who need the aid," notes Riddell as he argues that cash transfers has in fact proven effective and “the case for significantly enhancing the impact of aid by giving it directly to poor people would seem to be compelling” (ibid: 406) The refusal of donors to give money to poor people is "linked to the paternalistic and condescending view that poor people do not know how best to use it. These beliefs sit uncomfortably alongside the increasingly mainstream view that beneficiary choice and participation are fundamental to the aid relationship." (ibid) Cash transfers have proved to be effective, and "the case for significantly enhancing the impact of aid by giving it directly to poor people would seem to be compelling."

This is in line with a recently published book *Just Give Money to the Poor* (2010) by the Professor of Development Studies and Founder-Director of the Chronic Poverty Research Centre and the World Poverty Institute, David Hulme and co-writers Barrientos and Hanlon. They call for a dramatic rethinking and simplification of the entire anti-poverty approach. They argue that cash transfer to the poor enables them to use the money more effectively serving both long-term and short-term purposes more effectively than through NGOs. Leaving out conditions proves to be key in poverty alleviation. Studies made in various developing countries found that non-conditional money transfers to poor families resulted in purchase of more and better food, the children were sent to school and their health improved. The cash given to the poor stimulated also local investment and economy. International NGOs were not included in this project, neither was it perceived as charity nor a safety net, but part of the country's national government fair and simple social assistance program.

They call it a *silent revolution from the South*, creating a new development paradigm. Instead of international aid agencies donating money to government bureaucrats and consultants, money should be given directly to the poor. In contrast to traditional belief, either explicit or subconsciously argues Hulme et al, by giving money in this fashion, it will enable the poor to pull themselves out of the poverty trap. This new paradigm recognizes each individual to an adequate standard of living and provides resources on an individual and community level that will enable them to “participate in the economy and develop themselves and their countries”. (Hulme et al, 2010: 11)

However, this is not implying that all foreign aid money or social spending should be given straight to the poor as health infrastructure, education infrastructure and government stays key essential to development. The main argument of the book is nevertheless that without cash poor people cannot be part of these institutions. The authors of the book rely on cash transfer programs experienced the past decade that have been extensively researched. The conclusion drawn is that cash transfers don't work alone but rather “they are the essential additional factor that makes health services, education, and road building much more effective in reducing poverty and promoting development”. (Hulme et al, 2010: 12)

# Chapter 3

## Development Aid – Before and Now

---

*This chapter provides an explanation of the theoretical framework applied in order to investigate, analyze and understand the findings of the study in chapter 5. It will also provide an understanding the impact development aid workers participation in the sex trade has had on the achievement of the MDGs. Furthermore, an exploration of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) will be introduced in order to understand the context the informants I have interviewed live in and therefore necessary for the following analyzes and conclusion related to the problem statement presented in chapter 1.*

### 3.1 International Development Aid

Development is a complex issue and has the past 60 years undergone several major paradigm shifts. As it today represent a complex holistic and multi-disciplinary approach and as such lack a clear and concise universal definition, the concept of development seemed much easier to grasp in the early dawn of its era, commonly perceived as January 20, 1949 when President Harry S. Truman held his inaugural address:

*“ We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas. For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and skill to relieve the suffering of these people. The old imperialism - exploitation for foreign profit - has no place in our plans. What we envisage is a program of development based on the concept of democratic fair dealing.*

”

—Harry S. Truman, 1949 (Thomas and Allen, 2000)

At first, development aid was connected to a perceived temporary Cold War tool of the United States and its allies to prevent countries of the Third World to fall victims to communism. As such, Lancaster points out; international development aid is not from motives of seemingly pure altruism but rather “a child of hardheaded, diplomatic realism.” (Lancaster, 2007: 25). However, what was perceived as a temporary diplomacy almost 63 years ago, has stood the trials of time, and become a permanent norm for rich nations to share its wealth to assumingly alleviate poverty and promote human development in poor countries.

The 1940-60s was at first optimistic of the many wonders the dominating optimistic modernization theory espoused by the economist Walt Rostow and other American economists that would enable poor and underdeveloped countries to promote economic growth through a “trickle down” effect. (Martinussen and Pedersen, 2003: 8) The following 1970-80s gave room for a Marxist inspired dependency theory accusing the modernization of the third world to create dependency and a “..global expansion of the Western capitalism”. This led to the Structural Adjustment Period (SAP) of aid. The World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) adopted influential neo liberal ideas of Milton Friedman among others. (Ibid)

According to the modernization theory and neo-classical economics, urban poverty should be a temporary phenomenon which would disappear over time as urban consumption would match production and migrants would be integrated into city life. Instead a thriving slum and squatter settlement developed alongside a burgeoning informal sector. The awaited “trickle down” effect failed to occur, and the 1980s experienced a rapid increase in urban poverty. (Moser and Satterthwaite, 1985) (Thomas and Allen : 430)

The 1980s soon became known as “The NGO decade” as a massive growth of different non-governmental Organizations (NGO’s) with a development focus established a powerful presence in the Third World. Post-modernist critics of development aid apparatus, such as Ferguson and Escobar started debating the “end of development”, questioning the concept of development and argued that it had no moral standing as it demonstrates a suppression of the underdeveloped world. (Thomas and Allen, 2000: 19)

After the end of the Cold War, and according to Fukuyama also “the end of history” (Fukuyama, 1992), the development aid focus encompasses human rights, good governance, poverty reduction, gender equality, environment, disaster preparedness, economics, education, healthcare and sustainable environment. (University of Oxford)

Financial development aid, either bilateral or multilateral, seeks to promote and support economic, environmental, and social and political development of poor countries. Bilateral aid is aid donated from one country to another and represent 70% , while multilateral aid is aid distributed among several developing countries and represent 30% of aid. However, as much as 85% of development aid is from the Official Development Assistance (ODA) while the remaining 15% is represented by NGO’s and charity organizations. (IMF, 2003)

As Easterly informs us, doubling of the amount of aid given to poor and fragile countries has been a recurring event. Rostow, the designer of the modernization theory called for a doubling of aid in 1973, the WB for another doubling in 1991, prominent scholars and political leaders such as Jeffrey Sachs, Tony Blair and Gordon Brown addressed the issue of another doubling in 2005, and in 2008 another call for a doubling was made by the G-8 summit in 2005, this time earmarked Africa, which later President Bush also agreed to. (Easterly, 2006)

### **3.1.1 Poverty and the feminization of it**

A conventional view of poverty is that it is a “deprivation in well-being” including “low income and the inability to acquire the basic goods and services necessary for survival with dignity. Poverty also encompasses low levels of health and education, poor access to clean water and sanitation, inadequate physical security, lack of voice, and insufficient capacity and opportunity to better one’s life” (World Bank, )

However, the broadest approach to poverty is introduced by 1998 awarded Nobel laureate in economics Amartya Sen, popularly known as “the Mother Teresa of economics” for his accredited work on the human development theory, welfare economics, poverty and gender inequality. (Coy, 1998) Sen focuses on the capabilities of individuals to manage and sustain a

decent livelihood in the society. A common trait of poor people is the many “lack-of’s” key capabilities which keep them trapped in poverty. Lack of adequate income, lack of, or inadequate education, poor health, the feeling of powerlessness and the lack of political freedom is how Sen portrays poverty as a multidimensional phenomenon. The proper definition of capabilities is in connection to the concept of functioning’s:

“Functioning’s represent parts of the state of a person- in particular the various things he or she manage to do or be in leading a life. The capability of a person reflects the alternative combinations of functioning’s the person can achieve and from which he or she can choose one collection. The approach is based on a view of living as a combination of various “doings and beings” with quality of life to be assessed in terms of the capability to achieve valuable functioning’s.” (Sen, 1993: 31)

70% of the world’s poor are women, as they represent the majority of the estimated 1.5 billion people living on \$1 a day or less. These figures have given poverty “a woman’s face” according to UN (1995: 4), and are referred to as the “feminization of poverty”. UNIFEM describes it as “the burden of poverty borne by women, especially in developing countries”. (Chen et al, 2005)

The term dates back to 1978 when Diana Pearce, described a phenomenon where women experience poverty more severely and more profound than men. ( Thibos, M. et al. 2007)

According to the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, women living in poverty are often denied access to critical resources such as credit, land and inheritance. Their labor goes unrewarded and unrecognized. Their health care and nutritional needs are not given priority, they lack sufficient access to education and support services, and their participation in decision-making at home and in the community are minimal. Caught in the cycle of poverty, women lack access to resources and services to change their situation. (Chen et al, 2005)

Women are disproportionately represented among the urban poor both in the category of those whose long term poverty is deepening and those whom poverty is relatively recent. (UNDP cited in Sweetman, 1996) Beall (1996) give three reasons why women dominate among the poor in cities

1. Women are engaged in poorly paid part time jobs within the informal sector
2. Inequalities in resource distribution and decision making within the household as women rarely control their income.



3. Women generally do not require equal resources or assets compared to men in their society.

Chant (2003) notes that according to a finding distributed by Mexican Ministry of Economy, the “Feminization of poverty “is being accelerated by increasing rates of divorce and separation. Men are traditionally free of reproductive roles which lead to the sole responsibility of women to care for their children, throwing more and more women into poverty. Poverty in FHH not only affects women but also their children by deepening the intergenerational perpetuation of poverty (ibid)

A study conducted by the UN (1996) stated that FHH heads chose the informal sector as they often do not fulfill the educational requirements of the formal sector. Small initial capital requirements also contribute to their participation in informal activities. This limits their choice or scale of entrepreneurial activities seriously constrained by property owners or co-dwellers (Chant, 2003)

### 3.2 The Millennium Development Goals

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are the “world’s biggest promise” and a dramatic attempt to eradicate poverty on a global scale, notes Hulme (2003). They came into use September 2000 after 189 world leaders had agreed on its design and content and provides a framework for the entire international community ensuring that human development reaches everyone , everywhere and would cut poverty by half, tens of millions lives will be saved, and billions more will have the opportunity to benefit from the global economy. (UNDP, 2010) The MDGs are a set of recommended targets that derive from the Millennium Declaration of 1997 designed by the United Nations (UN) in 1948 that states in its Article 25 that:

*“everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.”*

Article 22 states that everyone has the “right to social security and the right to employment. The right to protection against unemployment is stated in article 23, in addition to the right of free primary education in article 26. (WB)

The 8 quantifies MDGs is a tool to operationalize the rights enshrined in the Declaration and. It is expected to be accomplished within the year 2015.

The following litany shows the eight goals and their targets: (MDGs Official List, 2008)

#### Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger

- Target 1A: Halve the proportion of people living on less than \$1 a day
  - Proportion of population below \$1 per day (PPP values)
  - Poverty gap ratio [incidence x depth of poverty]
  - Share of poorest quintile in national consumption
- Target 1B: Achieve Decent Employment for Women, Men, and Young People
  - GDP Growth per Employed Person
  - Employment Rate
  - Proportion of employed population below \$1 per day (PPP values)
  - Proportion of family-based workers in employed population
- Target 1C: Halve the proportion of people who suffer from hunger
  - Prevalence of underweight children under five years of age
  - Proportion of population below minimum level of dietary energy consumption

#### Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education

- Target 2A: By 2015, all children can complete a full course of primary schooling, girls and boys
  - Enrollment in primary education
  - Completion of primary education
  - Literacy of 15-24 year olds,

#### Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women

- Target 3A: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005, and at all levels by 2015
  - Ratios of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education
  - Share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector
  - Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament

#### Goal 4: Reduce child mortality rates

- Target 4A: Reduce by two-thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate
  - Under-five mortality rate

- Infant (under 1) mortality rate
- Proportion of 1-year-old children immunized against measles

#### Goal 5: Improve maternal health

- Target 5A: Reduce by three quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio
  - Maternal mortality ratio
  - Proportion of births attended by skilled health personnel
- Target 5B: Achieve, by 2015, universal access to reproductive health
  - Contraceptive prevalence rate
  - Adolescent birth rate
  - Antenatal care coverage
  - Unmet need for family planning

#### Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases

- Target 6A: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the spread of HIV and AIDS
  - HIV prevalence among population aged 15–24 years
  - Condom use at last high-risk sex
  - Proportion of population aged 15–24 years with comprehensive correct knowledge of HIV/AIDS
- Target 6B: Achieve, by 2010, universal access to treatment for HIV/AIDS for all those who need it
  - Proportion of population with advanced HIV infection with access to antiretroviral drugs
- Target 6C: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases
  - Prevalence and death rates associated with malaria
  - Proportion of children under 5 sleeping under insecticide-treated bednets
  - Proportion of children under 5 with fever who are treated with appropriate anti-malarial drugs
  - Prevalence and death rates associated with tuberculosis
  - Proportion of tuberculosis cases detected and cured under DOTS (Directly Observed Treatment Short Course)

#### Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability

- Target 7A: Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programs; reverse loss of environmental resources
- Target 7B: Reduce biodiversity loss, achieving, by 2010, a significant reduction in the rate of loss
  - Proportion of land area covered by forest
  - CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, total, per capita and per \$1 GDP (PPP)
  - Consumption of ozone-depleting substances
  - Proportion of fish stocks within safe biological limits
  - Proportion of total water resources used
  - Proportion of terrestrial and marine areas protected
  - Proportion of species threatened with extinction
- Target 7C: Halve, by 2015, the proportion of the population without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation
  - Proportion of population with sustainable access to an improved water source, urban and rural
  - Proportion of urban population with access to improved sanitation
- Target 7D: By 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum-dwellers
  - Proportion of urban population living in slums

## Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development

- Target 8A: Develop further an open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system
  - Includes a commitment to good governance, development, and poverty reduction – both nationally and internationally

This new paradigm shift emphasizes rights and responsibilities, and sees poor people not as beneficiaries but as right holders. Amartya Sen laments that Human Rights and development are inseparable aspects, share the same process and makes boundaries disappear. Conceptually and operationally inseparable, parts of same processes of social change (Sen, 2003)

Scholars have criticised the goals as being an insufficient model of development. One recurring criticism is the limited time aspect and that there is no guidance for how the world will pursue global development after the deadline of 2015. Some of the targets are very difficult to measure progress on e.g. promote gender equality and empower women. Some have also criticised the goals for being too modest e.g. defining poverty in Goal 1 as living on less than \$1.25 a day. Another significant example of the limitation of the goals is goal 2, to achieve universal primary education, which neglects to mention anything about the importance of secondary education in development.

Many of the development aid agencies have implemented the MDGs in their development framework because it provides a unique method of improving development outcomes. Although the MDGs have faced some criticism due to their short timeframe and vague operationalizing, it is varied how they are perceived. Some countries consider them as a disguised conditionality, others as a framework for action, while others see them as a guide to development cooperation, and finally those who see them as a global consensus without any national relevance. In addition, the MDGs are commonly criticised for its top down approach that excludes local authority and urban dimensions, by focusing consequently on global and national plans. (Uvin, 2003)

This study will only concentrate on the goals 1-7,

### 3.3 The Sustainable Livelihood Approach

As the 1970s experienced an increased interest for environmental concern the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED,) published in 1987 the Brundtland Commission *Our Common Future*. The report addressed new strategies for pro-poor policy based on human well-being and sustainability. By adding the concept of sustainability to the concept of development, anti- poverty policies were subsequently framed within a wider context as “development that meets the needs of the present without comprising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs ...” (WECD, 1987: 47)

Sustainable development now became the new buzzword for development practice, and the first United Nations Development Program’s Human Development Report in 1990’s was in accord with the Brundtland Commission. This inspired also Chambers and Conway to present the concept of Sustainable Livelihood, as opposed to previous development models encompasses more than income and needs. It recognizes that poverty is more than lack of wealth and helps understand poverty in responding to poor people’s views and their own understanding of poverty. A sustainable livelihood is one that is resilient to shocks and unforeseen stress without affecting the environment.

Also Frank Ellis, an agricultural economist with a background in rural development, has been one of the most influential analysts in livelihood studies as he is emphasizing the continuity of social transfers to the most vulnerable and poor people and away from crisis driven emergencies (Ellis, 2000)

As we have seen in chapter 1.3.3, a livelihood is defined as the measures one takes in order to earn enough money to feed oneself.

Core concepts of the approach is a people centered aspect where a sustainable livelihood will reduce the dependency of external support and maintain long term productivity. This means to work with poverty reduction within the understanding of people’s livelihood strategies, social environment and capabilities to adapt. The SLA has a holistic approach where livelihoods constraints are identified on every level. The approach is dynamic, as it has the ability to learn from negative impacts and will support positive results. The recognition of everyone’s inherent potential and ability to achieve their dreams is key issue to the approach. Ideally, successful

strategies under the SL approach should serve to improve and consolidate poor people's access to and control over assets. This will enable them to improve their livelihoods and reduce their vulnerability to shocks and stresses, such as serious illness, natural disasters or job losses that otherwise lead to a downward cycle of debt and impoverishment. A focus on both macro and micro level is achieved by the approach and thus identifies the practical priorities for actions and strategies poor men and women employ in order to generate income. (Solesbury, 2003))

### *3.3.1. The Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF)*

The SLF model (see figure below) is designed to organize the complex issues surrounding poverty and to serve as a tool for analyzing poor people's livelihoods. As the majority of SLF models focus on rural settings, this thesis will employ the Department for International Development's (DFID) model of SLA as its definition is broad and includes urban conditions such as Kigali, where 80% of the population live in shanty towns and slum settlements.

This framework looks at the different factors that contribute to people's livelihood strategies. It draws on holistic understanding of livelihoods and as such, goes far beyond defining poverty only in terms of the absence of income and consumption and includes the absence of other capabilities such as the social and natural capitals required to meet these needs. (Farrington et al, 1999, De Satge, 2002)

The framework is also advantageous for its wider perspective in the analysis of poverty and livelihoods where both economic and non-economic factors are included. Its holistic approach and the pro poor and participatory techniques applied have been identified as highly beneficial for policy formulations and planning and management of development programs. (de Satge, 2002)

This study does not attempt to explore and interpret in great depth all aspects of the Sustainable Livelihood Frameworks as applied to female sex workers in Kigali. It is restricted to one aspect of the framework that identifies factors determining the choice of livelihood strategies of poor urban women in Kigali and its effect on development. Nevertheless, it is useful to provide a brief overview of the key elements of the framework and how they are interrelated. The following diagram illustrates these linkages; (Solesbury, 2003)

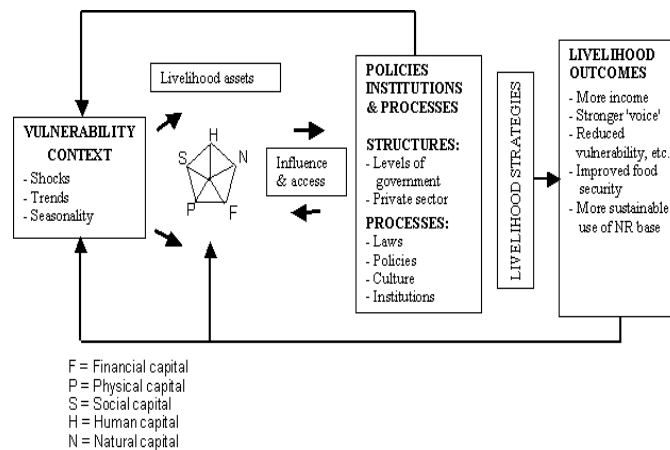


Figure 4.

*Adapted from: Carney et al 1999*

For the research of this thesis, the model will be used to depict urban women’s livelihood operating in a context of vulnerability and the access to various assets available. As the model shows, social and institutional environment will further influence livelihood strategies in order to obtain livelihood outcomes. The individual components of the framework will, in its simplest form, be described below. Though caution is required to not confuse a framework for analysis with the complex realities of urban survival, it does pay attention to the complex interplay of human agency and social structure and as such sees the urban poor not as sole victims of structural constraints but as capable social actors whose actions decisively influence livelihood risks. (Solesbury, 2003)

### *Vulnerability*

The vulnerability tab of the framework frames the external environment people live in and are important as they have a direct impact on livelihoods. Moser defines vulnerability as “the insecurity or well –being of individuals or communities in the face of changing environments ...in the form of sudden shocks, long term trends or seasonal cycles”. (Moser, 1996)

Chambers note that vulnerability is more than low income and lack of economic prosperity, but moreover a defenselessness exposure when confronted to external and internal stress or sudden shocks. (Wratten, 1995)

Chambers and Conway (1992) differentiates between two aspects of vulnerability; one being the external exposures to shocks such as e.g. floods that will damage or destroy houses or homes. Gradual inflation that decreases household income is also an external vulnerability. Another aspect of vulnerability is internal shocks, such as the lack of economic means to cope with shocks and stresses without damaging loss, due to sudden unemployment, rising food prices, reduced wages that results in the inability to meet basic needs. But even more so, notes Chambers and Conway (1992) people's vulnerability will result in high incidence of injury, diseases, and premature death because of inadequate and lack of provision of water, sanitation, sewage drainage and health care. (Wratten, 1995) Poor urban people are also more vulnerable to forced evictions as houses in shanty towns often are built illegally because legal land is too expensive. So are the streets vendors or unlicensed street stalls to make a living more vulnerable to arrest or confiscation of their goods. (ibid)

Natural shocks such as floods, have traditionally a more severe effect on agricultural rural settings than urban, however changes in international commodity prices affect the urban livelihoods more than urban dwellers. Although seasonability usually is associated with rural economies, it is equally problematic for poor urban settlers when a large portion of their income is spent on food stuff, the prices may be very volatile. (Solesbury, 2003) Although vulnerability and poverty have certain similarities, it is not the same argues Wratten. Vulnerability includes insecurity on several levels and dimensions as within external systems of economical, ecological, social and political changes. (Wratten, 1995)

Women in a patriarchal society tend to pose a greater risk to vulnerability than men and are constantly threatened to fall into poverty. Men have traditionally the control over income and renders therefore women more vulnerable within the same household. (Moser, 1996: 18)

However, a major cause of vulnerability when involved in sex trade is the potential risk of life threatening sexual transmitted diseases (STD) such as HIV/AIDS and others. A Canadian study following 2000 sex workers over a period of 30 years, listed the common causes of diseases and deaths when actively involved in sex trade as drug – and alcohol related problems, HIV infection



and accidents, homicide and suicide. The homicide rate among active female sex-worker was 17 times higher than the general female population. (CMAJ, 2011)

### ***Capital Assets,***

This tab comprises the organized and complex factors that enhances or constrain livelihood opportunities and also how they relate to each other such as:

### ***Human capital,***

represents factors such as health, nutrition, education, knowledge and skills, the capacity to work and to adapt to various situations. As such, this capital is key essential to the other four capitals of this model;

### ***Social Capital,***

represent networks and connections, mutual understanding and support, shared values and behaviors, and represent the social resources people draw in attaining their livelihood objectives social capital is a valued good in itself as it can make a contribution to people's sense of well-being (Moser, 1996);

### ***Natural Capital,***

is typically limited for poor urban dwellers as it refers to the livelihoods wild life, land and produce, trees and forest production, etc. This capital will therefore not be addressed here;

### ***Physical Capital,***

includes housing, roads and transport means, secure shelter and buildings, water supply and sanitation, affordable energy and access to information. Lack of physical capital is often equated with the core dimension of "sustainable" poverty. (Solesbury, 2003);

### ***Financial Capital,***

comprises the financial resources people use to achieve their livelihood objectives, such as savings, credit, remittance, pensions and wages. Income generated from employment is one of the most important assets for the urban poor as it relates to the highly "commoditized" nature of cities and its high dependence on cash income. (Satterhwaite, 2000) Financial capital interlinks

with human capital which in turn is dependent on adequate nutrition, health care, safe environmental conditions and education. Poor urban people have better access to both health care and education than the rural poor as educational programs are located closer to households and because they can better afford the services provided by the government. Financial capital is thus more important in urban areas than in rural areas. (Wratten, 1995);

#### *Transforming Structures and Processes,*

Livelihood strategies and outcomes relies not only on the different capitals alone or dependent on vulnerability context. They are also constrained by public and private sectors structures and some processes which are parts of access to assets on each level of a livelihood such as laws, policies and regulations, societal norms that stimulate people to make their choices;

#### *Livelihood strategies and Outcomes*

The Livelihood Strategies tab refers to activities that lead to livelihood outcomes. A desired outcome of such access to assets would ideally include a higher income, food security, water and sanitation, health and education, that enables poor people to gain increased human capital better social capital improved physical capital (basic infrastructure), more financial capital, reduced vulnerability and improved food security.

The more diverse and complex livelihood strategies become, the more they are likely to reduce vulnerability (Rakodi, 1997)

Many authors suggest that livelihoods tend to be at their most complexes in urban areas, with households drawing on wide variety of activities to capture income and other resources. (Rakodi, 1999, Beall, 1997; Chambers, 1995)

# Chapter 4

## Study area and Methodology

---

### 4.1 Kigali

As mentioned in chapter 2.1, Rwanda is popularly known as the *Land of a Thousand Hills*. However, immediately after the genocide in 1994 as hundreds of NGO's settled in Kigali, it was quickly renamed as the land of a thousand NGOs, and a thousand more development aid workers. As a capital, Kigali was founded in 1907 by the German colonial rule, but it was not until 1962 the city became the capital when Rwanda gained independence from Belgium. The city is inhabited by more than 1 million people, most of them living in poor squatter settlements that surrounds the hilly city area. Kigali is the largest population center of the country and one of the few urban areas of the country. Kigali that until 1994 had hardly seen cars on its bumpy roads, now suddenly got familiar with the concept of traffic jams, as hundreds of white SUV's with all different NGO logos in bright colors were driving up and down the few paved streets. As I lived in Kigali during 1999-2005 and enjoyed being a part of the international development aid community, I made following observations:

As Kigali with its deep catholic roots and with no history of anything remotely close to a western standard of leisure entertainment, the city was in the mid-1990s suddenly swamped with nightclubs and bars. The overwhelming number of offices and buildings for NGO's was at daytime eagerly in its noble quest for promoting development and human rights and restoring human dignity. At night time, after working hours, these same men gathered at different bars and restaurants to socialize with other development aid workers and



Fig. 5 *Kigali Centre, Google Pictures*

expats. I observed how intensely most women at these restaurants and bars behaved towards the development aid male workers when enjoying his after-work- and weekend drink. They would literally get into fights with one another in order to get to a man up close for his attention. The 100 dollar bills these men gladly handed out were apparently never in a bashful or ashamed manner, but rather with a proud and laid-back attitude of “Boys will always be boys. End of discussion”

The rumor of easy and generous source of income from the development aid community naturally spread quickly and encouraged more and more girls into sex-trade. As the political situation in Rwanda stabilized by late 1990’s, UN personnel and other NGO’s began to bring their families to Kigali. However, the group of young girls and women engaging in sex trade was multiplying each week, and more flattering fights became the norm. So also the divorce rate within the aid workers community as having a family present did not hinder the extensive and open sex trade going on in Kigali where the development aid workers met.

Since I left Rwanda in 2005, sex trade was as mentioned in the introduction chapter announced illegal in addition to the zero tolerance policy UN had applied to their staff engaging in sex trade. It was therefore interesting to see when collecting my data in Rwanda if the development aid worker “boys were still boys”.

## 4.2 Research Design

This research has been framed within an interpretivist epistemology that, based on the culture and social settings of the respondents, keep a focus on the social reality perceived by the respondent. Reality is defined as “a human construct” that allows me through a qualitative approach to understand the respondents constructed reality. (Bryman .....). The advantage with qualitative interviews is that it provides a broad and complex base of information, nuances and aspects of the research focus. (Kvale...) (Bryman, 2008)

To research the respondents change in poverty, I chose to follow the Millennium Development Goals as indicators: food security, housing, education, basic primary health issues, education, access to clean water and sanitation. Together these indicators are part of the theoretical concept of poverty. I was open during the interviews that other indicators could also be relevant concerning changes in poverty. As Mikkelsen (1995) points out, it is important to be aware of who is defining development, the researcher or the interviewees. The strength of qualitative interviews is that the method is flexible and allows for an in- depth understanding of individual stories and experiences. (Bryman, 2008) In addition I used quantitative secondary literature to supplement my own findings, e.g. HDR and other research done on sex trade and development in Rwanda

## 4.3 Data Collection and Analysis

For the interviews I chose to visit the major three international five stars hotels in Kigali and two of the most frequented and popular nightclubs..

The data collected has been analyzed within the theoretical framework presented in chapter 3. The findings are based on detailed testimonies and quotes from the respondents and has been coded manually as it expresses the respondents own idea of issues related to poverty and development. Furthermore, it will provide a more profound description of the situation the respondents live under. Nevertheless, extensive use of quotes as in this study has its pitfalls because of the tendency to use them as the analysis itself warns Mikkelsen. (2005)

#### 4.4 The Respondents

The sample consist of thirteen female respondents involved in sex trade within the international development aid community, and three male bartenders working at the bars and nightclubs where international development aid workers meet and socialize. Their observation of the development aid workers proved very valuable to the analyzing of the data collected.

The interviews were performed during the first week of January 2011. This period was chosen, as I recalled while living in Rwanda, being a quiet time when most of the international community would still be on holiday and there was generally slow social activity. This made it easier for me to interview the women and I could approach them without destroying their working hours. The advantage of conducting the interviews at the various hotels and bars was that the informants felt safe, and did not miss out on a “date” if she spotted one while talking to me. In addition I was able to observe the women in their natural environment.

The respondents varied in age from 19 to 30. The three male bartenders were 26, 28 and 29 years old. The following criteria were important for choosing the respondents; that they were only trading with development aid workers and that they had been in this line of occupation for several years. This would provide me with more interesting data more suitable for the problem statement than someone who had just started in order to measure the degree of development taken place. My one deep concern though, was how to discern who is a sex worker and who is just making a social visit to the hotel?

I approached the bartenders at the various bars and restaurants at both day and night and informed them of the purpose of my visit. I asked if they were interested in being interviewed and later be so kind as to point the “right” girls out for me. They were very accommodating, and suggested to introduce me to the girls before I approached them and ask if they were comfortable with such an interview. Several of the girls were offensive at first as they instantly thought I was a forsaken bitter and revenge ridden wife that had found out her husband had been unfaithful, and ran away when I introduced myself. Others thought I could be a potential spy for the government

as social control is high in Rwanda. With such threats out of the way, all the women I was introduced to by the bartenders, agreed to be interviewed.

The format of the interview was simple and informal as I sat down at their table and offered them a soft drink or lunch. The disadvantage was of course that some of the interviews were disrupted by other girls coming to the bar, and also that if the informant made eye contact with one expat; her focus fell off me and our conversation. As a white woman talking to these girls, made other girls curious and wanted to see why we were talking together and came over to our table. Most of the questions were open so that the informants could speak as much as possible. Some of the girls talked away and took control of the interview, while others showed little enthusiasm and did not answer. Some of the interviews were very good and lasted up to three hours; others were not so informative and lasted only 30 min. Many reasons for this, such as disturbances in the pool area where friends came over to the table or that someone came to the bar that could mean business and money.

All of the women interviewed had finished primary school, however none had formal training or education. Two of the respondents were enrolled in a university program, and no one claimed that the questions I asked were difficult to grasp or answer. None of the respondents were married and four out of thirteen had one or more children. All of them stated they were the breadwinners of the family and supported also extended family members.

#### **4.5 Cultural differences**

I approached the sex workers with a humble attitude, as their cultural expression formed by their horrid past and livelihood strategies are far from my own and difficult to grasp. The understanding and interpretation of the stories of these women will therefore pose a challenge to the objectivity of this study, although “it is important to put a limit to subjectivity when using the qualitative approach.” (Brown, J. 1996:5) Brown notes that subjectivity is not a static thing one can rule manipulate or rule out. It is a term that “encompasses human factors...thoughts, feelings, the mind and the senses, the head, body and soul. (ibid)

The objectivity in interpreting the stories these women tell will affect the researcher's subjective antipathy and sympathy, beliefs and conviction, based on the culture in which she is formed. (Bryman, 2008)

French was until recently the official language of Rwanda, and spoken by a majority of the population. As many Tutsis lived in neighboring countries before the war in 1994, English is their spoken language and there are therefore both English and French speaking groups in Rwanda. Most of the girls I spoke to preferred to speak in English and some switched back and forth from English to French. Although none of the girls spoke fluent neither French nor English, I chose not to use an interpreter for the same reason of securing their feeling of security of giving out sensitive information of illegal work. I perceived this would have a negative effect on the honesty and spontaneity of the interview.

#### **4.6 Validity and Reliability**

There are certain aspects with this method that could affect the validity and reliability of the data presented: First of all the limited time aspect I spent in Rwanda for data collection. However, as I lived in Kigali for five years I felt I had an advantage on this particular matter. When arriving in Kigali I was constantly back to the "feel" of the city, the people, the places, the development aid agencies and its employees, and of course the poverty issues entrenching Kigali. I felt I still knew the cultural "walk the walk and talk the talk" in approaching my respondents. Nevertheless, the low number of women I interviewed due to my short visit was too small to generate any generalization and restrained me from obtaining data from a wider circle of the sex trade industry that would have provided a deeper insight to this issue.

By measuring the impact cash from sex trade has on poor urban livelihoods only reported from the respondents subjective viewpoint have of course additional limitations on the validity. A wider picture of valuable data from observation and supplementary objective data is missing and would have supplemented the study with more interesting angles.

Furthermore, the fact that none of the respondents seemed even vaguely interested in participating in a focus group or a group discussion that could have supplemented the individual interviews with valuable information is also a weakness of the study.



Nevertheless, despite of an unconventional approach, I argue that there are several issues concerning this method that constitute validity and reliability sincere enough to draw a valid conclusion. As I was not concerned about personal details, places or timeframes, except for age, household members, marriage and child variables, the respondents added to the conversation many interesting angles I had not considered in my research design. Finally, there is a high consistency between the interviews as they independent of one another shared the same experiences, visions, hopes and descriptions of livelihood outcomes and levels of development in their lives.

#### **4.7 Ethical Consideration**

In qualitative research, these ethics is manifested in the designing of the research, by obtaining an informed consent, assure confidentiality, be aware of personal stress, loyal to transcribed oral statements, and verification in analysis. (Kvale, 2009: 63)

Ethical issues infiltrate every stage of the interview process as it is “researching private lives and placing accounts in the public arena. (Birch et al. 2002:1) From the planning of the research to the carrying out of the qualitative interview and analyzing the results, have ethical issues to be addressed. As the topic for this research include sensitive information and a personal insight into an area that has a negative social stigmatizing label, an informed consent was given as I explained the topic of my study and assured that full anonymity would be provided as no names, places or other identifiable information would be asked for. The objectivity of the study was explained and voluntary participation was emphasized. I informed the respondents of the use of a microphone to facilitate the transcribing of the interview and the analyzing of the different variables.

# Chapter 5

## When Sustainable Development Depends on Sustainable Sex Trade

---

*This chapter will present the findings based on the objectives and research questions presented in chapter 1.2. The analyzing and discussion are done within the context of theories presented in chapter 2 and chapter 3. As the core interest of this study is development, the first part of this chapter will seek to present a clear understanding of how the respondents define poverty and vulnerability.*

*I will first present an overlook of the respondents access to assets before they engaged in sex work followed by the results cash from sex trade has affected the achievement of the MDGs on the individual, community and national level.*

### **5.1 The respondents notion of poverty and vulnerability**

All the respondents had the same understanding of what poverty entailed for them as they listed lack of food the most important determinant. They were also in one accord to what came next on the list; lack of cash, unemployment, inadequate housing, lack of education and proper health care. Many of them noted also the lack of nice clothing, shoes, hairdos, soap and deodorants as humiliating not to afford because of poverty. As one respondent noted “Poverty is to miss out in life. Because I am poor I will never achieve anything because I am locked up in a prison of poverty and hopelessness.....” Another defined it as “...a force that is sabotaging my present and limits my future”. An additional factor determining their notion of poverty was the lack of security when living in poor overpopulated areas, where criminal acts such as rape, theft and murder frequently occurs.

Their sense of vulnerability was explained with the insecurity of not knowing if they had enough money to pay for the rent next month, whether they would die of malaria next week because they

could not afford expensive anti-malaria medication or a hospital visit, and finally the insecurity of not knowing if they could afford school fees for the children in the family for the coming next trimester. One of the greatest concerns for one woman was to end up begging on the street. These responses agree with Wratten (1995) who argue that vulnerability is more encompassing than lack of income or material goods. It includes insecurity towards different social, economic, environmental and political factors that has the potential to remove the livelihood foundation and cause an even more profound poverty of either seasonal or long term aspects. (Wratten, 1995)

As poverty and vulnerability interlinks, women of this study emphasized their role as the weaker sex in the society. The socio-cultural expectations of them to have reproductive roles limited their chance of getting out of the informal sector where their highest hope was to become a domestic maid or street vendor of fruits and vegetables only to earn a petty income. This renders them more vulnerable when they cannot keep up with high commodity prices and need of cash income in order to survive. (Satterthwaite, 1997)

This emphasizes Sen's theory of capability deprivation as the lack of ability to lead the life a person values. (Sen, 1999) Although Sen agrees to lack of monetary income as the major factor to poverty, the emphasis is however on the lack of freedom. Sen argues that "There is a danger in seeing poverty in the narrow terms of income deprivation, and then justifying investment in education, health care and so forth on the grounds that they are good means to the end of reducing poverty. That would be a confounding of ends and means". (Sen, 1999: 92)

## 5.2 Livelihood Analysis: Access to assets before sex trade

### 5.2.1 Access to Human capital

As described in chapter xxx, human capital consist of the nutrition, general access to health infrastructure, education and the capacity to work

Before the choice of becoming a sex-worker, access to human capital proved difficult. First of all, as we have seen, the asset of nutrition and food insecurity was the most important determinant of what poverty meant to them. As food prices have been skyrocketing in Rwanda the past few years due to the financial recession in 2008, the rise in fuel prices has increased transportation costs that affect food prices and other commodity prizes. (Odongo, 2011)

### *Nutrition*

Children in poor households have a higher risk of sustaining poor health and reduced body height growth as a result of poor nutrition. Lack of nutritious food is deteriorating malnourished children benefits from education and affects their potential of obtaining well-paid jobs as adults. As Sarbid, the Senior Vice President for Human Development at the World Bank, stresses “in fact are these children most likely to lose more than 10 percent of their lifetime earning potential”. (Sarbid, 2009) Sarbid notes that malnutrition is a well-known factor of reduced economic growth, a WB report states that it drains 3% of poor countries GDP each year, and if nutrition is improved in poor countries it would increase economic growth and add 2-3% of GDP. (ibid)

Four of the respondents said they lived on one meal a day, mostly beans and potatoes because that was all their family at times could afford.

### *Health*

As for health and access to health infrastructure, 11 of the respondents claimed they never went to the doctor when sick. Apart from the costly fee and medication at the clinic, the transport getting to the clinic was also expensive and they typically delayed the trip as long as possible in order to save money for several trips. Only 2 said they used the doctor when they had been very sick of malaria or other diseases.

None of the respondents could afford anti-malaria medication on a weekly basis. “That’s just for the white man” they said. When asked about malaria bed nets, most of the women had them but

few used it. As one woman specified “What’s the point of bed nets when you don’t have a bed? When you sleep on the floor, the net sticks to your body and the mosquitos bite you anyway”.

Each year, millions of dollars are spent from various NGOs on bed nets to combat malaria. (UNICEF) “Some use it as a wedding veil, and in the rural areas they are popular as fishing nets. Everybody knows that. ....But if you have a bed, things are different”.

And each year an estimated 5 million people die of malaria, most of them women and children. 500 million more are rendered severely ill. While research and funding’s are provided to develop a malaria vaccine against the parasite that keep changing its traits and reproduce itself to an even more deadly variant each time a new medicine is invented, millions continue to die. (Packard, 2007) About half the world's population is at risk of malaria and more than 2,300 people die from the disease every day. In Africa, a child dies from malaria every 45 seconds. (DFID, 2010)

The anti-malaria medication adjusted to the parasite is increasingly expensive and commonly not affordable for poor urban households.

However, an upsurge of fake anti-malaria medication industry is taking place in South East Asia and parts of Africa, offering “remedies” to decent prices. Fake and dangerous medication are flooding local pharmacist stall at markets and in town, although useless. (Packard, 2007)

Malaria represent an enormous constraint on Africa’s economic growth, estimated to be 1.3% reduced GNP, crippling poor nations economies and their poor health resources, depleting budgets for other health, economic and social programs. (Sachs, 2005)

In some African countries with heavy malaria burden such as Rwanda, 40% of the public health expenditure is spent on combatting malaria, it accounts for 30-40% of in-patients, and no less than 50% of outpatients visits. (Packard, 2007) World Health Organization (WHO, Malaria) notes that: “more people are now infected [with malaria] than at any point in history”, as more than 500 million cases are reported each year, most of them pregnant women and children. (WHO; 2009)

## *Education*

As for primary and secondary school opportunities, thirteen claimed they had finished primary school. However, due to the charges of school fees, uniforms, schoolbooks and other charges each trimester, only three had finished secondary school.

Taking care of society's most vulnerable isn't just an ethical mandate, Sen argues. It's also good for business. He argues that one reason India's economic growth has trailed China's is that India has failed to educate its masses. (Coy, 1998)

### **5.2.2 Access to Physical Capital**

Physical capital includes housing, transport, water supply and sanitation and access to information. Lack of this capital is often equated with the core dimension of “sustainable poverty”. (Chambers and Conway, 1992)

All the respondents had grown up in various slum and squatter settlements in and around Kigali. They are, as mentioned earlier, overpopulated and with poor housing conditions. Kigali has no central sewer system and untreated wastewater from domestic houses and industrial plants, run directly into the vast amount of wetlands that lies at the ground level of the city. 49.8% of Kigali's households have no connection with pipe lines that only exist within the city center. 93% of urban households here buy water from kiosks, 6.1% walks to boreholes or natural springs of water that are plentiful around Kigali, with their jerry cans. (Sano, 2007)

UNCHS Habitat (1996: 199) has acknowledged “it is a well-known fact that between 30 and 60% of the housing units in most cities in the south are illegal in that they either contravene building and planning laws and codes. Many contravene both sets of laws.” (Thomas and Allen, 436)

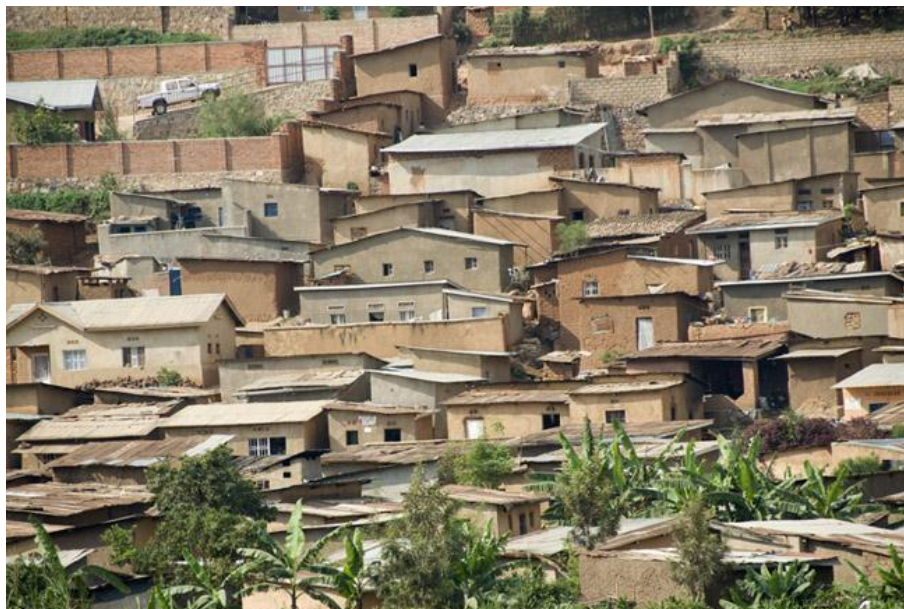
80% of the poor urban population in Kigali use traditional pit latrines and 1% have no toilet at all. (Sano, 2007)

“Where I lived with my mother and three siblings, the latrines and sewer were sometimes overflowing during rainy season. It created massive hygienic problems for us.” “We lived in a

small brick house...and shared a latrine with five families...we had no electricity, only candles at night...” This recollection of childhood memories was consistent with all the respondents where poor housing, poor sewage and drainage system and poor water quality was repeated and waterborne diseases were part of their daily life.

The poor housing conditions have been addressed, and a City Master Plan aided by the WB among many, has since 2009 evicted thousands of slum and squatter dwellers from their homes and relocated them in various new planned residential suburbs around Kigali with a small compensation for the houses they left behind. Also old business buildings are torn down in the

*Fig 5 Housing in Kigali*



Kigali center where new buildings are required to be of no less than four stories high. This mean that owners of previous shops in the city pay enormous rents in these new and modern buildings, driving many to bankruptcy. (Durand-Lasserve, 2007) .

Several of the respondents noted how inconvenient such forced eviction was for them. The transport system is fragile and the cost for taking the bus into town is high.

### 5.2.3 Access to Financial Capital

Financial capital represents the ability and right to opening up a bank account, to receive credit or loans, pensions and wages people use to achieve their livelihood objectives. Income generated from employment is one of the most important assets for the urban poor as it relates to the highly “commoditized” nature of cities and its high dependence on cash income. Financial capital interlinks with human capital which in turn is dependent on adequate nutrition, health care, safe environmental conditions and education. It enables people to adopt different strategies to plan for the future and reduce vulnerability. Income based poverty lines based on an adequate diet, often underestimates the additional cost the urban poor have to spend on nonfood items, such as water and fuel, transport costs, health care and school fees for their children. (Satterhwaite, 2000)

None of the respondents had had any bank account, savings, credit or pensions prior to becoming a sex worker. Neither had their parents or other members of their family had access to financial capital.

Before the involvement in sex trade, money for survival had been obtained by working in the informal sector by petty trade of artistic items, street vendors of vegetable and fruit, working in bars, or as domestic help. One woman had tried to sell carved souvenirs on the streets, but since 2006 street vending was prohibited. They were offered to sell their carvings from legitimate souvenir stalls outside the city center to unaffordable high rent. One had been selling clothes from a small stall in the large second hand market for clothes and shoes at Nyabogogo market, another had been assisting in a hairdresser shop and her only salary was tips from the customers. Two of the respondents had no work experience as no job opportunities was presented to them. “There are three things I want to do; work work work” said one of the young women. “We are not lazy, but there is nothing for us to do, and if you find a job you know it is only for a short time and extremely low salary. We don’t want to have nothing to do....we are young....we should work”. Common for the respondents with an employment was low wages which prohibited them from savings or investments as everything was spent on house rent and a few necessities.



Satterthwaite notes that although the urban poor have more convenient access to employment and credit, not all poor have equal access to income or employment. (Satterthwaite, 2000)

The unemployment rate of Rwanda is at 30%, and ten out of the thirteen women of the study, relied on family members for economic support. (Rwanda Economy, 2011)

Unemployment contributes to the loss of a wide range of experiences and social links considered essential for an individual's well-being and social adaptation such as "physical activity, social contact, collective purpose, time structure, and social status (Jahoda, cited by De la Rocha, Cornwall et al, 2008: 57)

The findings of this study then support a Perry, Arias, Lopez, Maloney and Serven (2006) who claim that credit constraint these respondents described, will exclude them from economic processes because they have neither the financial resources, nor the human capital of education, skills or expert knowledge that will constrain their credit that prevent poor individuals like themselves from investing in education. This is affecting negatively growth prospects as more likely than not, the majority of individuals who are able to invest in human capital. (Perry et al, 2006: 119)

#### 5.2.4 Access to Social Capital

This capital comprises social networks and connections, identity, honor and belonging. (DFID, 2011) None of the respondents, except for one, noted that this had had any impact on their lives. This can be attributed to the fact that the respondents were of such young age and did not have a clear understanding of this capital, or even of the way the questions were posed. Furthermore it can be attributed to the genocide in 1994 that erupted many social bonds. (Bodnarchuk, 2000)

Building up and maintaining social networks is generally considered more difficult in the cities because of the heterogeneity of populations (Rakodi 2002) Asset based on social claims therefore tend to be weaker than in rural areas.

### 5.2.5 Livelihood strategies and outcomes

The livelihood strategies in order to survive and care for their families consisted of constant outlook for various jobs in the informal sector where domestic maids were most common. However, the economic outcome from this line of work did not result in more than barely survival assets, and they had to live on their families expenses for shelter and food.

## 5.3. Sex trade as a Livelihood Activity

Sex workers in Kigali have their own culture, and as in any culture one strives for status. Hence, being a sex worker within the international development aid community apparently gave a high social status. None of the respondents perceived themselves as sex-workers or working within sex-trade. Neither did they feel there was a negative moral shame or social stigma attached to them as long as they were part of the “muzungo club” (the white man), even though “commercial sex is not part of the Rwandan culture”. (The Independent, 2010) According to the respondents, such degrading stigma was more applied to the sex workers who were standing along the streets working for 400RWF (US\$ 1)

When I questioned the typical monthly income after a moderately active sex work schedule, answers varied from \$400-1200. This is more than a highly educated person in Rwanda would earn.

*“We are so many you see”, one said. “Everyone does it. It is so easy. Some do it on a regular basis such as I, but many more do it when they need to pay their tuition fee at the university or college, some need a new dress, some need to pay for a sudden crisis, and so on. A friend of mine has bought a beautiful big house in Nyarutarama where the embassies are, she goes for vacations to Europe and she has a nice car imported from Japan! That’s how much money you can make in this business. There are so many development aid workers here. And many new are coming and they are always looking for a good time.”*

On question if they had been given cash grants from the government, would they still be active in the sex trade business? Ten respondents said no. Two said yes and one wasn't sure. The answers from those who would stop gave the reason of poverty. *"if I was to receive enough money to pay my rent and send my children to school, and feed my family and provide for a place to live properly, no I would never do this....but it is a chance of a lifetime to be able to do all the things I do now"*. The two respondents who would continue sex trade gave the reason of being too dependent on such "easy money", and considered a cash grant of a "few dollars" as difficult to get used to. Although commercial sex has not been a part of the Rwandan culture, ( The Independent, 2010) the women of this study assumingly received to some degree social admiration and envy. One bartender noted *"They are the American dream for us. They have made it. Look at them. They have it all. Houses, money, nice clothes, and hairdos. Everybody wants to be their friends. ...They are our Paris Hiltons...Our jet set...The in-crowd"*

Another bartender agreed to this definition of the sex workers and told me that even the police and governmental officials did not react towards them. They come to these bars and nightclubs themselves and the "trade" are quite obvious, he said. But they do not arrest them as they do with all the other sex-worker.

This can be explained argues Soble (2002) that the public notion of sexual morality in many western societies has changed diametrically, and as such has changed the perception of the target group also in Kigali. The attitudes and perception of what was considered moral behavior and the restrictive outlook on sex-trade, has no standing today. Sex-trade is no longer perceived as the most degrading thing a woman can do or a man involve in (Soble, 2002)

One respondent told me her mother did not approve of her "week-end activity" at first, but when she saw all the money she brought home, the mother was more than willing to forget and forgive. Five of the women stated that their aim was to be a girlfriend to one of the development aid worker, and then become pregnant. As such, she would be well provided for and could stop being a sex worker.

However, until then, none of the women considered ending their line of work. As one said “*Not before I have saved up enough money to secure me and my family’s future, will or can I stop doing this. I am not crazy! Not before my siblings have an education and a well-paid job, not before I have a house and money in the bank will I stop. It will be very difficult to stop since it is so much money involved....My social status has changed from being poor and down to a higher and richer one!*”

They all knew sex-trade within the development aid community would soon come to an end as they grew older due to the seemingly well-known fact that the development aid workers “preferred young girls”. They were also known and informed about the risk of potential serious health problems such as HIV/AIDS and other Sexual Transmitted diseases (STD) because of multiple partners. One respondent claimed that she would rather live well and provide for her family the next three years and die of AIDS than be poor and die of poverty or malaria in three years. Furthermore, they noted, with the money they earned they could afford medication and medical care. As a response to my question whether the intake of alcohol and cigarette smoking typically consumed in bars and nightclubs was of concern to their health, they agreed that they drank too much. However, they perceived it to be “the right thing to do” in order to attract their customers.

## 5.4 Cash – The Magic Bullet to Achieve the MDGs?

---

Although the MDG are global targets for countries, urban settlements and cities are key essential for the fulfillment of these. According to WHO, the success or the failure of achieving these goals depends on the level of achievement within the urban population. (WHO/UN-Habitat, 2010) Further, unless urban health is addressed urgently, national targets will not be met and the vision of international health and development will not be fulfilled (ibid)

With less than four years remaining for the deadline for achieving the eight MDG’s, it seems that the goals will not be met. Although there has been modest improvements within.....The

financial recession in 2008 is partly blamed as it has ..... with conventional aid distribution. With cash to distribute as they like, the impact on the fulfillment of the MDGs starts on the individual, level and propagates to the community and national level

#### 5.4.1 MDGs on an Individual level

All of the respondents had increased their human wellbeing. As most of the women lived on an estimated dollar a day and without work opportunities before they engaged in sex trade, all perceived themselves now as “rich, living the “muzungu (the white man’s) life” They had moved out of their squatter and slum areas and all had bought new houses with proper sanitation and automatic toilets. They ate nutritious food and could afford “meat several times a week”. Two of the respondents had, after finishing secondary school, enrolled in a university program, respectively Master of Anthropology and Master of Business and Administration. As for the children in their families, all were in school, pre-school, primary or secondary education and school fees, uniforms and schoolbooks were paid for. As their income had increased the children could go to school on a full stomach which is key in health standards and thus in aspects of learning capabilities.

Of the four women who had been given birth, all had been admitted to fee paying clinics that provided doctors and skilled authorized midwives to assist professionally during delivery.

However, the respondents face a high risk in attracting HIV/AIDS and other STD, in addition to alcoholism by consuming much alcohol when “at work”.

It is a common patronizing perception and attitude that the poor cannot save their money but will instantly use them in an inappropriate way. As such, the need for the western development aid experts has a legitimized rationale of deciding instead of them on how to use their money more wisely, argues Hulme. (Hulme et al. 2010) One such example is a well-known study, *The Economic Lives of the Poor*, by Duflo and Banjere, (2010) who concluded that “the world’s poor typically spend about 2 percent of their income educating their children, and often larger percentages on alcohol and tobacco....The indigent also spend significant sums on soft drinks, sex-trade and extravagant festivals.” (Easterly and Freschi, 2010).

This paternalistic and condescending attitude and approach to the poor is what Riddell argues that traditional aid with its emphasis on targeting the poor and poor communities, in a way have

almost as a rule let aid personnel decide how aid is best given and never consulted with the poor themselves. Aid has never enabled the poor to freely spend aid money as they think is best, in fact only a tiny amount of aid, less than 10% according to Riddell, has been given directly to the poor or poor communities. (Riddell, 2007)

Easterly notes that these Planners, the development aid apparatus, in their quest for “reforming aid, to enrich the poor, to feed the hungry, and to save the dying”, always fail somehow despite their good intentions. But the remedy is according to Easterly that “only homegrown development based on the dynamism of individuals and firms in free market can do that”, only the poor knows what will or will not work. (Easterly, 2006: 322)

As for the respondents of this study, they were never told by the international development aid agencies how to administer the money earned by sex trade. Out of the thirteen respondents, eight of them had started their own small entrepreneurship. UNCTAD (2006), the United National Conference on Trade and Development, stresses that “domestic demand makes the largest contribution to economic growth” and that “the critical factor which enables increased informal sector earnings is the stimulus of demand” (Hulme et al, 2010: 31) One of the respondents had started a hairdresser saloon with 4 employees, another had started a beauty parlor specializing in manicure and pedicure with 3 employees. A third one had bought a motorcycle taxi to her brother for him to make living of. Another had opened up a souvenir shop close to a five star hotel. Yet another had bought several houses in shanty town areas and rented them out. Finally, one was co-owner of a second hand clothes shop in town.

The respondents could now buy expensive malaria medication and visit the health clinic on a regular basis when she or family members were in need of health care. “When my mother was diagnosed with cancer, I could afford taking her to King Faycal Hospital [private hospital in Kigali] and she was treated with proper medication” one woman told me. Finally, by moving out of slum areas with severe sewage and waste problems, the high risk of deadly waterborne diseases and other negative health impacts was reduced. As noted earlier, Kigali has no means to treat big volumes of wastewater which is untreated and poses an environmental threat to wetlands surrounding the city polluting both freshwater and groundwater resources. (Sano, 2007)

Portable water is not connected in over 50% of households in urban Kigali, although the respondents could all confirm that their houses had access to this service. Their houses were connected to the national power plant, ELECTROGAZ, and used gas and electricity for cooking and lights, implying they had also bought an electric/gas stove and did no longer spend long hours each day collecting wood or paraffin that has severe negative health effects indoors. (WHO) As wood is the source of energy for 99% of the population in Rwanda and a major contributor to the massive deforestation and destruction, (Rwanda Vision, 2010) the respondents of this study had reduced environmental pollution and pursued a more sustainable development path. Accordingly, the MDGs 1-7 seems to have been met by cash from sex trade and improved development for the thirteen households in this study.

These findings support the “reversal” of Sen’s capability deprivations. Without cash, poverty constituted severe failures of capabilities as was shown in chapter 5.2. However with cash, the women’s basic needs are met as they now have the ability to stay healthy, to be educated and the ability to engage in private ownership. They now live in adequate, clean and healthy environments, and have the ability and the access to credit and loans and start-up capital. All these capabilities render the respondents with respect and dignity, according to Sen. (xxx)

The findings also correspond with Hulme et al (2010) who base their argumentation of giving cash directly to the poor on development aid programs performed in Mexico, South Africa and Namibia for the last decade. This controversy new shift in development thinking is the recognition of the fact that the poor simply lack cash. It is not lack of motivation, intelligence or knowledge as the poor are eagerly occupied in finding ways out of poverty every day and every night. It is rather an acknowledgement of the multidimensional aspect of poverty where the poor themselves by receiving social cash transfers stimulate demand as they spend their money locally; children are sent to school; they are better fed; and as such reduce the risk of diseases related to malnutrition. Cash programs have served as protection for the marginalized poor, such as the very young, children, the old, the disabled and the working poor. It has enabled the poor to invest profitably facilitating taking risks. Further, studies show that with cash transfers intergenerational poverty is breaking as children, who are fed with nutritious food, are healthier and who have the ability to go to school, do not risk poverty. Finally, as seen also in this study,

cash promotes the human right of an adequate standard of living, and the promotion of the status of women.

The sense of vulnerability the respondents faced in chapter 5 has been decreased since cash from sex trade became a monthly income. Their financial situation had improved as they now were saving money for days when they could no longer pursue this line of work. Ten of the thirteen respondents claimed they now save money each month in the bank, while they are able to “buy what they need for their families”.

UNCTAD holds that “All pervasive economic insecurity at the household level associated with generalized poverty adversely affects entrepreneurship as it leads to short-terminism and limits risk-taking” (UNACTAD). When the respondents know that they will receive money from the development aid worker each week-end and also during week-days, reduces insecurity “and we don’t have to be afraid that if someone gets sick, suddenly loses an income or dies we don’t have to move out of the house or beg for money of our relatives. We have made savings now so we are safe”, one respondent noted.

This new thinking about development that has developed as a “silent revolution from the global south” (Hulme et al, 2010), represent a stark contrast to traditional sustainable development aid discourse. De la Rocha argues that development models based on sustainable livelihood approaches which assumingly will promote a people centered guide for development, is nothing but a romantic fairy tale of the poor’s solidarity and ability to adapt to their poor and deprived living conditions. What they need is cash. De la Rocha argues that the “resourcefulness of the poor” is based on a western constructed fact that the poor has an “endless capacity to work, to consume less and be part of mutual networks” (De la Rocha cited in Cornwall et al, 2008: 46) She notes that no matter how devastating the economic shocks are, no matter the degree of violent stress, nor the extent of obvious hopeless vulnerability, the poor never look back, never give up, but instead keep on working even harder, eat even less and help each other even more. This endless well of human strength and social adaptively is interestingly completely void of cash, de la Rocha laments. Studies have shown however, that in the face of unemployment and economic pressure on households, where reliance on families and neighbor support in fact “leads to the erosion of relationships of mutual help, solidarity and social exchange” (ibid: 47)



La Rocha continues that by overemphasizing the myth of the resourceful access to assets by the poor, changes the focus from the real survival constraints. The lack of income generating work has such negative cumulative effects that affect several dimensions of a person's life, as social support systems cease to exist and self-provisioning initiatives to mobilize work stops. Low income and poor physical environments also impact on mental health (Wan, 2008). Poor mental health is correlated with poor physical health, social exclusion, unemployment and poverty along with other indicators of social or economic stress.

What is clear from the literature is that trying to quantify and even define capital assets is fraught with difficulties. Some even dispute the use of 'assets' as a unit of analysis. Beall (2001) feels that conceptualizing assets in this way reduces them to neo-classical economic concepts. The breaking down of people's livelihoods in terms of assets may have only a superficial value.

Finally, cash from sex trade has an effect on future generation and is as such within the definition of sustainable development. (WCED, 1987) When women have the key to development on an individual level, malnutrition will be reduced, protection from malaria will be administered, maternal health will be improved, and children will be sent to school and obtain an education. As the children of these empowered women reaches adulthood, the next generation of women will be educated, have fewer children and emphasize education making an economic contribution to the society. Cash given to the respondents of this study represent a future scenario where the 50% of Rwanda's unused talents and capabilities hidden behind poverty and deprivation will emerge as doctors, engineers, scientists and business developers pushing Rwanda towards sustainable economic growth, dignity and human well- being. (DFID, 2010)

### **5.5.2 MDGs on the Community Level**

The community level is understood as a broad term of a society with interacting people sharing common values within a geographic location, referring to groups rather than individuals. (OED ) Indicators used to measure the MDGs on a community level have been employment, increased purchasing power and economic growth, housing, human services, education, and the environment.

With enough startup capital, the eight women of the study who invested in a private business have first of all raised their economic status in terms of income and gained access to credit. Furthermore, by increasing the community's employment rate, local spending has been triggered. Revenue from taxes and fees has promoted development and economic growth for their local community.

Additionally, nightclubs and bars where the international development community typically gets together for socializing have also benefited from sex trade. The increase in such establishments has provided for employment for bartenders, cleaners, chefs, and owners providing additional local revenue and taxes. As one respondent noted: "Think of all the customers we attract to the many bars, hotels and nightclubs... all the dollars they leave behind by buying alcohol and cigarettes... in fact we should have a share of that as we are a blooming industry".

A powerful obstacle to sustainable urban development on a community level is the inability to provide employment for a growing labor force. For the majority of people who cannot find work in the formal waged sector, their only choice is to seek a livelihood in the informal economy. (Thomas and Allen s 434) As already stated earlier, cash in the hands of the respondents had generated employment to at least 15 people in their respectively entrepreneurships, demonstrating productive investments and business skills. This is also supported by the WB in World Development Report 2006 which states that: "Markets in developing countries are highly imperfect, and those who do not have enough wealth or social status tend to underinvest." (WB, xxx) Moreover, these 15 employees represent 15 families who make an income that may enable them to reduce their poverty deprivation. (Sen, 2003)

When the respondents have cash they now make use of the school system, the private hospitals and well-functioning clinics. They spend their money locally and thereby enlarge the domestic market. Greater demand of local commodities leads to a growing labor demand, increases income and purchasing powers. This supports again what many accredited scholars hold, that when the poor are given the chance to form their own development, development is in fact happening. (Ferguson, 1994; Easterly, 2006; Riddell, 2008; Dombosa, 2009)

As Satterthwaite (2000) notes, although the poor are the principal beneficiaries of development goals, they are rarely consulted or involved in the decision making processes. Unfortunately their

competencies and capacities are usually ignored and rarely used”. (Satterthwaite quoted in Boyle, 2010)

Social cash transfers to poor people and households are a strong contributor to poverty reductions “as well as stimulating production and employment opportunities in local economies” argues Riddell (2008: 407). Additionally he notes, providing aid in this way is usually far cheaper way of administering and distributing funds. (ibid)

As 100% of the respondents had bought new and well built houses with proper sanitation and electricity, their houses now represent an economic asset for them. Cash from sex trade has thus fulfilled the article 25 of the UNDHR stating:

“Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control” (UNDHR)

This is what development in the twenty first century is all about, states DFID (2010). External aid represent only a means to an end, while the “creating of conditions where the private sector can flourish, where small businesses have access to finance, where international trade agreements propel economic growth in poor countries” is what will lift people out of poverty. Ultimately it is wealth creation, private enterprise and jobs, as demonstrated in this research that is at the heart of development and the alleviation of capital deprivation. (ibid) Twenty first century development is about much more than aid. External aid is a means to an end.

As a concluding part to this section; cash provided from sex trade has within the scope of this study, contributed to community development within a MDGs framework in Kigali.

### **5.5.3 MDGs on the National Level**

As Rwanda was one of the 189 countries to sign the UN Millennium Declaration in 2000, it is expected to emphasize its efforts to reach the eight MDGs on the national level. Each year an annual report is submitted stating the progress of the nation’s achievement of the goals.

As Rwanda’s economy was devastated in 1994 and 80% of its population was plunged into poverty, the nation was robbed of an educated generation. (Rwanda Vision, 2020)

Severe shortage of professional personnel represent an obstacle to development, and illiteracy is still high the urban rural population, where a total of 48% are unable to read and write. In addition to major threats of human health, such as the high incidence of malaria and HIV/AIDS and high incidence of malnutrition, limits the population economic growth.

(Rwanda Vision 2020)

As the findings of this study demonstrate, all the children in each of the respondent's family and extended family were sent to school. This increases the education rate and helps rebuild technology, medical and scientific sectors in Rwanda, providing more job opportunities and economic growth. Education underpins all the MDGs such as health, environment and security. (DFID , 2010 ) The enrollment in primary and secondary school with the money generated from sex trade, will add to the statistics of Rwanda's achieving the MDG. So will the statistics of reduced incidents of waterborne diseases and malaria as all the respondents had moved out of slum areas and into houses with sewage drainage and waste disposal facilities.

According to these findings, national statistics of the achievements of the MDGs have moved slightly in the right direction.

## **5.6 The unintended Consequences of development**

James Ferguson (1994) attack on the development apparatus is based on the post-modern view that development aid is a failure and serves only to suppress and marginalize the poor even more into state control and poverty. Ferguson deconstructs the object of development to alleviate poverty and promote economic growth, drawing on the French philosopher and sociologist Michel Foucault's theory of the oppressive prison system. Here the lower classes are stowed away under strict governmental control in order to serve the ruling elite, protecting them from political confrontations and revolutions. This is the hidden political agenda of the prison system claims Foucault; not to educate the villains to better citizens but rather to oppress them and keep them silent.

Ferguson's "Foucaultian" point is to highlight the development apparatus discourse's subtle hidden political agenda and to explain why development aid is a constant failure. By constructing a reality that does not exist, legitimizes development aid interventions that fits the fabricated truth

and thus hinder economic growth and development. The truth about the development apparatus is, according to Foucault, only to serve the rich ruling elite; the North, while oppressing the poor villagers and keep them from control of their own economy; the South. In his book, *The Anti-Politics Machine* (1994), he provides an example of failed development intervention by the WB in the Thaba Tseka region in Lesotho, 1975. Because of the constructed reality of the development planners, the inhabitants of the Thaba Tseka region were put out of business, their land and cattle was destroyed, and the region was suddenly under deep entrenched state control. This is what Ferguson argues is the unintended consequences of development aid, the side effects of the seemingly well-intentioned apolitical purpose of aid. Ferguson holds this argumentation to be an universal truth, (Ferguson, 1994: 9) and is accompanied by other post modernists and critics of development aid, such as Arturo Escobar. He agrees with Ferguson when lamenting that development aid is in ruins and represents only extended imperialism maintaining the North's high standard by oppressing the poor and marginalized in the South. (Thomas and Allen, 2000)

Following this line of argumentation, development aid workers consorting to illegal sex trade is an unintended consequence of development aid. As Kigali is "overpopulated" with all different variations of development aid agencies that during long working hours are promoting Human Rights, Empowerment for women, raising the standards for FHH, working for legal order, peace and stability, a vibrant sex trade market at night with the same men is not the common idea of development aid.

However, as this study has clearly demonstrated, opposed to critics like Ferguson, the unintended consequences in this case has by far exceeded the development apparatus vision of a better world. A few hours into the night, far from political correct corporate protocol of cultural awareness, economic discussions, human development sensitive political issues, enduring meetings and complex reports, is where development is happening. Sen's capability approach is suddenly implemented, the MDGs are achieved and poverty alleviation is attained. The development aid workers themselves, not the development aid apparatus as a structure, seems to be the ones who are the *Pro-development machine*. As there exists a masculinization of development aid, this machine keeps going and issues of sex trade and the moral implications it represents, are rarely addressed. However, such as within the scope of the objectives presented here, the unintended consequences of development aid has empowered women, promoted economic growth, provided

secure housing, encouraged education and improved the livelihood of the respondent's employees as opposed to the expected strengthening of state control and the oppression of the poor. The effect of the development aid workers consorting to local sex trade has not, in the words of President Kagame, "jeopardized Rwanda's path to development", but rather spurred more development on the individual-, community-, and national level.

# Chapter 6

## Summary and Conclusion

---

This study was undertaken in Kigali, Rwanda, January 2011. The main objectives were to form an understanding of the impact development aid workers consorting to the local sex trade, had on the sex workers livelihood, before and after engaging into the trade. The research design was based on qualitative interviews with thirteen randomly chosen sex workers that only frequented bars and nightclubs where the international aid community met. The analyzing of the data presented was done within the framework of the SLF and the eight Millennium Development Goals.

The main findings of this study showed before the engaging into sex trade with the development aid workers, all of the respondents were poor and lived in slum areas with open sewage around their houses, no education and limited access to food. Despite numerous NGO outreach initiatives in Kigali, the urban poor respondents of this study had never encountered with any development aid project or benefited from their social developmental programs. They reported of family members dying of easily prevented and curable diseases, and the sufferings they lived through in not finding jobs to support them or their families.

After the choice of becoming a sex worker, the cash generated from sex trade had clearly improved the well- being of the respondents. All of the respondents had bought new houses with proper sanitation and waste disposal systems. Combined with better and more nutritious food, waterborne diseases and the probability of diseases related to malnutrition were reduced. Access to medical treatment and proper medication to prevent and treat malaria and other diseases was economic affordable. This was an influential impact on the educational level of the household members now attending school on a full stomach and free from diseases.

As this study have not been about the sex trade as such, nor the moral judgment of development aid workers consenting to sex trade, findings are evident that poor and marginalized women do not waste money, but use them wisely. Their financial situation had improved as they now were saving money for days when they could no longer pursue this line of work.

Hulme et al (2010) points to the “silent revolution of the global south” where 45 nations in South America and Africa are turning away from traditional development aid where NGOs and other development aid agencies control the use of money distributed for aid interventions. Instead, social cash grants are given to 110 million poor families to distribute the money as they chose. Studies conducted in relation to this new development “paradigm shift”, shows reduction in poverty, more kids in school, promoted health, security to promote investments, start-up capital and breaking intergenerational poverty. Hulme uses a metaphor of the seemingly impossible task to pull yourself up by your bootstraps when you have no boots, meaning that the poor will never manage to escape their poverty trap unless they are provided with cash.

It is hardly a surprising finding of this thesis that money reduces poverty. The surprising part is however, that contrary to common perceptions of the poor (Riddell, 2006) they spend it in accordance to any given development aid programs intention, however not achieved (Easterly, 2006; Ferguson, 1994). As both Riddell and Hulme stresses; distributing aid as grants to poor families will be far more cost effective than the present administration of aid.

However, economic benefits of development assistance are still very important to Rwanda, and this thesis does not argue otherwise. As Nancy Birdsall, the president of the Center for Global Development in Washington states is that although cash may be a magic bullet, it has to work alongside spending on health, education and infrastructure. This is equally important as she notes the obvious fact that “children cannot go to school if there is no school.” (Birdsall cited in Hulme et al, 2010: 60) Neither can poor people enjoy various social infrastructures important for development without cash.

The findings of this study conclude that it is the development aid workers and their use of sex workers that in fact has promoted development and not the development apparatus as such, a



potential challenging aspect to traditional sustainable development theories and empirical assumptions.

A person can't pull themselves up by their bootstraps if they have no boots, argues Hulme (2010) The most obvious solution to such "bootstrap pulling" activity may simply be to provide the poor with boots while putting aside expensive, mystified and complicated economic theoretical frameworks of how to make a boot factory.

## REFERENCE LIST

Africa News, March 11, 2007. *President Kagame Rules out Prostitution in Rwanda*. Available at: [http://www.africanews.com/site/list\\_message/3307](http://www.africanews.com/site/list_message/3307)

African Rights, 2004. Working for Justice: Women taking a lead: Progress Towards Empowerment and Gender Equity in Rwanda- African Rights Discussion Paper NO. 12

Aftenposten, 2011

Agathangelou, A. and Ling, L.H.M. 2003. Desire Industries: Sex Trafficking, UN Peacekeeping, and the Neo-Liberal World Order. Available at:  
<http://www.watsoninstitute.org/bjwa/archive/10.1/SexTrafficking/Anthangelou.pdf>

Alan, T., and Thomas, T. 2000. Poverty and Development into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Oxford University Press

Bell S., 1994. , Reading, Writing and Rewriting the Prostitute Body. Indiana University Press. Bloomington and Indianapolis.

Berkman, S. 2008. The World Bank and the Gods of Lending. Kumarian Press

Bernstein, E. (1999) “what’s wrong with prostitution? What’s right with sex-work? Comparing markets in female sexual labor . Hasting Women’s Law Journal 10(1)

Bodnarchuk, K., 2000. Rwanda: Country Torn Apart. World in Conflict. Lerner Publications Company

Bolay, J.C., 2005. Millennium Goals: Challenges for Urban Development. Urban News. Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. Nr. 12, December 2005.

Bryman, A., 2008. *Social Research Methods*. Oxford University Press Inc., New York

Chambers, R. 1983. *Rural Development: Putting the Last First*, Longman, New York.

Chambers, R., and Conway, G. 1992. Sustainable rural livelihoods: Practical Concepts for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. IDS Discussion Paper 296. IDS

Chen, Martha; Vanek, Joann; Lund, Francie; Heintz, James; Jhabvala, Renana; Bonner, Christine (2005). *Progress of the World's Women 2005: Women, Work and Poverty*. [United Nations Development Fund for Women](#). pp. 36–57.

CMAJ, 2011. Prostitution Laws: health Risks and Hypocrisy. Editorial. Canadian Medical Association Journal. Available at: <http://www.cmaj.ca/content/171/2/109.full> [11.12.2011]

Cornwall, A., Harrison E., and Whitehead, A. 2008. *Gender Myths and Feminist Fables. The Struggle for Interpretive Power in Gender and Development*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Coy, P. 1998. Commentary: The Mother Teresa of Economics. Bloomberg Business week. Available at: <http://www.businessweek.com/archives/1998/b3601116.arc.htm> [8.12.2011]

De Satge, 2004 Livelihoods Analysis and the Challenges of post –conflict recovery. In Clover, J. and Richard Cornwell (eds): *Supporting Sustainable Livelihoods. A Critical Review of Assistance in Post Conflict Situations*. ISS Monograph Series. No 102, August 2004

DFID, 2010. Daniels, W. MDGs in Focus – MDG Combat HIV, AIDS, Malaria and other Diseases. 03.08.2010 Available at: <http://www.dfid.gov.uk/stories/case-studies/2010/mdgs-in-focus--mdg-6-combat-hiv-aids-malaria-and-other-diseases/>

Domi, T. 2000. UN Prostitution Scandal: The UN Mission in Bosnia comes under fire for allegedly trying to cover up a prostitution scandal” Institute for War and Peace Reporting . 21.07.2000 Available at: <http://www.iwpr.net/report-news/un-prostitution-scandal>

Durand-Lasserve, A. 2007. Market-Driven Eviction Processes in Developing Country Cities: the case of Kigali in Rwanda and Phnom Penh in Cambodia. Global Urban Development Magazine Vol. 3, Issue 1. Available at: <http://www.globalurban.org/GUDMag07Vol3Iss1/Durand-Lasserve.htm>)

Easterly, W., 2006. The White Man's Burden. Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done so Much Ill and so Little Good? Oxford University Press

Easterly, W., and Freschi, L. 2010. Poor >People Behaving Badly? Aid Watch. Published May, 25, 2010. Available at: <http://aidwatchers.com/2010/05/poor-people-behaving-badly/> [11.11.2011]

Ellis, F. 2000. Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Farley, M. 2006. Prostitution, trafficking, and cultural amnesia: What we must not know in order to keep the business of sexual exploitation running smoothly. Yale Journal of Law and Feminism 18(1) 2006.

Farrington, J.D., Carney, C., Ashley, C., and Turton, C- 1999. Sustainable Livelihoods in Practice. London: ODI: Natural Resources

Ferguson, J. 1994. The Anti Politics Machine: "Development", Depolitication, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, London

Gourewitch,

Hancock, G., 1989. Lords of Poverty: The Power, Prestige, and Corruption of the International Business. The Atlantic Monthly Press, New York

Hanlon, J., Barrientos, A. and Hulme, D. 2010. Just Give Money to the Poor. The Development Revolution from the Global South. Kumarian Press, USA

Herfkens, E. 2010. Beyond Old Style Aid. Perspective, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2010-08

Hulme, D. 2007. The making of the Millennium Development Goals: Human Development Meets Resultsbased Management in an Imperfect World. Brooks World Poverty Institute. BWPI Working Paper. Available at: <http://www.bwpi.manchester.ac.uk/resources/Working-Papers/bwpi-wp-1607.pdf> [12.12.2011]

IMF, 2003. External Debt Statistics: Guide for Compilers and Users. Available at: <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/eds/Eng/Guide/index.htm>

Kigali City Website. Kigali Masterplan Implementation Projects. Available at: <http://www.kigalicity.gov.rw/spip.php?articel495> [11.12.2011]

Kvale and Brinkman, 2009. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing. Sage Publications Inc. Los Angeles

Lancaster, C. 2007. Foreign Aid: Diplomacy, Development, Domestic Politics. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London

Lawson, D., Hulme, D., Matin, I., and Moore K. 2010. Practical Action Publishing, UK

Lutz, C. , Gutmann, M., Brown, K. 2009. Conduct and Discipline in UN Peacekeeping Operations: Culture, Political Economy and Gender. Watson Institute for International Studies. Brown University. Available at: [http://www.watsoninstitute.org/project\\_detail.cfm?id=79](http://www.watsoninstitute.org/project_detail.cfm?id=79)

Lynch, C. 2005. Washington Post: UN Faces More Accusations of Sexual Misconduct. Available at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A30286-2005Mar12.html> [10.09.2011]

Martinussen, J.D., and Pedersen, P.E., 2003. Aid: Understanding International Development Cooperation. Zed Books Ltd, London, New York

McLeod, E., 1982: Working Women: Prostitution Now. London: Croom Helm)

MDGs Official List, 2008. Available at:  
<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/DATASTATISTICS/Resources/MDGsOfficialList2008>  
[12.12.2011]

Melvern, L., 2000. A People Betrayed; The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide. Zed Books Ltd. UK.

Mikkelsen, B. 1995. Methods of for Development Work and research . London: Sage.

Moser, C. 1998. The Asset Vulnerability Framework: Reassessing Urban Poverty Reduction Strategies" in World Development Vol. 26, No. 1

Moser, C., 1996, Confronting Crisis: A Comparative Study of Household Responses to Poverty and Vulnerability in Four Urban Communities. ESD. Washington

Mucunguzi, New Times. Woman Rise in Rwanda's Economic Revival Available at:  
<http://www.newtimes.co.rw/print.php?issue=14461&print&article=6457>

November 20, 2010. Available at: <http://allafrica.com/stories/201012010828.html> )

Nussbaum, M. 2000. Women and human development: the capabilities approach, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

OAU 2000. Organization of African Unity 's International Panel of Eminent Personalities Report , Rwanda: The Preventable Genocide, 2000. Available at: [http://www.africa-union.org/Official\\_documents/reports/Report\\_rowanda\\_genocide.pdf](http://www.africa-union.org/Official_documents/reports/Report_rowanda_genocide.pdf)

Odongo, R. 2011. Rwandan Rising Food Prices Trigger Inflation. The African Confidential. The East African Edition.  
[http://www.africanconfidential.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=1607:rwan-nda-food-prices-trigger-inflation&catid=84:africa&Itemid=541](http://www.africanconfidential.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1607:rwan-nda-food-prices-trigger-inflation&catid=84:africa&Itemid=541)

OED. July 2009. [Oxford University Press](#)

[Oxford Department of International Development](#)

Packard, R. M., 2007. The Making of a Tropical Disease: A short History of Malaria Oxford University Press

Perry, G.E., Arias, O.S., Lopez, J.H, Maloney, W.F., and Serven, L. 2006. Poverty Reduction and Growth: Virtuous and Vicious Circles. World Bank, Washington DC.

Rakodi C.Lloyd-Jones, T: Urban Livelihoods. A People Centered Approach to Reducing Poverty. London:Eathscan

Republic of Rwanda. 2011. Available at: [Http://www.gov.rw/social-development](http://www.gov.rw/social-development)

Riddell, C.R, 2007. Does Foreign Aid Really Work? Oxford University Press.

Ruxin, J. 2010 16 Years after the Genocide, Rwanda Continues Forward. The New York Times, April 6<sup>th</sup>, 2010. Available at: <http://kristof.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/04/06/16-years-after-the-genocide-rwanda-continues-forward/> [November, 21 2011]

Rwanda Economy, 2011. [http://www.theodora.com/wfbcurrent/rwanda/rwanda\\_economy.html](http://www.theodora.com/wfbcurrent/rwanda/rwanda_economy.html))

Sachs, J. 2005 The End of Poverty. Economic Possibilities for Our Time. The Penguin Press. USA

Samson, M. 2009. Social Cash Transfers and Pro-Poor Growth in Pro Poor Growth, Social Protection, OECD, Paris

Sanders, T., O'Neill, M., and Pitcher, J., 2009. Prostitution, Sex Work, Policy and Politics. Sage Publications Ltd, London

Sanderson, "The urbanisation of poverty", CARE International UK, September 2002 [[www.careinternational.org.uk/resource\\_centre/urban/urbanisation\\_of\\_poverty.doc](http://www.careinternational.org.uk/resource_centre/urban/urbanisation_of_poverty.doc)]

Sano, C.J., 2007. Urban Environmental Infrastructure in Kigali City, Rwanda. (Challenges and Opportunities for Modernized Decentralised Sanitation Systems in Poor neighborhoods) MSc Environmental Science.

Satterthwaite, D. and Tacoli, C. (2000): Seeking an Understanding of Poverty that Recognizes Rural-Urban Differences and Rural-Urban Linkages, in Rakodi C.Lloyd-Jones, T: Urban Livelihoods. A People Centered Approach to Reducing Poverty. London:Eathscan

Satterthwaite,D. 1997: Urban Poverty . Reconsidering its Scale and Nature, in : IDS Bulletin 28(2): 9-23

Scoones, I. (1998) Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Framework for Analysis, Institute of Developments Studies.

Sen, A. 1999. Development as Freedom. Oxford University Press, Oxford

Soble, A., (edit) 2002. The Philosophy of Sex, Contemporary Readings. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. Oxford

Solesbury, W. 2003. Sustainable Livelihoods; A case Study of the Evolution of DFID policy. Working Paper 217. June 2003. Overseas Development Institute, London, UK.

Summer, A. 2010. Global Poverty and the New Bottom Billion. Working paper, Institute of Development Studies, Essex

Taylor, s. 2002. Assising the Poor with Cash: Design and Implementation of Social Transferrw Programmes, World Bank, Washington, DC.

The Guardian, 2011

Thibos, M. et al. 2007. The feminization of Poverty. Empowering Women, YMCA. The J. McDonald Williams Institute

Trading Economics Analytics, 2011. Available at:  
<http://www.tradingeconomics.com/rwanda/unemployment-rate>

Truong, T.D., 1990. Sex Money and Morality: Prostitution and Tourism in South-East Asia- Zed Books Ltd, London and New Jersey

UN Commission on Human Rights. Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Rwanda . Available at: <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/49/a49r206.htm>

UN Habitat, Urban Millennium Partnership: Localizing MDGs. Meeting the Challenge of MDGs in Cities

UN Millennium Project, 2005. Investing in Development: A practical Plan to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals  
[Http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/documents/MainReportChapter17-lowres.pdf](http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/documents/MainReportChapter17-lowres.pdf)

UN, 20010. Millennium Goals Report, 2010, N.Y.

UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) The least developed countires Report 2006: Developing Productive Capacities. Geneva and New York: UNCTAD, 2006)

UNDP 1995 Human Development Report 1995, New York and Oxford: oxford University Press

UNDP 2000: human Development report 2000, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press

UNDP 2001: Human Development report 2001, making New Technologies work for human development, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press

UNDP 2010b. Human Development Report, UNDP, N.Y.



UNDP, 2010. What are the Millennium Development Goals? Available at:  
<http://www.undp.org/mdg/basics.shtml> [04.10.2011]

UNDP, 2010a Poverty in Focus. International Policy Centre, Nr. 19, January

UNRISD, 2010. Flagship Report 2010: Combating Poverty and Inequality. UNRISD, Geneva

Uvin, P., 1998. Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda. West  
Hartford: Kumarian Press

Wan KW: Mental health and poverty.

WCED, 1987. Our Common Future. Oxford University Press

Wellington, J. 2000. Education research: Contemporary issues and practical approaches. London,  
UK: Continuum

WHO Malaria Available at: <http://www.who.int/malaria/docs/10thingsonDDT.pdf>

WHO, 2005. Violence Against Women and HIV/AIDS; Critical Intersection, Violence against  
Sex Workers and HIV Protection. Information Bulletin. Nr. 3, 2005 Available at:  
<http://www.who.int/gender/en/> [29.11.2011]

WHO/Un-Habitat 2010. Hidden Cities: Unmasking and Overcoming Health Inequalities in Urban  
Settings. (chapter 5: Achieving the Millennium Development Goals) WHO, Switzerland.

World Bank Poverty and Inequality Analyses.

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTPOVERTY/0,,contentMDK:22569747~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:336992,00.html>

World Bank 1989: Sub-saharan Africa: from crisis to sustainable growth: a long term perspective  
study, Washington DC: world Bank.

World Bank 2001: engendering development, through gender equality in rights, resources and  
voice, World Bank Policy research report.

Worldpress, Rwanda 2011. <http://www.worldpress.org/profiles/rwanda.cfm> [November 21,  
2011]

Wratten, E. 1995, Conceptualizing Urban Poverty in Environment and Urbanization Vol. 7, No.  
1.

Yow, V.R, 2005. Recording Oral History: A Guidance for the Humanities and Social Sciences.  
Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

