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“Cleaning Up the Streets of Kigali: The Interaction Between the Rwandan Government and Kigali’s Residents in the Cleaning Up of the Country’s Capital”

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDP          City Development Plan
COCEN        Company for the Conservation of the Environment
COPED        Company for Environment Protection and Development
GDP          Gross Domestic Product
ICT          Information and Communication Technology
KCMP         Kigali Conceptual Master Plan
MININFRA     Ministry of Infrastructure
MINIRENA     Ministry of Natural Resources
RAF          Rwandan Armed Forces
REMA         Rwanda Environment Management Authority
RPF          Rwandan Patriotic Front
RURA         Rwanda’s Utilities Regulatory Authority

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1. **Introduction**

1.1. **Problem Statement**

Despite a devastating genocide in the recent past, the subsequent rapid urbanisation, an increase in wealth and the consequent increase in the quantity of solid waste in the capital, Rwanda was able to rapidly develop and improve in many different public domains. Over ninety per cent of the population have now a health insurance, the annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita has grown around seven to eight per cent annually since 2003, nearly all children attend school, and environmental protection has become a national imperative, just to name a few achievements of President Paul Kagame, who has governed the country for almost twenty years, and the single ruling party, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). The reduction of environmental pollution and the strengthening of the population’s ecological awareness were, and still are, at the top of the political agenda of the political regime.

In addition, the Rwandan government implemented the national development program Vision 2020 in the year 2000, which set various development goals to transform Rwanda within twenty years into a middle-income country attracting numerous investors and tourists. To make Kigali, the “model city” of Rwanda (Goodfellow & Smith 2013: 3201), not only economically but also visually attractive for investors and tourists, the government strictly implemented a lot of socio-political projects and laws, which were primarily designed to help keep Kigali clean and free of any form of urban pollution. Some of those projects are the development of the environmental protection policy, the improvement of Kigali’s solid waste management system, the prohibition of single-use plastic bags, and the introduction of the monthly clean-up day, called Umuganda. Despite – or perhaps because of – the partly radical undertakings of the Rwandan President Paul Kagame for a more sustainable and environmental friendly development of his country, Rwanda is nowadays considered as a “role model” for African, as well as Western countries, in the matter of environmental protection and the management of non-organic waste (URL1). Meanwhile, Kigali is often recognised as “the cleanest African city”, whose population’s ecological awareness has been highly strengthened due to such socio-political and legal undertakings (URL2).

Nevertheless, the various urban cleaning operations in Kigali include not only the cleaning of public streets, but the complete reconstruction of unplanned and informal neighbourhoods.
whose inhabitants are forced to resettle in more rural areas. However, according to UN Habitat, around seventy-eight per cent of Kigali’s urban population lives in such informal settlements (URL3). Kigali has undergone an enormous spatial reorganisation transforming the cityscape into a modern, clean city, full of progress, while displacing and marginalising thousands of its inhabitants.

1.2. Aim and Research Questions
Regarding the socio-political context of the Rwandan government’s on-going clean-up measures in order to transform Kigali into a cleaned-up capital, the overall research question is:

To what extent do the legal and political clean-up measures imposed by the Rwandan government and Kigali’s residents’ imaginations, concepts and their management of urban pollution mutually influence each other regarding the maintenance of Kigali’s public cleanliness?

This thesis will reveal to what extent the Rwandan government and Kigali’s population have worked together in keeping Kigali’s visual pollution under control. Another aim of this thesis is to find out how a so-called ‘developing’ country, which faced rapid urbanisation and high population growth after a devastating genocide, has been able to strengthen its population’s ecological awareness and to improve the management of solid waste within a period of less than twenty years. Therefore, the government’s major undertakings to free Kigali from solid waste, such as the introduction of the monthly clean-up day, the prohibition of plastic bags, or the improved urban waste management system, must be outlined.

By referring to the analysis of urban cleanliness discourses of the anthropologists Eveline Dürr and Rivke Jaffe (2010; 2014), the sub-question of this thesis is as follows:

How does the Rwandan government’s urban cleanliness discourse legitimise Kigali’s spatial reorganisation?

Eveline Dürr and Rivke Jaffe (2010) note that, according to governments aiming at modernising and further developing their capital, urban planning should primarily be marked by progress and public order. Filthy, unplanned and poor urban areas are opposed to the
image of an overall ordered, future-oriented and progressive city by the government and/or the majority of a society (ibid: 5-10). To quote Mary Douglas ([1966] 2003), people living in informal urban areas are defined as “matters out of place” (ibid: 44) that have to be resettled in planned and tidy areas. Their former neighbourhoods need to be reconstructed in order to fit the image of a developed cityscape. Dürr and Jaffe (2010) state that the absence of waste, be it in form of material objects or humans, is a symbol, a feature of development and modernisation (ibid: 9-10). According to the two anthropologists, public rules of, or discourses on, cleanliness can symbolise order, progress and development. Consequently, such discourses can legitimise the complete reconstruction of a city and the exclusion of a certain group of urban dwellers, as they are defined as unwanted ‘pollutants’ decelerating the process of modernisation (2014: 419, 423).

The first literature analysis raised the question of whether President Kagame and the almost single ruling RPF consider a city clean based on the amount of material waste that is lying within the streets and whether it is managed in a sustainable and eco-friendly way. Or does the government have even more criteria for a city to be defined as clean? By referring to the anthropologists Eveline Dürr and Rivke Jaffe (2010; 2014) and Mary Douglas ([1966] 2003), this thesis explores what cleanliness and pollution mean for the Rwandan government within the context of the modernisation efforts that have been realised in Kigali over the last eighteen years. Moreover, this thesis outlines how far the local authorities’ notion of cleanliness has not only influenced the middle to high-income section of Kigali’s population’s concepts of a clean city, but also the way local people manage to keep their surrounding environment clean. In addition, if Rwanda in general has always been that clean throughout its recent history or if nationwide cleanliness requirements have only been developed within the course of the new millennium shall be revealed.

1.3. Relevance of and Interest in the Research
The task of an anthropologist is to understand and to find solutions to complex issues within a given society. The researcher studies a specific behaviour or point of view shared by members of a specific group, as well as the respective socio-cultural, political, economic and historical circumstances, which have an impact on that social group. This thesis outlines a cultural phenomenon in a specific social context, namely the management and perception of urban visual pollution of a segment of Kigali’s society.
It is the assumption of this thesis that the role of an anthropologist is also to shake new debates about a specific issue within a society. With this in mind, Kigali’s inhabitants’ notions and management of urban pollution shall be analysed from a more political point of view. For this reason, I decided to write an anthropologically relevant master’s thesis about the way the capital of Rwanda is kept clean through the socio-political and symbolic production of pollution and about the relation between discourses on pollution and social segregation. This thesis examines the extent to which the aspiration of the Rwandan government for a clean capital is not only a hygienic requirement, but also one means for a political purpose, namely the rebuilding of the capital and the forced resettlement of urban citizens by reasons of economic development, urban modernisation and national image improvement.

As most of the scholarly literature about Kigali’s public cleanliness only analyses the implementation measures of the Rwandan government, this thesis also examines the extent to which Kigali’s citizens have contributed to the cleaning-up of their capital. Therefore, the interaction of a segment of a society and their surrounding urban environment and the way this interaction is influenced by national authorities and vice versa shall be investigated.

During the research process for this thesis, people often asked how it came that I am so interested in waste. The topic of waste might seem quite boring or ‘un glamorous’ at first sight. However, I am aware of the global ‘waste problem’ and interested in various existing solution approaches since my eight-months-stay in the West African state of Benin in 2012. In Benin, I realised how much waste, especially plastic waste, people produce in their everyday life. Every single purchased item will be packed in small black plastic bags, which people often throw away on the streets right after they got it. In addition, in March 2015, I met Marcus Eriksen, the co-founder of 5 Gyres. 5 Gyres is an organisation that tries to conserve our oceans by collecting data of oceanic plastic debris to understand the global spatial distribution of plastic pollution. I listened to his speech about the global occurrence of plastic and I became concerned about the fact that we literally live in a ‘plastic world’. After those two life-changing experiences, I wanted to find out more about this human caused environmental problem. After I have already written a few seminar papers about waste, especially plastic waste, I decided to also write my master’s thesis about the interaction of people and the solid waste they increasingly produce. Last year, I heard that Rwanda is increasingly considered to be a “role model” for other African countries and even for many non-African states in terms of waste management (URL1). For this reason, Kigali was
selected as my research field. I was highly interested in finding out why especially Rwanda has become that clean and what has lead to the national desire to achieve absolute public cleanliness.

Before continuing with the presentation of the structure of this thesis, it is necessary to explain two terms that are used in the course of this thesis.

**Pollution**
The focus of this thesis lays on visual urban pollution mainly caused by solid waste. The analysis of the local dealing with and perception of, for example, liquid or air pollution, was skipped, as it would go beyond the scope of this thesis.

**Waste**
Every thing – be it a solid waste item or anything else defined as a polluting actor by the respective society – that has a direct or indirect negative effect on the urban environment, on people’s health, or simply disturbs the aesthetic appearance of the urban area, can fall under the category of visible urban pollution. What people define as polluting or as waste depends on the specific society. As explained by Mikael Drackner (2005), “there are various ways of seeing waste” (ibid: 178). According to the anthropologists Mary Douglas ([1966] 2003) and Michael Thompson (2003), waste is socially defined. Within every society, different social groups attribute a high value to very different things. So, from society to society, and from one social group to another social group, items can be perceived in various ways. People of one specific society or of one particular social group determine what kind of things they define as waste, as negative items that have to be disposed of (Thompson 2003: 24-34). More generally spoken, a thing defined as waste is discarded and perceived as a valueless, unwanted item by the majority of a specific social group at a specific time (Drackner 2005: 176).

This thesis contributes to the fields of anthropology of pollution and waste and governmentality studies. By embedding some research results in the field of waste studies, it will be revealed what the Rwandan government, as well as a segment of Kigali’s society, perceive as waste or polluting actors of the urban environment.
1.4. **Structure of the Master’s Thesis**

During the research process of this thesis, various methods were applied, such as the conduct of interviews and an extensive literature search, to gain necessary information on the principal research theme and to ascertain the main arguments for answering the research questions. In the chapter following the introduction, different steps that lead to elaborate the main research focus, as well as the reason why the methodology had to be modified and adapted to new circumstances in the course of the research process, will be presented. In the following chapter, the main anthropological and social scientific theories and concepts that constitute the theoretical and thematic framework of this thesis shall be outlined. It introduces the anthropological analysis of the notions of pollution and cleanliness of anthropologists, such as Mary Douglas ([1966] 2003), Eveline Dürr (2016), Thomas H. Eriksen (2013), as well as Michel Foucault’s ([1970] 2006) notion of governmentality. This chapter gives an overview of theoretical approaches in which the research topic is embedded. Afterwards, a short insight will be given into the current socio-political and environmental situation of Rwanda and how “the country of a thousand hills” (Adekunle 2007: ix) managed to rebuild itself after the devastating genocide of 1994.

The main part of this thesis focuses on the research findings stemming from eighteen qualitative interviews that were conducted during the research process. Numerous recurrent statements of the interviewees will be analysed and associated with findings from secondary data. Research results will be examined by following theoretical lines of various anthropologists and social scientists. In chapter 5, the extent to which there has always existed a certain urge towards order and a cleanliness requirement among the Rwandan population, as well as the extent to which this desire for cleanliness and order has been intensified since the turn of the millennium, shall be revealed. In Chapter 6, the reasons why the control of the urban pollution became a political imperative and by what means Kigali’s cleanliness has been achieved within a very short time shall be explored. This chapter analyses the Rwandan regime’s specific form of governance regarding the implementation of its environmental policy, which strives to keep Kigali clean, from a more political point of view. By finding answers to this thesis’ sub-question, chapter 7 analyses the intertwining of forced displacement measures taken in Kigali, the government’s cleanliness discourse and the social segregation of a segment of the urban society that do not fit the image of a clean, ordered and developed city. This thesis finishes with a conclusion where the main statements will be pointed out.
2. Methodology

Theories made in the scholarly field of anthropology have to rely on empirical data (Eriksen 2010: 31). On that note, this chapter states and analyses the entire set of methods that were applied in order to get the empirical knowledge that is required to understand the extent to which the legal and political clean-up measures imposed by the Rwandan government and Kigali’s residents’ imaginations and concepts, as well as their management of urban pollution, mutually influence each other regarding the maintenance of Kigali’s public cleanliness.

2.1. First Step: Feasibility of the Empirical Research

In December 2016, I heard that in Rwanda the use and production of single-use plastic bags have been banned since 2008 and that Kigali is apparently the cleanest African city. Impressed by these facts about Rwanda, I decided to write my master’s thesis about the seemingly exemplary management of the different kinds of waste in Kigali City.

Before beginning to research this topic, it was necessary to establish the feasibility of the proposed study. Conversations with various academics and other actors familiar with or currently living in Kigali confirmed that the research question was valid and that there exist possibilities to collect enough empirical data material on the ground. One of these experts in particular, a Luxembourgish citizen who visited Rwanda several times, facilitated this project by arranging an intended stay in Kigali and providing contacts to various local stakeholders.

Initially, I decided that the ethnographic fieldwork in Rwanda should constitute the main methodological procedure to collect empirical data. The field research in Kigali was planned to take place between August 20\textsuperscript{th} and October 10\textsuperscript{th} 2017. Primary data collection methods were selected and various experts in the field were contacted for interview. But, unfortunately, I did not get a visa from the Belgian embassy of Rwanda. Due to this refusal of access, I decided to forego ethnographic fieldwork and to conduct research from afar, despite being aware of the fact that anthropologists should ideally work on the spot and make their own assessment of a given situation (Mead et al. [1962] 2001: 163).

It was decided that this thesis should limit itself to Kigali, the capital of Rwanda, on the grounds that it constitutes the “model city” of Rwanda (Goodfellow & Smith 2013: 3201) where legal and political decisions are taken and implemented most quickly. An analysis of
the whole country would go beyond the scope of this master’s thesis. In addition, all of the Rwandan interview partners are from or currently live in Kigali, apart from one female interviewee who lives in Gisenyi, which is close to the Congolese boarder.

2.2. Data Collection Methods
Before presenting in detail which methods were used to collect and subsequently analyse empirical data material, some characteristics of the research process will be noted.

As in an empirical science like anthropology the interplay of theory and data constitutes a crucial role (Eriksen 2010: 31), this ethnography can best be described by a dynamic alternation between a deductive and inductive approach. I constantly moved backwards and forwards between the collection of empirical material and a theoretical analysis of that material. Previously developed hypotheses have been modified in the course of the research process, especially after data analysis sessions and further reading of scholarly and popular literature. Although some hypotheses were elaborated before conducting interviews, the research design was kept as flexible as possible and the subsequent analysis of the collected data was guided on pre-existing and mostly anthropological theories. Therefore, the extended case method was applied. This method applies reflexive science to ethnography by starting out from different academic theories and combining them with local theories or narratives (Burawoy 1998: 7). It “takes as its premise the intersubjectivity of the scientist and the subject of study” (ibid: 4) and “sets out from a dialogue between the scientist and the studied people” (ibid: 7). All in all, the extended case method moves from the micro-level to the macro-level by exploring a single phenomenon illustrating a general principle, all by building on already existing theories. In this sense, the different interpretations of social norms and rules of the heterogeneous society should be explored and pointed out, rather than developing general laws (ibid: 9-14).

Moreover, it should be noted that qualitative social research was conducted and that the arguments to answer the research questions were ascertained through the collection and subsequent combination of primary and secondary data. Qualitative social research points out the access to reality through subjective interpretations and deals with verbal material (Mayring 1995: 213). Qualitative social research is concerned with the study of individual situations and situational social contexts (Strauss 1998: 26).
In the following part of this subchapter, the different methods that were used to collect the primary and secondary data needed to answer the research questions will be presented.

2.2.1. Anthropology from Afar: The Study of Culture at a Distance

According to the Norwegian anthropologist Thomas H. Eriksen (2010), ethnographic fieldwork is often perceived as the most essential method to collect information about a society or a certain cultural phenomenon (ibid: 27). Anthropologists should stay in the research field for a certain period of time in order to observe a society from their own perspective and to simultaneously obtain first-hand knowledge from the local population. Field observation and the conduct of formal and/or informal interviews and conversations are, after all, some of the main research methods for the acquisition of empirical and anthropologically relevant data material (Beer 2008: 11).

However, ethnography in general can also be conducted through the use of qualitative methods other than just the collection of information within the respective physical location. Due to my visa refusal, it was not possible to conduct first-hand observations in Rwanda and to talk to people on-site. Consequently, it was necessary to re-evaluate the research focus and methods used in this thesis in order to obtain qualitative data. Within the bounds of these restrictions, it was decided that the management and notion of cleanliness in Kigali could be studied from a distance.

The research project is characterised by a study and a data collection that happened off-site, which means that I was separated in space from the research field and the studied social group. Margaret Mead et al. ([1962] 2001), who studied a society and its national policy at a distance as well, mentions in the book Russian Culture that an anthropologist doing research from afar is reliant on informants and written and/or visual material to which he or she can have access. This material may report only certain aspects of the studied field. But still, the challenge for the researcher is then the same as when he or she has done fieldwork: the various forms of data material collected through different research methods have to be related and “cultural regularities” need to be pointed out (ibid: 166-167).

The methodological approach of studying a society at a distance started to gain popularity during, and partly, after World War II, when the world community was divided. Many governments strictly controlled the access to their respective countries, as was the case with
Russia when Mead (1953; [1962] 2001), an American anthropologist, wanted to study its society during World War II. Even today, not all societies are accessible for direct observation. The spatial inaccessibility of a society can have numerous causes, be it because of a period of war within the intended area of study, or be it because of other – for example natural (mountains, rivers, etc.) – “barriers to travel and research” (Mead 1953: 3). Although anthropologists do not have to physically take up contact with the studied field, they can still get adequate qualitative data material by combining methods other than those related to fieldwork.

The method of studying a society from afar is particularly developed from other anthropological methods, such as conducting interviews, the analysis of written and/or visual material, the examination of scholarly literature, etc. (Mead 1953: 4, 10). The following part of this subchapter illustrates the qualitative data collection method, which was applied to compensate the missing fieldwork, namely conducting qualitative e-interviews with informants partly living in the studied society.

2.2.2. Qualitative Interviews

The acquisition of qualitative data was limited to key informants and respondent interviews that were mainly conducted via Skype and WhatsApp due to the spatial inaccessibility of the field of research. So-called e-interviews are conducted via email, Skype or telephone. As the German ethnologist Judith Schlehe (2008) mentions in her article about ethnographic interviews, this method of conducting interviews gives the researcher the opportunity to gain primary qualitative data without being bound to time and space (ibid: 129). However, as some of the interviewees live in Luxembourg, I was able to meet them personally and to interview them in my home country.

I came into contact with most of the eighteen interview partners through my luxembourghish gate keeper. Additionally, some of the interview partners, student colleagues and acquaintances provided me further contacts that I could interview for this thesis. As I had to rely on the help of other people who have contacts in Kigali regarding the seeking out of interview partners, I literally ‘took what I could get’. Nevertheless, I have to say that I was lucky with my eighteen interview partners as they were willing to help me without hesitation, despite the fact that most of them never met me in real life.
I interviewed eight women and ten men aged between twenty-five and seventy (cf. Appendix 1). The people with whom interviews were conducted were, among others, nine people who lived or at least worked in Kigali and who represented an educated, middle to high-income section of the urban society. One female interviewee lived in Gisenyi, which is close to the Congolese border. Most of the interview partners living in Kigali resided in the Nyarugenge district, the centralised business district of Rwanda’s capital. One of the interviewed inhabitants of Kigali was an environmentalist who turned out to be an expert on the legal and political measures taken by the Rwandan government to keep Kigali as clean as possible. Another citizen of Rwanda was the CEO of a private waste collection and recycling company located in Kigali. This person too provided a lot of insightful information about the numerous clean-up efforts of the state, especially about the privatized waste management system in Kigali. Most of the non-Rwandan interviewees had been to Rwanda several times because of their professions or within the scope of volunteering work for charitable organisations. One of them was an expert on the Rwandan political environment who had publicly commented on the Rwandan presidential elections the previous year. Another one was the anthropologist Eveline Dürr with whom I discussed the research topic from an anthropological perspective and with special regard to her theoretical approaches to the political production of pollution. Due to the inability to obtain a visa, I decided to not ask any Rwandan government authorities for interviews.

A gender perspective is not included in this thesis, since no noticeable differences between the interviewed women and men regarding their conception of and dealing with solid waste in Kigali were identified. However, the further analysis of a possible gender perspective on Kigali’s visible cleanliness might constitute an insightful research field.

The interviews were either conducted in English or in French. Before determining the research topic for this thesis, I decided to set the regional focus on a country where I can speak at least one of the national languages fluently. Philipp Mayring (1995) emphasises in his article about qualitative data analysis the importance of knowledge of the language, which is spoken in the field of research. Qualitative social research deals after all with verbal material (ibid: 213). As I speak English and French, two of the three official languages in Rwanda, fluently, there were no language barriers between the interview partners and me.
The interviews were performed with the use of semi-structured questionnaires (cf. Appendix 2). This form of questionnaire should raise precise questions about every important aspect of the respective research subject. Conducting semi-structured interviews is recommended when the researcher has only one opportunity to interview the respective interview partners (Schlehe 2008: 126-127). Two quite similar questionnaires were designed comprising approximately twenty questions, in each case in English and French. One questionnaire was set up for the interviewees who are living in Rwanda and the other one for those who are not living in Rwanda but who had visited the country for various reasons. Although the questionnaires may contain all the questions that the researcher wants to ask during the interviews, he or she should not fix to those questions or to the sequence of the questions and try to work as flexibly as possible with the questionnaires (ibid). So did I.

All interviews began by asking the respondents if it would be possible to record the interview and if their statements should be anonymized in this thesis. Due to the fact that public authorities rejected my research visa application, I later decided not to mention any names, except from the expert interview with Eveline Dürr, in order to protect the integrity of my sources, although many of the interviewees agreed to the mentioning of their full names in this thesis. The interviews continued by asking them a few introductory questions (Tell me a little bit about yourself: Who are you, what is your profession, where do you come from, where do you live? How does the neighbourhood, in which you live in Kigali / stayed during your time in Kigali, look like? Etc.). As it can be insightful to combine questions about the perception of the urban environment and about individual concepts of cleanliness while analysing the management and perception of waste of an urban population (Chevron & Reinprecht 2002: 35), I subsequently asked them questions about cleanliness and their notion of a clean urban environment (How important is cleanliness for you / for Kigali residents? Why? When do you define your surrounding environment as clean? Etc.), followed by questions about their perception and management of waste and urban pollution (Tell me how you would define waste or rubbish? When do you define a thing as waste? How do you manage to keep your surrounding environment clean? Do you know any legal framework, laws or obligations concerning the way you should manage your waste properly? If yes, from where did you get all the information? Tell me about any experience with waste you have had recently! Etc.). At the end, I asked them more general and open questions about the Rwandan capital (How do you perceive Kigali and how would you describe the streets of Kigali, regarding the city’s management of urban pollution? In your opinion, to what extent has
Kigali changed since your childhood? Do you think that there exist differences or even inequalities between different neighbourhoods or districts regarding the cleanliness and the waste deposits within the streets? If yes, which differences between which districts/neighbourhoods? How did Kigali become the cleanest city in Africa? Etc.).

As soon as the interviews with most of the eighteen people were finished, the interviews, which were recorded on a tablet PC, were transcribed. The textualisation of acoustic information constitutes an essential intermediate step between the recording and the analysis of data. It actually facilitates the analysis of the oral data material. The researcher has the choice to decide how precisely he or she wants to write down the interview statements. In general, many researchers only transcribe the sequences that appear necessary for the answering of the research questions (Flick et al. 1995: 161-162); so did I.

2.2.3. Literature Research
The primary data obtained from semi-structured interviews was complemented with written secondary data. The use of a variety of written sources, such as relevant websites, official online documents, as well as adequate, mostly scholarly, literature, should help the researcher to gain additional arguments for answering the research question providing more information about various aspects of the topic of research (Mead 1953: 219).

As reading literature providing information related to historic events of a society can contribute to a better understanding of its present circumstances (Eriksen 2010: 37), various historical sources relevant to Rwanda’s past were consulted in order to provide such an oversight.

All in all, the reading and analysis of relevant websites, official documents, written contributions on the country’s past as well as scholarly literature during the whole research process complemented the primary data gained through qualitative interviews. Moreover, adding information from literature sources to the knowledge gained from primary data also helped to narrow down the principal focus of this thesis.

2.3. Analysis of Data
The aim of the analysis of qualitative data is to systematically edit the collected and transcribed data. The information gained in interviews will be evaluated and structured so that
it can be categorised and further analysed (Mayring 1995). The content of the collected data and the context of its recording is examined in detail (Strauss 1998: 26).

A range of different techniques to analyse qualitative data exists. Within the frame of this thesis, the qualitative data analysis according to the Grounded Theory was applied to analyse the transcribed answers of the interviewees. The qualitative data analysis according to the Grounded Theory is a positivist method of social science (Burawoy 1998: 27). This means that the collected research material is repeatedly examined and then interpreted in order to generate and verify a theory. This theory, which should elucidate relevant behavioural patterns of a specific social group, should be grounded on this collected data (ibid: 19, 30-31). This positivist method of analysing collected data and identifying social realities might pose some challenges for the researcher. After all, a researcher adopting a positivist position will come to knowledge through the interpretation of positive findings. Positive means in this case that the findings must be verifiable and representative so that a theory can be generated out of these findings (Egner 2010: 30). As it would not be feasible to adopt a positivist position and to generate a new theory from my research findings, a constructivist approach to analyse the empirical data was primarily applied. According to this epistemological position, the social reality results from the respective social context. A researcher who takes in a constructivist position at academic working is aware of the heterogeneity of a studied social group and highlights different perspectives on the social reality, rather than trying to illustrate an ultimate worldview of the studied group (ibid: 34-38).

Nevertheless, there are numerous significant features of the Grounded Theory method, such as codification, theoretical sampling, or the writing of memos, which were used to analyse the collected data and will be presented below.

The existing data that has to be analysed according to the Grounded Theory can be gained from different sources: interviews, observations made in the field, official documents or other written texts. Even personal experiences and expert knowledge of the researcher can be analysed and contribute to the formulation of a theory (Strauss 1998: 28, 36). In the case of this thesis, the experiences surrounding my visa refusal had not only an impact on the specific perspective I took to analyse my empirical data, but they were also examined in detail within the process of data analysis.
The first step analysing the transcribed interviews is to carefully read every single word of them. I manually marked repeated ideas or statements that could help in answering my research questions and I tagged them with codes. This first step of analysis is called ‘open coding’. After this first step of analysis, a theoretical sampling was done, which means that I decided what supplementary data should be collected and what data needed to be analysed in more detail. Thereupon, I started reading additional secondary data and I precisely determined in which anthropological theories the research results should be embedded. Then, the ‘selective coding’ was applied by determining socially constructed codes (based on my background/expertise knowledge) that could fit into an overall category of codes. The examination of empirical data and the determination of codes were repeated several times during the research process. Former specified codes were interrelated with new ones and overall categories connecting similar codes were modified. By determining codes and categories, particular social behavioural and conceptual patterns of the interviewed persons could be highlighted (Strauss 1998: 57-70). I captured the different codes I decided to use and to connect with each other in memos, which I wrote down in my research diary.

Ultimately, the interpretation of the collected data provided me with the knowledge needed to understand to what extent the legal and political clean-up measures imposed by the Rwandan government and Kigali’s residents’ imaginations and concepts, as well as their management of urban pollution, mutually influence each other regarding the maintenance of Kigali’s public cleanliness.

During the whole research process, I used a research diary to note any thoughts, questions, findings or whole memos and to keep an overview of my study. After all, the researcher should analyse and reflect upon his or her chosen methods, ideas or findings throughout the whole research process, not only after the transcription of the collected empirical data. Many researchers have already an idea of what and how data should be collected and subsequently analysed, even before or at least during the actual data collection process.

2.4. Limitations
The two main limitations I faced in the course of the research process are linked to the socio-political situation in Rwanda. As already mentioned, I intended to do field research in Kigali but unfortunately I did not get a visa from the Belgian embassy of Rwanda. For over a month, I attempted to get all the necessary documents in order to obtain a research visa. However,
none of the responsible authorities, which means that neither the Rwandan Ministry of Education nor any research institution, nor the immigration office of Rwanda, permitted me to enter the country. The reasons for the refusals I got were mostly unsubstantiated. Numerous Rwandan and Luxembourgish contacts, even a few politicians, tried everything to help me in order to undertake my field trip to Kigali, but without success. After two dozen emails, which I sent to my contact persons in Kigali, as well as to Rwandan and Luxembourgish authorities, a meeting with the first consultant at the Belgian embassy of Rwanda, a meeting at the Luxembourgish Chamber of Deputies, the rebooking of my flight to Kigali and the realisation that my entry ban to Rwanda can probably be explained by the fact that I criticised the undemocratic governance of the national authoritarian regime in my research proposal (which I sent to the Rwandan authorities in order to request a research access certificate), I realised that my field research would not take place.

It must be noted that the various experiences made during my rejected visa application also brought me additional contextual knowledge regarding the socio-political and legal situation in Rwanda. Every kind of experience gained during the organisation of fieldwork or interviews can turn out to be helpful for the researcher as it brings him or her additional contextual knowledge (Strauss 1998: 36). As the researcher’s biography often has an influence on the ethnographic content (Eriksen 2010: 37), I have to remark that the happenings surrounding the visa refusal had not only an impact on the further course of the research, but also on the specific perspective I took to analyse the empirical data. After all, I adopt a constructivist approach to science, which assumes that perceptions of the studied individuals, as well as every scientific paper or thesis, results within a specific social context. The latter one results within the context of the researcher (Egner 2010: 34).

The limitation regarding the entry ban to Rwanda brings me to the next one, which is also linked to the political conditions of Rwanda, namely the veracity of statements made by a certain number of interviewees. Due to the authoritarian regime, opposing against the Rwandan government or talking negatively about political decisions implemented by the national government can constitute a high personal risk in Rwanda. I had the impression that during the interviews with Rwandans, some of them did not want to tell me what they actually felt or thought about different political or legal measures strictly implemented by the state. Moreover, as there exists almost no freedom of speech or press freedom, the information they get from local news services is partly censored and does not always report the social reality of
Rwanda. The information I received in the course of interviews with Rwandan citizens has thus to be analysed critically with special regard to the socio-political context of Rwanda.

In addition, I only interviewed financially well-off Rwandan citizens who are not excluded from society and have not been displaced by the Rwandan government due to their place of living or their professional activity. They are part of the educated, middle to high-income section of Kigali’s society who themselves were not affected by any resettlement measures of the government. As the extended case method was applied, the research findings based on the empirical data represent the perceptual reality of this specific heterogeneous social group and do not aim at creating general laws or generating a theory. After all, a constructivist position to science was adopted, meaning that the findings were analysed by taking into account the specific social context of the interviewed people. The social reality presented in this thesis is only that of a section of the perceived reality of my interview partners who mainly represent the middle to high-income group of Kigali’s society. It is crucial to note that I do not aim for encompassing objectivity.

Moreover, I could not find any Rwandan newspaper articles or papers of Rwandan scholars analysing my research topic in a more critical way. Considering its lack of criticism, I used Rwandan secondary data material with a certain scepticism and censoriousness.

Another crucial limitation I faced during the collection of primary data was the very slow internet connection in Rwanda. This hindered smooth communication between most of the interviewees living in Rwanda and me.

2.5. Conclusion: Case Study Research

All in all, different qualitative methods were used to collect and subsequently examine different forms of data material in order to get insights into the mutual influence of political institutions’ and a sample of Kigali’s heterogeneous population’s notions of and dealings with urban cleanliness and pollution.

Regarding the time and methodological possibilities I had at hand for drawing up this master’s thesis, the study of the mutual impact of the Rwandan government’s measures taken to clean-up Kigali City and local notions of cleanliness and pollution of the middle to high-income section of the urban society does not cover the whole socio-political phenomenon.
This thesis only represents a small case study, which gives a deeper insight into the way and the main motives for why a limited part of the capital’s heterogeneous society currently manages with great success to keep its surrounding environment extraordinarily clean. According to the American social scientist Robert K. Yin (1984), a case study is a qualitative research method widely used by social scientists. Case studies analyse the context of only a limited number of events and their respective relationships. A case study like the one reported in this thesis examines a contemporary phenomenon within a specific “real-life context” of a heterogeneous society (ibid: 23).
3. Theoretical and Thematic Framework

This thesis contributes to the fields of anthropology of pollution and waste and to governmentality studies. By applying the extended case method, many of the interpretative statements and conclusions are based on already existing theories of those scholarly fields and partly emphasise their veracity. The embedding of my research results in a number of anthropological and social scientific theories will enable me to find out how far the aspiration of the Rwandan government for a clean capital does not only constitute a hygienic requirement, but also a symbol of modernisation and one means for political purposes. The research’s theoretical and thematic framework based on anthropological and social scientific theories enables an analysis of the mutual impact of the Rwandan government’s clean-up efforts and local concepts of urban pollution from a much broader academic point of view.

3.1. Anthropology of Pollution and Waste

While analysing the perception of cleanliness and uncleanliness, or pollution, of the Rwandan government, as well as of a segment of Kigali’s society, various theoretical views on pollution and dirt developed by numerous anthropologists and other social scientists of different academic periods will be applied. Most of them partly influenced each other’s theory development.

3.1.1. Order and Disorder: Waste as an Effect of Classification

Mary Douglas’ book *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concept of Pollution and Taboo*, published in 1966, constitutes a fundamental work in the studies of pollution and waste. Inspired by Claude Lévi-Strauss’ structuralism, Douglas argues that as soon as social order or a social system is created, there will be dirt. What matters are defined as dirty or polluting depends on the cultural context of the social order. Through a symbolic definition of what (and who) is defined as ‘pollutant’, social categories marking the difference between safe and dangerous, between what can ‘stay here’ and what should be removed or eliminated are constructed. In Douglas’ opinion, dirt is “a matter out of place”, which constitutes a threat to social order ([1966] 2003: 44). As societies strive for public order, without which they could not survive, waste or any other form of pollution is unwanted and will therefore be disposed of. Dirt or pollution point out the distinction between order and disorder, safe and dangerous. They are by-products, waste products, of a “systematic ordering and classification of matter, in so far as ordering involves rejecting inappropriate elements” (ibid: 44). In short, dirt or
waste constitutes the social category that is rejected by the society as it can be a source of danger and create disorder.

Regarding her distinction between order and disorder when it comes to elucidating the concept of pollution in an anthropological way, Douglas states that pollution has “much to do with morals” (Douglas ([1966] 2003: 160). Certain provisions of a society about how its population should think of and subsequently deal with forms of appearance of pollution emphasise general societal rules about “morally disapproved behaviour” (ibid: 160). What behaviour a society defines as right or wrong can be reflected and highlighted by rules of pollution and cleanliness. The public moral code of what is socially accepted in terms of pollution impacts the population’s conscience concerning the way it should deal with certain forms of pollution. In this sense, beliefs or concepts of pollution that are broadly anchored in a society can keep social order, as very few people want to be judged by the rest of the society for their violation of pollution rules (ibid: 161-165).

Similar to Douglas, Gay Hawkins (2006) is of the opinion that a society’s definition of waste or pollution implies the creation of a certain sense of public order and that waste is an “effect of classification” (ibid: 2). What a society classifies as waste or pollution reveals a lot of information about current socio-cultural trends.

Those anthropological perspectives on the concept of pollution and cleanliness as instruments for the maintenance of public order will help me to explain how the Rwandan government was able to successfully clean-up Kigali City in an extremely short time. Just like Douglas ([1966] 2003) and Hawkins (2006), I want to decode a society’s (Kigali’s) socio-cultural realities “by going through its garbage” and by illustrating what it defines as waste or pollution (Hawkins 2006: 2).

3.1.2. Human Waste
According to the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (2005), the increasing demand for public order has been triggered by the global modernisation drive of the last decades. We currently live in a world of excess where not only material objects are much more quickly defined as superfluous or unwanted and become waste, but also human beings. Some people, just like specific objects, do not fit into the rebuilding and development project of certain societies striving for (urban) planning and order (ibid: 37, 46).
The anthropologist Thomas H. Eriksen (2013) also draws a parallel between the way we handle waste and the way people are treated. Just like material objects, humans may be classified by a society as “matters out of place” (Douglas [1966] 2003: 44; quoted in Eriksen 2013: 123) who have to be controlled or excluded from this society. As inherent order has to be maintained, unwanted humans considered as a possible threat to this public order can be expelled from this society based on their physical appearance, the appearance of their living areas or their economic status. As soon as they are classified as impure or undesirable and it is judged that they do not fit in an ordered community, which is striving for development and progress, they will be monitored, which often equates with ‘expelled from society’ (Eriksen 2013: 123-129).

Those expelled people are often cramped, physically removed to places outside community, such as prisons, refugee camps or isolated settlement areas, so that the ‘tidy’ part of the society can keep a certain distance to them and does not have to confront themselves with ‘discarded’ humans. Similar to Eriksen (2013) and Bauman (2005), the anthropologist Catherine Thorleifsson (2017) argues that the attribution of the status of waste to unwanted humans, be it immigrants, foreigners, fellow citizens, etc., is an outcome of modernity as there are more and more ‘superfluous’ people in a confined space who have little (economic) value for the society (ibid: 318). Thorleifsson, who applies theoretical approaches of Zygmunt Bauman (2005) and Mary Douglas ([1966] 2003) to her analysis of the categorisation of humans as waste, explains that “polluting others” are portrayed by a specific social group or a state as a danger or a threat to the local order, security, culture or its image (Thorleifsson 2017: 319). They are framed as an “anomaly to the quest for utopian purity, unity and order” (ibid: 319). By equating a certain group of people with waste or ‘threat’ to the public order, their exclusion or forced displacement will be legitimised. Although Thorleifsson primarily examines anti-immigration campaigns of right-wing radicals in European countries trying to legitimise the exclusion and discrimination of ‘polluting migrants’, I am of the opinion that her analysis of the categorisation of humans as waste can be superimposed on the examination of the Rwandan government’s policy and its specific arguments determining whose citizens have to leave the city centre of Kigali.

Generally speaking, I will follow theoretical lines of Bauman (2005), Eriksen (2013) and Thorleifsson (2017) about unwanted human beings who are perceived as waste when I
examine the Rwandan government’s justification for and final implementation of the forced displacement of the residents of informal settlements in Kigali.

Added to those theories mentioned above about the social phenomenon of classifying and treating unwanted people as waste, I will use the political notion of cultural pollution of the anthropologists Eveline Dürr and Rivke Jaffe (2010; 2014) for the analysis of Rwanda’s government’s exertion of urban control.

3.1.3. Removal of Urban Pollution in the Name of Social Progress

The aim of this master’s thesis is not only to elucidate how the government and the middle to high-income sector of the population of Kigali City are dealing with urban visual pollution, but also how they define and react to what Dürr and Jaffe (2010) call ‘cultural’ or ‘symbolic’ pollution (ibid: 3-4). The concept of cultural pollution analyses pollution as a “socially constructed phenomenon”, which creates social categories and subsequently maintains public order (ibid: 5). Similarly to Eriksen (2013), Dürr and Jaffe (2014) point out that public rules of, or discourses on, pollution and order can legitimise the exclusion of a certain group of people as they are defined as unwanted persons or ‘pollutants’ who should be disposed of the society (ibid: 419, 423).

Dürr’s and Jaffe’s (2010; 2014) theoretical concept of pollution builds on Mary Douglas’ ([1966] 2003) argument that pollution is culturally constructed and equates to “symbolic pollution” (Dürr & Jaffe 2010: 4). Symbolic pollution creates “social categories” marking “the difference between safe and dangerous” (ibid: 4). From an anthropological perspective, pollution is primarily a “moral symbolism” (Dürr 2016: 133), rather than just a hygienic phenomenon (Dürr & Jaffe 2010: 4). However, Dürr and Jaffe share a more materialistic perspective on pollution than Douglas and partly criticise her structuralist approach. Douglas leaves out an analysis of the impact of the “materiality” and the specific place of a matter that is ‘out of place’ (Kersten 2016: 10-11). Dürr and Jaffe (2010) argue that the notion of urban pollution can be used to legitimise certain political measures taken to control populations and public spaces, such as the rebuilding of ‘polluting’ urban areas. The two anthropologists explain that, according to governments aiming at modernising and further developing their capital, urban planning should primarily be marked by progress and public order, where any form of pollution should be avoided or eliminated. Filthy, unplanned, poor urban areas are opposed to the image of an overall planned, future-oriented and progressive city by the
government or the majority of a society (ibid: 5-10). People living in those areas are defined as “matters out of place” (Douglas [1966] 2003: 44) that have to be resettled in planned and tidy areas and their former neighbourhoods need to be rebuilt so that they fit the image of an ordered and developed urban landscape. Dürr and Jaffe (2010) state that the absence of waste, be it in form of material objects or humans, is a feature of development and modernisation (ibid: 9-10). Through the equation of ‘dirty’ or ‘polluted’ with ‘underdeveloped’ and ‘unsafe’, spatial rebuilding measures and the forced displacement of people are justified. Residents of informal urban areas are perceived as ‘dirty’ humans who pollute the urban space and subsequently decelerate the process of modernisation (Dürr & Jaffe 2014: 417-418; Dürr 2016: 138-139). To quote Mary Douglas, they are living “out of place” ([1966] 2003: 44) and therefore have to be removed from the planned, ordered community.

By applying Dürr’s and Jaffe’s (2010; 2014) anthropological perspective on the use of urban pollution discourses in the cultural production of difference, it can be explained how the Rwandan government legitimises its forced human displacement plans in the name of urban cleanliness symbolising development and modernisation.

3.1.4. Governments’ Utopian Vision of a Clean, Ordered City

While analysing the research results, I will refer to the anthropologist James Scott (1998) and his analysis of urban governance. The focus of the analyses lies primarily on authoritarian states exercising power in order to bring huge, almost utopian social changes, with special regard to a city’s cleanliness standards.

The anthropologist James Scott (1998) reveals in his work Seeing like a state: how certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed how states all around the world have tried to make their high-modernist ideologies of the city a social reality. Scott (1998) describes this ideology as a highly utopian vision of cities, which should not only be scientifically and technically progressive, but also look ordered. Inherent social order is reflected in the visual/aesthetic manifestation of the city. The existing society, with all its historical background and socio-cultural peculiarities, should be replaced by a new, ordered, disciplined and future-driven one. By drawing upon, amongst many others, Le Corbusier’s urban planning theory realised in Brasilia, Brazil, Scott (1998) explains that high-modernist urban planning is characterised by a “geometric logic” and a “functional efficiency acquired through formal order” (ibid: 115). Different areas and the people living in those areas “fail
aesthetically to meet [the] standards of discipline and order” (ibid: 116). According to the Swiss-French urban planner and architect Le Corbusier and the high-modernist urban planning theory, those people constitute “human garbage” and an “obstacle” for public authorities aiming to modernise and rebuild the city (ibid: 116). Polluted, “noisy”, “dangerous”, unplanned and informal urban areas should be transformed into geometric, ordered and aesthetically appealing city districts (ibid: 116). Kigali’s public authorities’ management and conception of visual urban pollution will be analysed by superimposing Scott’s (1998) reflections about governments striving for the implementation of high-modernist ideologies or utopias and thereby ignoring local conditions and the social reality.

3.2. Governmentality Studies
Michel Foucault’s ([1970] 2006; [1975] 2008) theoretical concept of governmentality within modern societies will be applied to the examination and illustration of the mutual influence of the almost single ruling party RPF’s strict governance and Kigali’s society’s middle-income people’s maintenance of visual cleanliness and order.

The French philosopher and sociologist Michel Foucault analysed modern governments in a series of lectures given at the Collège de France in Paris between 1977 and 1979. The most important lecture is entitled “Governmentality” and analyses what Foucault calls “the art of government” ([1970] 2006: 52). This art emerges within fifteenth and sixteenth century Europe, when new forms of socio-economic relationships and new political structures occurred, questioning the previous form of government, namely sovereignty, and its focus on issues of territory (Inda 2005: 3-4; Focuault ([1970] 2006: 521). After the expansion of capitalism and demographic growth, a new form of governing societies had to be developed (Foucault [1970] 2006: 4). Governmentality is a new system of power applied by modern liberal states of the seventeenth and eighteenth century which perceive the population’s welfare, as well as the accumulation of the population’s wealth and the state’s power, as their fundamental targets (ibid: 524, 564). In addition to its focus on the population’s welfare, governmentality is based on principles of political economy to manage that population. By introducing economy into political practice, a “form of entire surveillance and control” over the population, including its social behaviour and wealth, will be set up (Inda 2005: 4). Governmentality is characterised by the effort of the state to provide general security, public order and discipline among its population through surveillance and control (Focuault ([1970] 2006: 144, 524). The population, together with its welfare, constitute both the modern
government’s purpose, as well as the instrument of the government to achieve the purpose of collective welfare directly through large-scale campaigns or indirectly through different security techniques shaping and conducting individuals’ behaviour (ibid: 158).

So governmentality or the new art of government focuses on controlling social behaviour of the individuals of a population so that order and general security, and consequently collective welfare, can be maintained.

Foucault ([1970] 2006) explains that the use of a specific policy, an ensemble of different security technologies or techniques (different rules, laws and limitations) to create a coercive and disciplinary system of power where individuals have to comply with rules and instructions given by the state, all this in order to restore or maintain order, discipline and security among the society, is a crucial characteristic of modern governments (ibid: 56-59). In other words, the modern state controls individuals through a specific policy, an ensemble of disciplinary security techniques, which impose different rules of conduct and laws to the population so that order will be maintained and state power can be increased (ibid: 449-452). Modern governments aim at taking control over the human body and create discipline among the individuals of their society. The individuals of the society are simultaneously objects and subjects of the government. The government needs the population as a specific instrument in order to achieve political objectives, such as the people’s raising living standards. For this, individuals’ behaviours and mentalities are shaped and conducted by the state with the help of different disciplinary technologies. With the transformation of individuals into docile bodies through the government’s technologies of power, overall political objectives will be achieved (Foucault [1970] 2006: 13, 158; Kammler, Parr & Schneider 2014: 230-231). The government aims at taking “control over the human body” and creating discipline among the individuals of a society (Inda 2005: 5-6). The government conducts, manipulates and transforms human life through a system of discipline and surveillance into docile bodies who help in fulfilling its policies (Foucault [1970] 2006: 52-59; Shore & Wright 1997: 30).

In his book *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison*, Foucault ([1975] 2008) points out the creation of docile bodies during the modern industrial age (ibid: 173). Foucault uses Jeremy Bentham’s panopticon as a formula of governmentality. Panopticon presents institutional structures, such as prisons, which are designed in such a way that one single guard can have a look on every inmate surrounding his location. Even if this guard does not
constantly watch on every single one of them, the inmates are more likely to maintain discipline in order to forego any form of punishment due to the fact that they know they could be observed (ibid: 257). The panopticon presents a form of political power, a form of spatial exclusion of a certain group of people from the rest of a community and a system of surveillance used to control individuals. The observed people start to discipline themselves since they could be observed by the central power. This creation of discipline through a system of generalised surveillance, which subsequently creates docile bodies, is also applicable to whole (urban) societies (Foucault [1975] 2008: 258-265; Elden 2017: 150-153). The power of modern states is maintained through a system of surveillance and control. In this context, Foucault calls modern societies “surveillance societies” (Foucault [1975] 2008: 278), characterised by docile bodies who need to be observed and controlled in order to function as useful instruments of power of the state. As a consequence, the state’s disciplinary power of observing and shaping individuals’ behaviour leads to a permanent change in people’s behaviour. Individuals learn how to not deviate from social norms and apply self-discipline in order to comply with such norms (Kammler, Parr & Schneider 2014: 70-74).

The anthropologists Giorgio Blundo and Pierre-Yves Le Meur (2009) criticise Foucault’s concept of governmentality by claiming that Foucault applies a one-sided perspective on the government’s relation to its population. According to Blundo and Le Meur, Foucault focuses too much on the way the government dominates human beings with different surveillance techniques, such as police and military control, which should ensure general order and safety. Blundo and Le Meur are of the opinion that the individual subjects of a society should not only be seen as “objects of domination” but also as “active agents” who permit the government to dominate them and who also contribute to the strengthening of the government’s political power by adopting the imposed behaviour patterns and ways of thinking (ibid: 10). This perspective on individuals as ‘active agents’ regarding the maintenance of social order will be applied to analyse Kigali’s achievement of urban visual cleanliness. Kigali’s residents keep their city clean, not only because they were told to do so by the authoritarian government, but also because they actually want to live in a clean place. However, this maintenance of urban cleanliness through Kigali’s residents’ commitment to keep their city clean can also be explained by Foucault’s perspective mentioned above on modern governments’ disciplinary power towards its population, which in return will internalise public rules and restrictions over time and, subsequently, discipline itself.
By applying Foucault’s ([1970] 2006) theoretical perspective on governmentality on the way my informants talked about the Rwandan government’s cleanliness efforts, it will be demonstrated that the way the RPF successfully implemented its reconstruction and cleanliness measures in Kigali can be traced to the highly restricted democracy exercised by the authoritarian regime demanding discipline among the residents and applying various security techniques, such as strict cleanliness rules, legal bans or military surveillance, to maintain public safety and order. The public cleanliness of Kigali is maintained due to its inhabitants whose management of and attitude towards solid waste in their surrounding environment has been shaped by the state through such security techniques mentioned above. Kigali’s inhabitants started to internalise those rules and restrictions and disciplined themselves over time. The Rwandan state created docile bodies who know that they may be observed and punished by public authorities in case of non-obedience and therefore prefer to maintain order and discipline. In this context, the population of Kigali constitutes a useful instrument of power through which the Rwandan government achieves one of its overall political objectives, namely the maintenance of urban visual cleanliness.

Foucault’s theoretical concepts of governmentality and panopticism will be used to further analyse the urban political scene of post-genocide Rwanda and Kigali’s residents’ practise of and cognitive reactions to the surveillance and cleanliness measures imposed by the authoritarian regime. It will be explained how the Rwandan government aims at disciplining the urban inhabitants and shaping their behaviours in regards to the maintenance of Kigali’s visual cleanliness.

As seen from above, different theories emphasize and complement my arguments throughout this thesis and help me to analyse the mutual influence of public authorities’ and citizens’ maintenance of urban cleanliness, the socio-political determination of polluting factors and the general political situation in Kigali. The theoretical perspectives on the intertwining of cleanliness, social order, self-discipline and political power will be applied to the analysis of the interview statements from my informants and to that of written reports about the local circumstances which emerged from the interaction between Kigali’s citizens’ cultural imaginations and management of urban pollution and the Rwandan government’s implemented legal and political clean-up measures of the past twenty years.

On the whole, this thesis will demonstrate that “the dirtiness of a city” can constitute an
essential “political issue” (Bouju 2009: 163) by combining theoretical approaches from anthropology of waste and pollution and from governmentality studies, illustrating that mutual influences between urban governance structures and city residents can exist in terms of the maintenance of public cleanliness.

Before starting with the interpretation of the empirical data and the secondary literature, an insight into the recent history and the current socio-political situation of Rwanda will be given. The following chapter endows the reader with background knowledge in order to better understand how Rwanda managed to rebuild itself after a devastating genocide and how far this rebuilding process led to an improvement of Kigali’s visual cleanliness.
4. **Rwanda: Contextual Knowledge**

4.1. **The Land of a Thousand Hills**

The landlocked East-Central African state of Rwanda is surrounded by its neighbouring states Uganda, Burundi, Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Congo (Figure 1). With an area of 25,340 square kilometres and counting over eleven million people, the small country is densely populated (URL4: 7). Also known as ‘the land of a thousand hills’ or ‘the land of the gorillas’, Rwanda’s geography is characterised by a multitude of vegetation zones, a high amount of fertile land and a rich biodiversity. The numerous volcanoes, rivers, lakes and national parks giving shelter to numerous monkey species, as well as the pleasantly mild climate, make Rwanda a “land of almost ideal beauty” (Adekunle 2007: ix, 1). However, rather than for its beautiful landscapes, Rwanda is also known for its devastating genocide in 1994. The following subchapter will elucidate how it could come to this genocide.

![Figure 1: Map of Rwanda](https://www.ecosia.org/images?q=Rwanda+map#id=5DD5DB3EB7358544A1F94E60172B2018F7EB817F)

Kigali, the capital of Rwanda is located in the centre of the country covering an area of over seven hundred thirty square kilometres and counting more than 1,2 million residents (in 2012). It is divided into three districts, Nyarugenge, Kicukiro and Gasabo (Figure 2), comprising thirty-five sectors, which are divided into one hundred sixty-one cells (Bazimenyera et al. 2012: 48). Since Rwanda’s independence in the year 1962, Kigali has become the economic and political centre of Rwanda, being the country’s city that has experienced the biggest development (Adekunle 2007: 3).

The official languages of Rwanda are Kinyarwanda, French and English. In post-genocide Rwanda, English became a growing language by increasingly displacing French. Today, Rwandan newspapers are published in English and government officials only use this
language. French is still spoken, especially by the older generations, but young generations prefer to speak English since they learn it in school (Adekunle 2007: 3-4).

Unlike many other African countries, Rwanda has only three ethnic population groups. The Twa, the pygmy people, are the indigenous people of Rwanda (Adekunle 2007: 5). The Twa still live as hunters and gatherers in the northern hilly area of the country and constitute less than one per cent of the overall population. The Bantu-speaking Hutu people constitute the majority of the population and were originally known as farmers. Coming from the African north, they settled down in Rwanda around 1000 A.D. The Tutsi people, who also speak a Bantu language, namely Rwanda-Rundi, represent around fifteen per cent of the total Rwandan population and initially lived as cattle-owning people and warriors. They migrated to Rwanda between the fifteenth and sixteenth century. The Tutsi assumed political leadership and subsequently, the Hutu and the Twa were subjected to the domination of the Tutsi (ibid: 4-6). Within the monarchy system of Rwanda, kings emerged from the aristocrat Tutsi people (Strizek 2006: 30).

The colonial era started in Rwanda with the German occupation through the establishment of a military post in 1896 (Adekunle 2007: xv), although the first German traveller, Gustaf Adolf Count Götzen, had already visited the Rwandan royal court two years earlier (Strizek 2006: 9). In 1899, Germany officially took over Rwanda and today’s Burundi, then known as Rwanda-Urundi. In 1916, Belgium took over Rwanda from Germany (Adekunle 2007: xv). In 1962, Rwanda gained independence from Belgium after numerous independence movements and the social revolution of the Hutu population in 1959 (ibid: 17). After independence, the Tutsi monarchy was overturned and the Hutu party MDR-Paranhutu won the majority of the parliamentary seats during the first parliamentary elections. A rivalry between Hutu and Tutsi
people, which already took its course during the colonial era, as will be explained below, continued after independence and ended up in one of the most disastrous genocides in human history (Strizek 2006: 164).

Influenced by Western political systems, Rwanda has no longer been governed by kings or a monarchy since its independence. Instead, the East-Central African country has a presidential and parliamentary system (Adekunle 2007: 128). The new government of Rwanda came into power in the year 2000 after a transitional government. The President of Rwanda is Paul Kagame, who has remained in power since the election of the new government in the year 2003 (Reyntjens 2015). In contrast to the political system, the new legal jurisdiction, which was implemented towards the turn of the millennium, combines Western legal practices with the traditional Rwandan jurisdiction form: the ‘gacaca’ jurisdiction. It is composed of tribunals that are conducted by citizens (Helber 2013: 302).

Rwanda’s economy had been agriculture-based before the genocide in 1994. But due to underdeveloped resources, soil erosion problems and a lack of industrialisation and technology, the landlocked country faced enormous economic problems. In post-genocide Rwanda, the new government has made “impressive improvements in rebuilding, rehabilitating and stabilizing its […] economic infrastructure” (Adekunle 2007: 11-12). Rwanda’s economy has been revolutionised by new, modern technologies, especially by the promotion of Information and Communication Technology (ICT). This new economic focus implies an increase of the technological growth of Rwanda. The current national economy is no longer based only on agriculture but also, and with a bigger focus on, modern technologies (ibid: 77), as well as on the expansion of the tourism sector, which is currently Rwanda’s leading income source (Kinzer 2017).

4.2. The Land of a Devastating Genocide

As soon as I announced the regional focus of my master’s thesis to friends and family members, most of them primarily referred to Rwanda’s darkest hour: “Oh Rwanda! Isn’t that the country that has faced a harrowing genocide in the recent past?” Rwanda is indeed known by many people as the “land of the genocide” (Adekunle 2007: ix).

The Rwandan genocide constituted an interethnic conflict between the Hutu and the Tutsi population that has a long history. Although they enjoyed, by and large, a peaceful
coexistence (Schumacher 1923: 410), the relation between the Tutsis and the Hutus was not completely tension-free before the colonial era. The Tutsis were the aristocratic people who selected the Rwandan King from within their ranks (Strizek 2006: 30). The rivalry further took its course during the colonial era, when the German, and thereafter, the Belgian colonial rulers applied an ‘anti-Hutu discriminatory’ policy (Helber 2013: 97). The Tutsi minority became the indigenous collaborative “upper class” for the colonial administrations, gaining access to administrative posts, trading markets and education, while the Hutu majority were seen as “barbarian” (ibid: 98). The Belgian colonial power formalised and above all intensified the ethnic differentiation and rivalry by issuing identity cards revealing the respective ethnic affiliation (Adekunle 2007: 16).

After World War II, Belgium started to promote a democratic system in Rwanda and increasingly included the Hutu elite in national administrative activities. Once Rwanda gained independence and Belgium transferred its political power to the former suppressed Hutu population, the Hutu-Tutsi rivalry continued (ibid: 17). Belgium wanted to maintain economic relations with Rwanda and it had known since the social revolution of the Hutu population in 1959 that Rwanda’s ethnic majority would attain political power after independence. Therefore, Belgium decided to abolish the Tutsi monarchy and to pave the way for the first parliamentary elections in Rwanda. After the elections, the Tutsi minority refused to accept that the Hutu majority had gained almost complete control of the Rwandan government (Strizek 2006: 164). The independence of Rwanda from Belgium constituted the beginning of an escalating cycle of violence amongst the two ethnic groups. In 1963, for example, former members of the Tutsi aristocracy failed to attack the President of Rwanda, a Hutu. Thereupon, many Tutsis fled to Uganda and Burundi after they have been revenge attacked by Hutus (ibid: 166).

The interethnic conflict, which intensified during the following decades, came to a head in the year 1994, after the death of the Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana, a Hutu. The Rwandan Armed Forces (RAF), which is composed of Hutu and was represented by Habyarimana, asserted that the death of their president, who was killed in a plane crash, was planned by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), which is the political party dominated by Tutsi people (Adekunle 2007: 22). Thereupon, the RAF encouraged the Hutu population of Rwanda to start a mass killing of the Tutsis. Between April and July 1994, the Hutus killed over eight hundred thousand Tutsi people as well as Tutsi sympathizers. Around eighty-five
per cent of the Tutsi population was eradicated and millions of people became refugees in the neighbouring states (Helber 2013: 82-87). The year 1994 was marked in Rwanda by a mass killing where the Tutsi minority were declared the national enemy because they did not correspond to the ideal image of the ruling ethnic group (ibid: 82).

The genocide ended in 1994 on the 4th of July, the Liberation Day of Rwanda, when the RPF rebel forces of Uganda came into government and took over state power (Straus & Waldorf 2011: 3-4). Twenty-four years later, the country still has to heal some of the wounds of this genocide. The next part of this background thematic chapter points out the different challenges the traumatised population faced and partly overcame in post-genocide Rwanda.

**4.3. Zero Hour: Rwanda Right After the Genocide**

The first years after the genocide constituted the ‘zero hour’ for Rwanda: whole generations had been almost eradicated, the survived population was traumatised and depressed, the economy and infrastructures were shattered. Rwanda was completely devastated. One of my non-Rwandan female interview partners went to Rwanda right after the genocide. She noted: “the country’s entire population was filled with grief and horror” (Interview B.S., 21.09.17.). The “smell of death and decay” (ibid) hit her no matter where she went. Added to this, the country’s educated elite was either dead, persecuted or they had fled to another country. Besides the help of the world community, the country also had to reconstruct itself (Helber 2013: 301).

Although Rwanda had all the aspects a country needs to become lost in a spiral of poverty, corruption and violence, Rwandans saw the genocide as “an agent of change” (Adekunle 2007: 129), a new beginning for a society that has learnt from its past (Helber 2013: 289). Nevertheless, the decisive will for change came from the Rwandan government. From August 1995 to May 2003, Rwanda had a transitional government, which was almost entirely in the hands of the Tutsi party RPF. The first national elections after the genocide returned Rwanda to a single-party state, as the other two elected parties (the Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party) joined the RPF after being radically repressed by RPF members. Paul Kagame, a former militarist and head of the RPF since 1990, became the President of post-genocide Rwanda (Reyntjens 2015).
The new government had the challenging task of “bringing together a war-torn country” and an “ethnically divided” population (Adekunle 2007: 23). However, the RPF was willing to reconstruct the country and to reunify the ethnically diverse population (Helber 2013: 309). President Paul Kagame, who is still Rwanda’s head of state, is often presented as the true “motor of development” regarding the reconstruction of the small East-Central African country (ibid: 297). Some of his achievements are ensuring the subjective feeling of security and safety in the country, the combating of political corruption (ibid: 293), the implementation of the social process of dealing with the past, and the introduction of a new legal system, which is based on the traditional gacaca system (ibid: 302). Moreover, he furthered the development of an improved healthcare sector through investing in medical training and better equipment of hospitals and by providing nationwide health insurance (ibid: 306). In order to honour President Kagame’s political achievements and the successful unification of the country’s population, he received the ‘Global Citizen Award’ from the Clinton Foundation in 2009 (Straus & Waldorf 2011: 6).

After the genocide, Rwanda’s capital Kigali had to deal with increasing population growth. More and more people originally living in rural areas wanted to find jobs in Kigali or simply had to flee from there due to natural disasters (soil erosion, deforestation, etc.) and environmental pollution. In addition, numerous former Rwandan refugees wanted to start a new life in the economic centre of the country. As a result, the population of Kigali started to grow rapidly in the years after the genocide (Isugi 2016: 62). In 1991, the capital counted around one hundred and forty thousand residents and covered an area of approximately one hundred and twelve square kilometres. By 2006, the population of Kigali had risen to one million and the city had swollen to cover an area of seven hundred and thirty square kilometres. In 2012, when the last official population census was taken, over 1.35 million people lived in the city (Republic of Rwanda 2014: 33). It is assumed that the population of Kigali will double in 2020 (Isugi 2016: 64). With around one thousand and six hundred inhabitants per kilometre, Kigali is now extremely densely populated.

In addition to this explosive population growth and because of the determined policy of President Kagame, Rwanda, especially Kigali as the centre of socio-economic development, experienced economic growth, which improved the living standards of the population – or at least of a part of it. Since the first national elections after the genocide in the year 2003, Rwanda has achieved an annual economic growth rate of seven to eight per cent (Reyntjens
The world community played an important role in this economic development and in the reconstruction of post-genocide Rwanda in general. Donations from countries like the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands constitute over fifty per cent of the East-Central African country’s national budget (Gready 2010; Straus & Waldorf 2011: 12). It is often claimed that these donations were “driven by a ‘guilt syndrome’” (Reyntjens 2004: 179) after the donor countries failed to intervene in the mass killings during the genocide.

Due to the increase in population and this improvement of the living conditions, Kigali faced an increase of the amount of discarded rubbish on public streets (Isugi 2016: 62). Moreover, the total solid waste in Kigali did not only increase in quantity but also changed in quality, as the waste composition became more complex. Today, solid waste collected in Kigali is composed in particular of organic waste (sixty-eight per cent), paper (nine per cent), plastic (five per cent), and many other kinds of rubbish, such as metal goods, glass or textiles (Figure 3). The challenge the city of Kigali and its inhabitants faced was not only the fact that waste generation increased, but also that the waste was not disposed of properly.

![Figure 3: Forms of solid waste collected in Kigali (Isugi 2016: 62)](image)

Despite this population increase and the consequent shifts in both quality and quantity of solid waste, Kigali is often referred to as “the cleanest African city” (URL2). The small landlocked country in East-Central Africa is depicted as an environmental “success story” (Kinzer 2017) in terms of its management of visual pollution. Against Rwanda’s socio-political circumstances and happenings of its recent past, I asked myself how Rwanda was able to achieve this ‘success’. The main chapter of this thesis, which follows this background thematic chapter, will provide answers to this question.
Based on the analysis of secondary data and empirical knowledge of interviewed people who partly represent the middle to high-income section of Kigali’s society, the following chapter examines the historical and cultural circumstances of, as well as some political decisions and motives that contributed to, Kigali’s step towards becoming one of the cleanest cities of Africa.
5. Kigali’s Development Towards the Cleanest African City

While reading online articles about the socio-political situation in Rwanda, and whilst conducting interviews with non-Rwandans, as well as with Kigali residents representing the educated, middle to high-income section of the urban society, I realised that cleanliness constitutes a major issue in the everyday life of Kigali’s society, or at least of its financially well-off section, and that those people manage their household waste and the avoidance of the appearance of public pollution in a highly successful way. When I asked all of my interview partners how they perceive Kigali in general and how they would describe Rwanda’s capital, every single one of them said that Kigali is noticeably clean. Some of them assured me that it is impossible to find a single piece of garbage on the streets of Kigali (Interview N.B., 25.09.17; interview V.V., 26.09.17.). A Belgian citizen who has lived in Kigali with his family for years and who travelled to numerous countries all over the world claimed that he has never been in another city that is comparable to Kigali regarding the public cleanliness. He affirmed: “Maybe some cities in Switzerland, but even there, you will find trash in the public sphere, for example, next to the highways” (Interview J.-L.D., 08.11.17.). Although most of my interview partners residing in Kigali live in formal residential areas in the Nyarugenge district near the city centre, they said that even informal settlements on the outskirts of Kigali are more or less visually clean, even though they are maybe not that clean then the streets in more centralised urban areas (ibid).

In this context, the two very first questions I asked myself during the research process were: How did Kigali, the capital of a so-called ‘developing country’ facing rapid urbanisation and high population growth, come to be the cleanest African city? And has Kigali always been that clean and ordered?

With that in mind, I start the main part of this thesis by examining how far a certain level of ecological consciousness and cleanliness requirements can be observed throughout Rwanda’s post-colonial history, starting with the beginning of the German colonial occupation. After all, I found statements about the Rwandan population’s management and imaginations of pollution first mentioned in secondary literature published at the beginning of the twentieth century. Afterwards, I reveal how far President Kagame’s numerous clean-up measures have modified the capital’s middle-class residents’ management and imaginations of pollution and
cleanliness since the turn of the millennium and to what extent those measures have lead to Kigali’s transformation towards “the cleanest African city” (URL2; URL5).

5.1. Imaginations of Cleanliness and Pollution Throughout Rwanda’s Post-Colonial History

According to the anthropologist Marie-France Chevron and the sociologist Christoph Reinprecht (2002), traditional environmental and cleanliness perceptions culturally determine current attitudes towards and the specific management of solid waste and other forms of pollution (ibid: 30). Therefore, such subjective perceptions and cultural behavioural patterns have to be taken into account while analysing the origin of a society’s specific management of pollution and the legal framework for its dedicated protection of the environment.

As written in early ethnographies of the colonial period and in more recent publications, early European travellers, such as the White Fathers or representatives of the German empire, already mentioned Rwanda’s striking cleanliness and its people’s urge towards order. Peter P. Schumacher (1923), member of the missionary society of the White Fathers, makes special reference to the Batwa or Twa, Rwanda’s hunter-gatherer society, and their avoidance of pollution and disorder. According to Schumacher, the Batwa pygmies keep their housing spaces in order and conspicuously tidy (ibid: 432). The German geographer and colonial civil servant Hans Meyer (1913) also claims in his travel report that Rwandan people are generally exceedingly disciplined and that they keep their surrounding environment clean (ibid: 47). The Hutu people, for example, especially those living in North-Eastern Rwanda, groom their cattle and carefully structure their fields in a highly meticulous way (ibid: 46).

My non-Rwandan gate keeper had already travelled to Rwanda in the early 1990’s, before the genocide and President Kagame’s implementation of cleanliness measures. She explained to me: “Rwanda has always been noticeably clean” (Interview B.S., 21.09.17.). Although the country was poor, Rwandans in general always kept their housing and public spaces remarkably tidy. Still today, they appreciate order and structure in almost every area of life. She mentioned the story that when she wanted to pack her travel bag to fly back home, her friend in Kigali, with whom she stayed during her time in the Rwandan capital, decided to do this for her, as she “doesn’t do it orderly” (ibid). The same non-Rwandan interviewee further explained that even the national art discipline is characterised by precise, structured lines and motives without much pretentiousness and irregularities. For my interviewee, the national art
style reflects the Rwandans’ penchant for tidiness and order, which can be seen as a cultural asset of their society (ibid). Even early European travellers claimed that Rwandans did not use any ornamentation when building their shelters, manufacturing tools, etc. Everything is ordered, exact, and should “follow a specific purpose” (Schumacher 1923: 398). I am of the opinion that, at least to a certain degree, this inclination to order and structure in many different spheres of life reveals a lot about the urge for cleanliness that has always been a feature of Rwandan post-colonial history.

Besides the majority of the population’s desire for cleanliness and order, I also noticed that there has been a certain level of ecological consciousness throughout Rwanda’s recent history: the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement, and Environment mentions in its official document about the national environmental protection policy that Rwandans’ shared high level of ecological consciousness goes back to the Belgian colonial period. In the 1920’s and 1930’s, all of the present Rwandan National Parks were established for reasons of soil conservation and reforestation (2003: 5). The protection of natural zones and endangered animal species of the “land of almost ideal beauty” (Adekunle 2007: ix) constituted a political imperative for the European colonial power. Belgian colonialists made activities for environmental protection and conservation compulsory by law (ibid).

After independence, the first Rwandan government decided to abandon the environmental policies, which had been implemented by its former suppressors (Ministry of Lands, Resettlement, and Environment 2003: 5). However, in the 1950’s, land and agricultural resources became increasingly scarce in Rwanda because of the gain in population and the rise of densely populated cities. In addition, more and more hilly areas suffered from soil erosion since people started to build their houses and to practise agriculture along the slopes (Strizek 2006: 40). Since Rwandans have always lived “in harmony with nature” (ibid: 40), the government decided to react to the increasing population density and the concomitant environmental changes. Therefore, in 1977, the government started to implement various environmental action programs with different annual themes. In the first year, for example, the program focused on human settlement. Giving another example, environmental activities in 1980 primarily addressed the protection and conservation of the national soils. In 1988/89, the government launched the National Environmental Strategy. Among the overall protection of the natural environment, the main objectives of this strategy were the sustainable socio-economic development and the achievement of a balance between the population and the
existing natural resources. Moreover, Rwandan citizens were encouraged to actively participate in the environmental protection, which should be “the concern of each and everyone” (Ministry of Lands, Resettlement, and Environment 2003: 5). So it can be said that Rwandans’ ecological consciousness was aroused by the Belgian colonial power and strengthened especially by the government after independence.

Still, it must be noted that some early travellers or scholars did not identify any environmental awareness or requirement for tidiness among the Rwandan population. Meyer (1913), for example, maintains that Hutus take proper care of their cattle but less of themselves. They do not clean themselves “as often as they purge their animals” (ibid: 46). Other rapporteurs did not notice any desire to achieve order or absolute cleanliness among the Rwandan society at all, let alone a developed ecological consciousness. An example would be a medical newsletter published in 1970, which presents possible protective measures against infectious diseases in Rwanda. In this letter, it is explained that one of the causes of such diseases would be the country’s general uncleanliness. Cleaning-up the environment would be an urgent need to prevent a spread of infectious diseases (Akingeneye 1970; quoted in Hertefelt & Lame 1987: 129). However, this uncleanliness may have been the result of the already mentioned rapid urbanisation and the increase in population density during the second half of the twentieth century. It may be that the population simply could not handle the increase in quantity and change in quality of waste anymore, but this does not necessarily contradict Rwandans’ high cleanliness standards.

The maintenance of at least a minimum of public cleanliness can be seen as a significant cultural component, a basic principle of the Rwandan society. Tidiness and order had already been a component of everyday life, even long before President Kagame’s strict cleanliness measures; at least to a certain degree. The following subchapter will point out why the pollution control, especially in Kigali, became a political imperative for the Kagame administration and by what means the capital’s exemplary visual cleanliness has been achieved within a short time.

5.2. Twenty-First Century’s Economic Reorientation and Urban Beautification

5.2.1. Rapid Urbanisation and National Identity Crisis

Kigali’s residents’ ecological awareness has been strengthened and their desire for cleanliness intensified since the turn of the millennium. All of my interview partners living in Kigali
claimed that Rwanda’s capital was already quite clean before President Kagame’s election, especially its more upscale neighbourhoods, but that its cleanliness has “much more improved because of President Kagame’s policy […] of managing the waste properly” (Interview P.R., 04.10.17.). This improvement of overall urban cleanliness is due to the fact that President Kagame and the new government put the protection of the environment and the concomitant management of visual pollution at the top of Rwanda’s political agenda.

I identified two processes in post-genocide Rwanda leading to the implementation of the national development program Vision 2020, which will be presented afterwards, the subsequent strengthening of ecological awareness and the intensification of the cleanliness requirements of the middle-income section of Kigali’s society.

The first process constitutes Kigali’s rapid urbanisation. As I already mentioned in the previous chapter, the population of Kigali started to grow rapidly in the years after the genocide. People started to settle in informal neighbourhoods on Kigali’s hilly slopes and the capital became more and more densely populated (Isugi 2016). According to UN Habitat, around seventy-eight per cent of Kigali’s urban population lives in such informal settlements (URL3). The Human Settlement Program of the United Nations expects the housing demand in Kigali to continually increase until 2025. Over thirty thousand new dwelling units would be needed per year in order to cope with the high demand (ibid). Added to Kigali’s rapid urbanisation and population growth, Rwanda experienced economic development, which improved the living standards of at least a part of the country’s population, especially of those living in Kigali, the national economic centre.

Due to the increase in population and the improvement of the living conditions, Kigali had to deal with an increase in the amount of discarded rubbish on public streets. Needless to say that more people, with partly increased consumer behaviour, also produce more waste (Republic of Rwanda 2014: 3). The situation at Kigali’s dumpsites demonstrates to what extent the gain in population increased the waste generation and disposal. Kigali’s only landfill, the Nduba dumpsite in the Gasabo district, was established in 2012, after the former one, called Nyanza in the Kicukiro district, was full. One of my interview partners, a Rwandan environmentalist, explained that the Nduba dumpsite was completely overfilled after a few years, whereas it had taken the Nyanza landfill over sixty years to be filled. The environmentalist added: “This means we have very increasing huge amounts of waste ending
into the dumpsite.” (Interview P.N., 04.10.17.). Over four hundred tons of unsorted waste currently lands on the Nduba dumpsite every day (Isugi 2016: 62).

All in all, the increase in waste generation and the inappropriate waste disposal became a growing concern and logistical challenge for public authorities, as well as for the million residents of Rwanda’s capital. After all, the increase in waste has caused many health and environmental problems, such as the contamination of drinking water or the spread of infectious diseases (Bazimenyera et al. 2012: 46). Moreover, the accumulation of waste also disturbs the cityscape (Chevron & Reinprecht 2002: 29).

In addition to Kigali’s pollution problems, which go hand in hand with urbanisation and population growth, Rwanda had to overcome an identity crisis in the aftermath of the genocide. I already brought up in the previous chapter that the Rwandan community was traumatised and divided after the genocide. The new government faced the huge challenge of unifying a society, which was divided into murderers and victims, and to ensure internal security. People should feel safe and secure in their own country. The effort of the post-genocide government together with the country’s population to restore social cohesion among the ethnically diverse and former hostile population can be seen as the second process for the implementation of the development program Vision 2020.

In order to strengthen social unification and to avoid further civil unrest and violence, President Kagame and the RPF decided that Rwandans should no longer be identified by their ethnic affiliation but as citizens. According to President Kagame, Rwandan citizens are “all Rwandans” (Adekunle 2007: 111, 117). Today, it is forbidden by law to ask people in Rwanda, if they are Hutus, Tutsis or Twas. Moreover, the RPF regime constructed a ‘new’ history, which is also protected by law. Rwanda’s official history now claims that Rwandans were already unified before colonialism and that ethnicity was artificially introduced by Belgian colonialists and the Catholic Church as part of a “divide-and-rule policy” (Reyntjens 2015: 28). By denying Rwanda’s actual history and Rwandans’ ethnic identities in order to protect the population from divisionism, the Rwandan regime created “a monopoly on truth” (ibid: 28). However, it is known that the relation of the Tutsis, the former noble population of Rwanda, with the oppressed Hutu and Twa people was not completely tension-free, even before the official beginning of the colonial era (Strizek 2006: 30). Moreover, Rwanda’s new history, constructed by the RPF itself, also claims that the RPF stopped the genocide, which is
“rooted in colonialist divisive politics”, and restored domestic “peace and harmony” (Reyntjens 2015: 28). It is true that the German and afterwards the Belgian colonial power intensified the interethnic conflict (Helber 2013: 97). However, political scientists, such as Filip Reyntjens (2015), are of the opinion that the RPF should not be seen as the peacemakers who brought the crimes of the genocide to an end. After all, the military wing of the RPF also killed huge numbers of civilians during and even after the genocide (ibid: 25). One of the non-Rwandan interviewees who travelled to Kigali last year for her studies affirmed that even in schools, children are taught about this newly constructed history. Moreover, when she talked with some residents of Kigali about their identity and Rwanda’s recent history, she noticed that “everybody tells you the same story about social cohesion: ‘We are all Rwandans’, ‘the RPF are our liberators’, and so on” (Interview C.W., 04.10.17.).

The aim of this social unification was not only to secure civic peace, but also to show the world community that Rwanda can be more than just ‘the land of a devastating genocide’. Some of my non-Rwandan interviewees mentioned this shared will for change among the Rwandan population after the genocide. A non-Rwandan respondent said that Rwandans showed an enormous amount of ambition “to ascend out of the bottomless pit” (Interview B.S., 21.09.17.). They decided to prove the rest of the world “that they are no murderers anymore and that they can also work hard for a better future for their country” (ibid). This ambition could not only be seen in representatives of the national government, but also among the local inhabitants. The younger generations in particular displayed the will to reconstruct the devastated country (ibid). A Belgian interview partner, who lives in Kigali, explained that, after the genocide, the Rwandan community felt ashamed of what had happened in their homeland. They had concerns about their negative image among the world society. He added: “Rwandans wanted to be proud of their country again” (Interview J.-L.D., 08.11.17.).

So, after a certain period of mourning and despair, Rwandans no longer wanted to be seen as killers or victims. They wanted to make the most of their country’s ‘zero hour’ and create a new national image, an image of change. Since October 2001, Rwanda has even had a new national flag reflecting this will for peace, unity and a better future (Figure 4). The yellow sun on the upper right symbolises a new dawn. The yellow ban symbolises economic development, whereas the green and blue colours signify people’s hope for a peaceful future (Adekunle 2007: 130).
In response to Rwanda’s need for social cohesion and reconstruction and Kigali’s rapid urbanisation, the government aimed to engineer a completely new society by “radically changing Rwanda and its people” (Reyntjens 2015: 29). The transitional government wanted to create not only a unified society, but also a developed one that had learned from its past and rebuilt itself (Adekunle 2007: 129-131). As it is written in an official document of the Rwandan state, a “consensus on the necessity for Rwandans to clearly define the future of the country” existed at the end of the 1990’s (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2012: 1).

5.2.2. Vision 2020
The national development program Vision 2020 was initiated in the year 2000. It sets various development goals to transform Rwanda within twenty years into a middle-income country. To achieve this major objective, the government identified six interwoven pillars. The first pillar concerns the establishment of good governance, which is “characterised by rule of law protecting all citizens without discrimination” in order to become a “modern, united and prosperous state” (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2012: 9). The second key aspect of the long-term strategy is the implementation of “a world class physical infrastructure” (ibid: i). This included, among other things, the adequate management of land use, the implementation of sanitary infrastructure (especially in urban centres), the elaboration of district development plans in Kigali, the provision of access to clean water, the improvement of the waste management system and of the communication sector (internet access, phone connection, etc.) (ibid: 13, 19).

The third pillar of the Vision 2020 document is Rwanda’s structural economic transformation, which should ensure the steadiness of the country’s macro economy and subsequently reduce Rwanda’s dependency on international development assistance. Due to the lack of natural resources for export, the Rwandan government decided to shift from an agriculture-based economy to a service-based economy. Thereupon, Rwanda increasingly invested in industries.
and services (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2012: 6) and expanded its national banking and ICT sector (Ökumenisches Netz Zentralafrika 2010: 5-7). The fourth key aspect of the development program states that the agriculture sector should be modernised and “market oriented” (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2012: 15). Due to the promotion of modern technologies and the fostering of entrepreneurship in order to create a “vibrant middle-class of entrepreneurs” (ibid: 12) and to further develop the private sector, Rwanda’s economy has continuously grown around seven to eight per cent annually since 2003 (Reyntjens 2015: 19). In the fifth pillar of Vision 2020, Rwanda promoted an “open and liberal trade regime”, which should encourage national and international investments (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2012: 16). Moreover, a Western education system has been adopted, since it is perceived as “the vehicle of modernisation” (Adekunle 2007: 129) and an important “rebuilding tool” for Rwanda (ibid: 9). This means that the government currently puts emphasis on higher education, with a special focus on natural sciences, technology, and engineering, to further expand the country’s ICT and other business sectors (ibid: 129). So, in order to become a middle-income country by 2020 and to increase its ability to assert itself on an international scale, the state increasingly promoted economic growth and higher education. The focus on skilled human capital and the creation of a knowledge-based economy constitute the sixth pillar of the Vision 2020 (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2012: 9).

In addition to the six pillars, which should be achieved by 2020, the long-term strategy document of the Rwandan government should guide the society in order to achieve the Millennium Development Goals of the United Nations within the set time (Ökumenisches Netz Zentralafrika 2010: 7). All implemented measures of the Vision 2020 program are coordinated and monitored by Rwanda’s Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2012: 22).

5.2.3. Creation of a Visually Attractive City

As indicated above, the intention of the Vision 2020 program is to transform Rwanda, and especially Kigali, the country’s ‘model city’, into the ICT hub of East Central Africa (Straus & Waldorf 2011: 9; Goodfellow & Smith 2013: 3201). Therefore, Kigali needs to attract numerous investors from all over the world who are willing to support the development of this knowledge-based service economy. In order to increase socio-economic development and to attract foreign investors, Kigali had to be made not only economically but also visually
attractive (Rollason 2013 9-10). Therefore, President Kagame and the RPF decided to bring order to Kigali’s shattered society by starting to get environmental pollution under control and by radically rebuilding the city (Goodfellow & Smith 2013). In the opinion of one of my interviewees, a sociologist working in Kigali, urban cleanliness and Kigali’s aesthetics have been “much more improved” since the implementation of different rebuilding measures, such as the development of the road network, urban green space planning, sanitary installations, etc. (P.R., 04.10.17.). All other interviewees living or working in Kigali, as well as every non-Rwandan interview partner, who had each travelled to Kigali several times, told me that in general, the cityscape, mostly that of Kigali’s city centre, has radically changed over the last ten to fifteen years and that this change has also had an impact on the cleanliness of the city. A non-Rwandan political scientist who travelled to Kigali twice explained to me: “comparing my first trip, which was ten years ago, with my last trip, which was a month ago, one can see the development that has happened in the city. Rwanda has improved tremendously. […] [Kigali] is now a very, very clean city” (Interview S.G., 09.10.17.). A Rwandan respondent who lives in Europe and has visited Rwanda numerous times within the last thirteen years enthusiastically explained to me that various reconstruction measures, such as the asphalting of public roads and the building of modern multi-storey buildings, has transformed Kigali into a modern, dynamic and ordered city. The last time he visited his home country, he got lost in Kigali because “everything has changed. There were a lot of new shops, new buildings and much more green spaces. They even changed some of the street courses. […] There is progress and a lot of change every year. […] But you need such progress if you want to improve the cleanliness of your city, right?” (Interview P.H., 21.09.17.).

In this sense, one can say that not only the population should be unified: even the image of the urban landscape should be standardised and ordered. To achieve the goal of public order and cleanliness, Vision 2020 included many objectives regarding the management of public pollution. As an example, one goal of the Vision 2020 program is the installation of sufficient waste disposal systems for solid waste in urban, as well as rural, areas by 2020 (Sano 2007: 39). The government also set various building and housing standards, which should further push Kigali’s development into a clean, ordered, and aesthetically appealing city (Ökumenisches Netz Zentralafrika 2010: 7; Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2012: 19). After all Kigali should be transformed into Rwanda’s flagship city attracting the already mentioned investors and tourists. The extent and the consequences of those building measures for the local residents will be further analysed in chapter 7. What can be said for
now is that the protection of the environment and the concomitant avoidance of pollution have been some of the government’s political priorities since the enactment of the Vision 2020 document (Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Environment 2003: 23). After all, “environmental problems are linked to development”, according to the Vision 2020 document, and the environment is a “cross-cutting issue” of the national development program (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2012: 17). Within this context, it can be noted that the maintenance of urban visual cleanliness constitutes a symbol of development and modernisation for the Rwandan government in so far as a cleaned-up urban space contributes to the creation of the image of an aesthetically appealing and future-driven city.

What can also be said for now is that the Rwandan government wants to create an “image of a dynamic, vibrant, […] redeveloped capital”, which should in a way be ‘sold’ to the world community (Rollason 2013: 22). The presentation of the capital Kigali as a clean, developed and ordered city should attract foreign investors and tourists. One of the interviewees, a Rwandan environmentalist who works for a private waste collection company in Kigali, underlined this motive of the state by saying that the reason why Kigali is so clean is a “political reason. […] The leaders of the country have decided to make Rwanda clean as one of the marketing tools. One of the marketing tools for Rwanda is its cleanliness. […] We want to be an exemplary country so that we can sell our country. One of the ways to sell our country is to make it clean. […] We need to improve our cleanliness so that people will be interested to come, to invest in Rwanda” (Interview P.B., 19.10.17.).

The redevelopment of Kigali is partly based on aesthetic principles related to the visual appearance of the city. City authorities aim at restructuring Kigali, by creating a specific image of Rwanda’s capital (Rollason 2013: 21). Many of my interviewees living and/or working in Kigali know that one motive of the maintenance of Kigali’s visual cleanliness is the attraction of foreign visitors such as investors and tourists. They should keep their city as clean as it is, not only for themselves, but also for foreign people who visit Kigali. Visitors should feel comfortable and safe in it. A Rwandan interviewee who works for an international organisation and lives close to the city centre of Kigali perfectly outlined that “a clean place is a place where you can invite someone, where you are proud of, where people can say: ‘This is a good place to live’. […] I would feel embarrassed when it would smell bad, when it would not be clean” (Interview D.N., 25.09.17.). The same person added: “Kigali attracts many people because they feel comfortable” (ibid). He is of the opinion that this has much to do
with the clean appearance of the capital (ibid). A Rwandan citizen working in a public office in Kigali claimed: “They [Rwandans] want to make the city attractive. So one way to achieve that is by making it clean” (Interview J.K., 07.10.17.). A former resident of Kigali said that a clean city is “a city that looks beautiful. Kigali is also much more beautiful since it has been completely cleaned-up” (Interview P.H., 21.09.17.). A Rwandan veterinarian is of the opinion that something is clean “when it looks nice. Then, it can bring happiness” (Interview J.-C.M., 11.10.17.).

In this sense, when they explained what clean means to them, the locals who I interviewed partly referred to the aesthetic appeal of the city. This can be explained by the fact that, for people living in cities, their perception of the environment is more concerned with the human living space, in this case the urban space, rather than the natural environment. The anthropologists Marie-France Chevron and Christoph Reinprecht (2002) argue that urban dwellers firstly perceive direct risks of (urban) pollution, which is, besides the lack of hygiene and the spread of infectious diseases, the visual aspect of pollution. If the urban space is perceived as polluted, urban residents are more concerned about the ‘ugly’ image of their city, rather than about the environmental impact of the different forms of pollution like the accumulation of waste. Visual pollution appears as highly disturbing. Therefore, direct risks like the ugly appearance of the city should be brought under control first, according to the urban population (ibid: 29). As can be seen from above, my Rwandan interviewees representing primarily the middle to high-income section of Kigali’s society had a similar perception of and attitude towards urban pollution. In their opinion, Kigali’s cleanliness should be maintained so that the capital ‘looks nice’ and that they can be proud of the visual appearance of their city. The idea that the cleanliness of Kigali should be an aesthetic principle has been further pushed by the government through the Vision 2020 program and its ambition of attracting foreign investors and tourists (Rollason 2013: 21-23). The cleaning up and the “cosmetic upgrading” of Kigali (Ansoms 2009: 304) contribute to the creation of the image of a clean, ordered, redeveloped city and will subsequently make Rwanda’s capital visually attractive for investors and tourists.

With the signing of the Vision 2020 document, the maintenance of cleanliness became one of Rwanda’s national priorities. The avoidance of urban pollution is, after all, not only indispensable for the protection of the environment and people’s health, but also for the creation of Kigali’s image as a clean, developed, future-driven model city. The reengineering
and cleaning-up of Kigali became political imperatives in order to make the capital not only economically but also visually attractive for foreign investors and tourists who should boost the national economy. The next subchapter will explore the decisive legal and policy measures the Rwandan government has put in place since the launch of the national development program in order to forward the country’s clean-up efforts.

5.3. State Measures Improving Kigali’s Cleanliness

The fact that the protection of the environment and the avoidance of environmental pollution became a political imperative in Rwanda is best reflected in the numerous legal and political measures taken by the Rwandan government. This subchapter points out crucial state projects improving the nationwide, and especially Kigali’s, cleanliness and rendering the capital more visually attractive. It must be added that the measures presented below concern most of all the management or absolute avoidance of pollution caused by solid waste. The local dealing with liquid or air pollution will not be examined, as it would go beyond the scope of this thesis.

5.3.1. Environmental Protection Policy and Organic Law

In the course of the introduction of the new national Constitution, the country’s supreme law, in 2003, the newly elected government instituted an environmental protection policy for sustainable development in 2004. This policy was intended to contribute to the intensification of the countrywide environmental awareness. As it provided a framework for the achievement of the three key aspects of sustainable development, namely social, economic and environmental issues, the environmental policy, which is carried out by the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Environment, is in accordance with the policy for poverty reduction. This is therefore why the overall objectives of the environmental policy are not only the sustainable management of natural resources and the protection of ecosystems, but also the overall “improvement of man’s well-being” (Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Environment 2003: 3, 29).

In 2005, the Rwandan Chamber of Deputies enacted the so-called Organic Law, which determined the different “modalities of protection, conservation and promotion” of the Rwandan environment (Journal Officiel de la République du Rwanda 2005). The new Constitution and this Law constitute the legal framework in Rwanda determining the obligations, which the government and the population of Rwanda have to fulfil in order to protect the environment and people’s health (Sano 2007: 40). According to Article 6 of the
Organic Law, every Rwandan citizen has the right “to live in a healthy and balanced environment” (Journal Officiel de la République du Rwanda 2005). This act is also the guiding principle of the environmental policy (Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Environment 2003: 29).

The environmental policy introduced the establishment of a new state authority in 2005, the Rwandan Environment Management Authority (REMA). REMA is exclusively in charge of “the execution of environment-related policies and laws” (Ministry of Lands, Resettlement, and Environment 2003: 6) and the attainment of various environmental goals included in the Vision 2020 document. REMA’s main task is to ensure that “issues relating to environmental and climate changes are integrated in all national development programs” (URL6). In the near future, REMA will assume the coordination of all activities related to Kigali’s waste management, where it will closely cooperate with other authorities and ministries, such as the Ministry for Environment and Natural Resources, the Private Sector Federation or the Revenue Authority, as well as with the private waste management sector and the national police (Republic of Rwanda 2014: 100).

5.3.2. Improvement of Solid Waste Management
One crucial objective defined by the Organic Law and the environmental policy is social and technical investment in the improvement of the management of solid waste. The government’s aim of making Rwanda, and especially Kigali, exempt of waste has been put into practice through the implementation of a waste collection and sorting system (Sano 2007: 7; Ministry of Lands, Resettlement, and Environment 2003: 37). As the government’s environmental policy recognised the positive impact of the private sector towards the realisation of environmental goals (Sano 2007: 38), the collection and transportation of waste to different recycling sites or to the Nduba landfill, as it is the case for Kigali, are privatized (Bazimenyera et al. 2012: 49).

Around thirteen private corporations are currently operating in Kigali’s waste management system. The leading company collecting and recycling waste is the Company for Environment Protection and Development (COPED) (Republic of Rwanda 2014: 31-32). This company shares the same vision than the city council: to keep Kigali the cleanest city in Africa and to implement this by ensuring “proper waste management practices for a (sic) sustainable development” (Kagera 2013). COPED not only wants to provide environmental benefits for
Kigali but also social ones by reducing the amount of waste ending on the landfill and subsequently improving the quality of life of the people living near the dumpsite, as well as of those in the city centre. The company wants more waste to be recycled and reused and they see a high potential in the recycling sector concerning the creation of new jobs (ibid). Another example of a private waste recycling company in Kigali would be the Company for the Conservation of the Environment (COCEN). It recycles biodegradable waste “by converting it into fuel biomass briquettes”, which households can use for cooking (Bazimenyera et al. 2012: 52). The COPED Group is divided into six subsidiary companies, all specialised in particular tasks (Republic of Rwanda 2014: 32). ECOPLASTIC, for example, is a subsidiary of COPED responsible for the recycling of plastic waste that has been sorted out by COPED and brought to its recycling site. It perceives plastic as a real environmental and health problem of the city and wants to get rid of it or its negative effects by producing other products out of it so that it does not end up on the already full dumpsite (Kagera 2013). In particular, ECOPLASTIC produces plastic bags that different sectors, such as the healthcare and building sectors, are still allowed to use after the country’s 2008 ban on polythene plastic bags (Republic of Rwanda 2014: 39). Moreover, the subsidiary company manufactures the different garbage bags in which the inhabitants of Kigali should sort their waste. They are produced in four different colours: green for organic waste, blue for recyclable waste (plastics, metal, glass, etc.), red for hazardous waste, and black for disposable waste (Kagera 2013; Republic of Rwanda 2014: 34-35).

Some of my interviewees explained to me that every citizen of Kigali has to sign a contract with a private waste collection company so that it can take care for the collection and final disposal of their waste. The contract defines the amount of money the client has to pay to the company and the time interval when the waste is collected (Interview P.H., 21.09.17; interview M., 27.09.17; interview S.N., 06.10.17.). The Rwandan interview partner working in Kigali as an environmentalist explained to me that the different households are categorised according to their income levels regarding the charge service fees of the collection companies. Households with a low income pay 1,500 Rwandan Francs (1.5 EUR) per month and those with a middle income pay 3,000 Francs (2.9 EUR). Users of the private service with a high income are charged of 5,000 Francs (4.9 EUR). According to the same environmentalist, Rwanda’s Utilities Regulatory Authority (RURA) specifies the costs of the collection service and how the waste should be separated (Interview P.N, 04.10.17.).
As I already mentioned in chapter 4, Kigali is divided into three administrative districts, Gasabo, Kicukiro and Nyarugenge. Each district is further subdivided into sectors, of which there are a total of thirty-five. Residents of a city sector sign contracts with one and the same private waste collection company in order to enable a smooth collection process (Bazimenyera et al. 2012: 48-49). The companies collect the waste door-to-door or corner-to-corner, depending on the clients. They use garbage-collecting trucks for this. Private households’ waste is, for example, collected door-to-door and at least once a week, while the waste produced by offices, shops or in public areas (markets, streets, etc.) is collected corner-to-corner each day (Republic of Rwanda 2014: 34-36).

To enable the well functioning of the city’s waste disposal system, Article 32 of the Organic Law stipulates that “no one is permitted to dispose waste in an inappropriate place” (Journal Officiel de la République du Rwanda 2005) and Article 81 prohibits “any kind of dumping of garbage outside ones plot” (Sano 2007: 65). Like one of my female Rwandan interview partners stated, this actually forces all households to sign contracts with waste collection companies and to financially support the city’s aim of reducing the amount of waste entering the public streets and sanitation systems (Interview M., 27.09.17.).

Although the management of solid waste has improved massively over the last fifteen years, there still remain some challenges that have to be mastered by the different stakeholders involved, such as the City of Kigali, the Rwandan Ministry of Infrastructure (MININFRA) and the Ministry of Natural Resources (MINIRENA), REMA, the formal sector of the private waste collection and disposal companies, financial companies, private initiatives (community-based organisations, NGO’s, etc.), the waste generators themselves, etc. (Bazimenyera et al. 2012: 47; Republic of Rwanda 2014: 7).

As mentioned above, the final disposal of waste already exists in Kigali. However, an interview partner who works for a private waste collection company in Kigali told me that, in Kigali, between eighty to ninety per cent of unsorted garbage still lands on the dumpsite in the Gasabo district (Interview P.B., 19.10.17.), since there are not enough recycling facilities for sorted waste (Republic of Rwanda 2014: 3). The neighbourhoods around the unsanitary landfill are exposed to the acrid smell, contaminated drinking water and diseases. Moreover, light waste material, such as plastics, can be carried by winds and pollute the surrounding environment (Bazimenyera et al. 2012: 50-51).
The same employee of a private waste collection company stated that another remaining problem is the fact that not all residents of Kigali respect the disposal and sorting rules (Interview P.B., 19.10.17). Officially the appropriate waste disposal and the separation of the different kinds of rubbish are mandatory in Rwanda (URL2), but a large amount of waste is still managed informally, especially in unplanned residential areas on the outskirts of Kigali. Kigali is very hilly and many districts are hardly accessible for the garbage-collecting trucks. Since those neighbourhoods are hardly accessible for the huge garbage-collecting trucks of the formal sector, they are still partly excluded from the urban waste management system. In addition, many of the people living in the unorganised slum areas do not have any financial resources to pay for the private companies’ waste collection service (Bazimenyera 2012: 49).

A Rwandan interview partner who has lived in Europe for thirteen years but often visits his family in Kigali mentioned that a few households often share one single bin and one contract with a private waste collection company (Interview P.H., 21.09.17.). However, private waste collection companies are not that interested in collecting the waste in unplanned, informal areas and to take on the extra work involved. They offer their services primarily in Kigali’s central business districts and the more wealthy neighbourhoods, since they can easily pay for the waste collection service and are more accessible for the garbage-collecting trucks (Bazimenyera et al. 2012: 49, 53).

Solid waste is not yet managed in a completely sustainable way. However, as the employee of a waste collection company told me “change is continuous” (Interview P.B, 19.10.17.). The city of Kigali has applied a “step-by-step approach” regarding the improvement of the waste management system (ibid). The city’s first priority has been the maximization of waste removed from the urban environment and the implementation of a standardised waste collection system. Ten years ago, only fifty per cent of the total amount of solid waste was collected. Today, waste disposal companies collect between ninety and ninety-five per cent of the total solid waste produced in Kigali: The city’s first priority has almost been achieved. The second priority is now the development and improvement of the final waste disposal. The current construction of a sanitary landfill in the Nyarugenge district constitutes the first step towards the achievement of the second goal regarding the improvement of the solid waste management in Kigali (ibid).

5.3.3. Strengthening of the Environmental Awareness

Although most people I interviewed were not that sure what happens with their waste once it
gets collected, they knew a lot about the waste management system in Kigali and the negative impact of the inappropriate management of waste on the environment and human health. This is due to the fact that, since the introduction of the new national constitution, huge awareness campaigns all over the country have been launched via TV, radio stations, newspapers, online media and even in schools. The campaigns are designed to raise awareness of the negative effects of environmental pollution, not only for the environment but also for human health (Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Environment 2003: 29; Republic of Rwanda 2014; interview M., 27.09.17).

All my Rwandan interview partners recounted that, thanks to those awareness campaigns, the majority of Kigali’s residents now know how to sort their waste, how to discard it properly, and why the environmentally friendly management of waste, especially of non-organic waste consisting of, for example, plastic, is indispensable for the protection of their surrounding environment and their own health. A Rwandan sociologist working in Kigali, for example, explained that plastic waste, which is not disposed of properly, is “very bad for being in the fields where people grow like crops. […] But also for rivers, you know. Imagine you have all this plastic put in rivers and lakes. It is very bad for biodiversity, for fish” (Interview P.R., 04.10.17.). Another interviewee who works in a public office in Kigali elucidated that Kigali’s population learned through community awareness campaigns that it is better for the environment to avoid the production of plastic waste, as it “takes longer to be destroyed. So it may harm the soil. Paper, for example is easier to destroy. That’s what I’ve learned from community awareness campaigns” (Interview J.K., 07.10.17.). Yet one of my female interview partners living in Kigali said that people in Kigali know that environmental pollution caused by the inappropriate management of waste can contribute to the spread of diseases (Interview S.N., 06.10.17.). A Rwandan veterinarian affirmed that, if he manages his waste in an environmental friendly way, he is “protected from contamination” (Interview J.-C.M., 11.10.17.). As those awareness campaigns had a positive impact on the strengthening of the environmental awareness of the Rwandan population, they were driven forward by the government’s environmental policy (Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Environment 2003: 25). REMA is now in charge of the organisation of those information and public-awareness campaigns (Republic of Rwanda 2014: 100).

Besides the fact that the importance of cleanliness constituted already a part of Rwandans’ cultural background even before the launch of the nationwide environmental awareness
campaigns, one can say that the interviewed people, representing the middle to high-income section of Kigali’s society, keep the urban space free from any kind of solid waste because they know the negative impact of this form of urban pollution on their surrounding environment and their health. Besides the aesthetic appearance of their cityscape, they keep their houses, as well as public spaces, clean for environmental and hygienic or health reasons. Thanks to the government’s nationwide awareness campaigns, they know the numerous environmental and health benefits of living in a clean city, free from pollution caused by the inappropriate management of waste.

As the production of waste continued to “increase in quantity and quality” (Isugi 2016: 64), the Chamber of Deputies adopted a law in 2008 which prohibits “the manufacturing, usage, importation and sale of polythene bags in Rwanda” (Journal Officiel de la République du Rwanda 2009). This law complies with the Rwandan Constitution and the Organic Law. Strict controls and severe punishments come along with this ban on single-use plastic bags. Act 7 of the law relating to the prohibition of polythene bags stipulates, for example, that “any unauthorised person” who gets caught by REMA, policemen or the state military while using or selling plastic bags will be punished “by a fine ranging from 5,000 to 100,000 Rwandan Francs” (4.9 to 98 EUR) (ibid). Non-Rwandan, as well as Rwandan, interviewees told me that even at the airport, the luggage of people entering the country is checked by REMA. Every plastic bag they find will be confiscated and brought to a plastic recycling point (Interview P.H., 21.09.17; interview F.M., 30.09.17; interview C.W., 04.10.17.). REMA, together with the state military and police forces, is in charge of the strict control of the illegal use of plastic bags. Therefore, REMA is often called ‘the plastic police’ (URL2).

My interview partners explained to me that instead of using plastic bags, more and more people living in Kigali switched to bags made out of paper or cotton. In addition, they also use bags made out of a solid plastic material, which can be used several times (Interview P.H., 21.09.17; interview J.K., 07.10.17.). President Kagame wants to ban in the near future more plastic products in his country, so that less non-biodegradable waste will land on Rwanda’s dumpsites (URL2).

Although plastic constitutes an integral part of numerous societies all over the world (Singh et al. 2016: 692), the Rwandan community was able to change their consumer behaviour within a very short time regarding the ban on single-use plastic bags. However, many Rwandan
interview partners affirmed that the switch from plastic bags to cotton or paper bags was not easy at all. But as they knew, thanks to the awareness campaigns explaining why the avoidance of single-use plastic bags is crucial for the environment and human health, they adapted to the new legal situation (Interview J.K., 07.10.17). In addition, they knew that they would risk a legal sanction if they continued to use polythene bags (Interview M., 27.09.17; interview S.N., 06.10.17).

In order that Rwanda’s inhabitants comply with the requirements of the new Constitution, the Organic Law and the government’s environmental policy, and that they help in disposing of the waste lying within public streets in an appropriate way, people’s environmental awareness had to be further strengthened. The protection of the environment and the strengthening of Rwandans’ ecological consciousness fell within the framework of the government’s environmental policy and the Organic Law, and became a personal challenge for President Kagame (Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Environment 2003: 29; Helber 2013: 298). Article 3 of the Organic Law stipulates that it is the duty of every Rwandan “to protect and promote the environment” (Journal Officiel de la République du Rwanda 2005).

The population is called to commit to this task by actively participating in the national clean-up day, called Umuganda, which takes place on the last Saturday of every month all across Rwanda. The residents of Kigali are obliged to help clean up the capital during Umuganda, for example, by sweeping public streets, or to participate in the adoption of environmental protection measures, such as the planting of trees (URL7). According to President Kagame, this practical environmental protection constitutes an educational measure and should lead to the intensification of the people’s environmental awareness (Helber 2013: 298). Many of Rwandan interviewees spoke of Umuganda like it is a “patriotic act” (Interview S.N., 06.10.17.). They see it as a crucial monthly event where they can give their community and their country something back (ibid). A Rwandan environmentalist explained that even high ranked politicians take part in Umuganda. The fact that every single person in Kigali (who is physically able to do so) is actively engaged in clean-up and urban beautification activities, gives this interviewee the required motivation to clean up his neighbourhood each month as well (Interview P.N., 04.10.17.).

5.3.4. Maintenance of Urban Cleanliness through Government’s ‘Disciplinary Techniques’
Many of the interview partners who are members of the financially well-off section of Kigali’s
society claimed that the state measures implemented by the new government have strengthened their already pre-existing ecological awareness and intensified their desire for cleanliness (Interview P.R., 04.10.17; interview P.B., 19.10.17; interview J.-L.D., 08.11.17.). Before the launch of the nationwide environmental awareness campaigns, for example, they did not know why non-biodegradable waste like plastic waste, which is not disposed of in an appropriate way, is ‘not good’ (Interview D.N., 25.09.17; interview J.K., 07.10.17; interview J.-C.M., 11.10.17). After numerous awareness campaigns, the improvement of the waste management system and the ban on plastic bags, they do what the government tells them to do regarding the maintenance of urban cleanliness because they know that the inappropriate disposal of waste can be harmful for the environment and for their own health.

As can be seen from the interview statements, there has been a change in people’s perception of waste. Before the increase in the nationwide interest in diminishing environmental pollution, objects socially defined as waste were seen by the society as things that just have to be thrown away (Interview D.N., 25.10.17.). But with the increase in awareness programs and new laws about the appropriate disposing of waste, garbage is seen as something that can be dangerous for human health and the environment, not to forget its effect on the appearance of the urban space. In order to avoid an increase in environmental pollution through the gain in quantity and complexity of waste, the nationwide management of solid waste has been improved over the last fifteen years. Moreover, the use and production of some products like plastic bags, which may harm the environment as soon as they enter the status of waste, have even been completely banned.

Kigali’s inhabitants’ compliance with laws, restrictions and other state measures presented in this subchapter can be interpreted by applying Michel Foucault’s ([1970] 2006) theoretical analysis of disciplinary techniques within the frameworks of his concept of governmentality. The cleanliness measures presented in this chapter, such as the development of an environmental policy, the introduction of the Organic Law, the improvement of Kigali’s solid waste management system, the ban on single-used plastic bags, and the introduction of Umuganda, represent what Foucault calls disciplinary “security technologies” or “security techniques” (ibid: 59), through which authorities aim at shaping the conduct of individuals of a population in order to achieve overall political objectives (Inda 2005: 9), which are, in the case of Rwanda, the maintenance of a visually clean, ordered and aesthetically appealing city. Through its cleanliness measures, the Rwandan government has disciplined Kigali’s residents
to keep their surrounding environment clean. In that respect, the Rwandan government and Kigali’s population cooperate in terms of the avoidance of pollution through solid waste.

Based on the signing and realisation of all those laws, development programs and political frameworks just mentioned, tending to maintain absolute urban and rural cleanliness, and on the empirical data collected through interviews with people of the financially well-off section of Kigali’s heterogeneous society, chapter 6 analyses by what means the government was able to implement those clean-up measures in a very short time or, in other words, to bind Kigali’s population to the avoidance of the production of any form of urban pollution.
6. **Politics, Power and Pollution Management**

Chapter 5 examined the historical and cultural circumstances, as well as some legal and political decisions, that contributed to Kigali’s step towards becoming the cleanest or at least one of the cleanest African cities. This chapter analyses the intertwining of Rwanda’s current political environment and Kigali’s inhabitants’ management of urban pollution.

I start this chapter by analysing from a more political point of view the Rwandan regime’s authoritarian form of governance in terms of the implementation of its environmental policy, which strives to keep Kigali clean. Then, by superimposing Michel Foucault’s ([1970] 2006) discussion on governmentality and Mary Douglas’ ([1966] 2003) theoretical perspective on the social impact of pollution rules on the analysis of the way my informants working and/or living in Kigali cope with the cleanliness requirements of the Rwandan government, I will demonstrate to what extent the specific form of governance has influenced Kigali’s middle to high-income residents’ attitude towards, and their management of, urban pollution. I finish this chapter by examining how far my local interview partners’ decision to discipline themselves and to comply with governmental clean-up rules justifies and therefore strengthens the autocratic governance of the state. In this sense, I will demonstrate to what extent Rwanda’s specific form of governance and inhabitants of at least a section of Kigali’s heterogeneous society have mutually influenced each other’s management and conceptions of urban pollution. All in all, how the city authorities, together with Kigali’s inhabitants, are able to maintain the city’s high level of visual cleanliness will be revealed.

### 6.1. Rwanda’s Authoritarian Form of Governance

**6.1.1. Becoming ‘Africa’s Singapore’**

After the genocide in 1994, the new government decided that the Rwandan population should be given more socio-economic and political freedom. This was intended to help rebuilding the social cohesion among the divided society (Adekunle 2007: 129). In mind, Rwanda underwent a policy of decentralisation in 2001. The new government promised its citizens participatory governance and that the involvement of every Rwandan would be encouraged in order to unify the people (Sano 2007: 29, 34). Moreover, the Rwandan government aimed at giving more attention to community participation in order to reconstruct the country in a more socially sustainable way. In this sense, Rwanda’s development should be furthered with a bottom-up approach where positive socio-economic change is triggered by the society itself,
not only by state authorities (City of Kigali 2013: 2). Nevertheless, the almost single ruling RPF has practised “deft authoritarianism” when pursuing a “highly ambitious [modernisation] policy of reconstruction and development” (Straus & Waldorf 2011: 4). The overall objective, which the government has thereby pursued, is the complete engineering of a new society (ibid).

One political objective that has subsequently been achieved is the political empowerment and improvement of the social conditions of women. A huge number of men were killed or forced into exile during the genocide. This brought about lasting changes in gender relations and new opportunities for Rwandan women. Their responsibilities within the society have been expanded and they have started to adopt an active role on the labour market and in Rwanda’s everyday life. Since the end of the genocide, women have contributed considerably to the economic stabilisation, as well as to the re-establishment of peace and order within Rwandan communities. The government established the Ministry of Gender and Women Development in 1999 in order to politically empower women in Rwanda (Adekunle 2007: 111-112). Today, the majority of the parliamentary representatives are female (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2012: 17; URL8).

Since former Asian developmental countries with strong state regulation of the national economy, such as China, Singapore and South Korea, came out of the financial crisis in the years 2007 and 2008 “in a new position of prominence and prestige” (Honeyman 2016: 7), many countries decided to adopt the authoritarian form of governance of those Asian countries in order to achieve the same economic upturn. After all, the shift towards a more authoritarian and strongly state-regulated form of governance of the so-called ‘Asian Tigers’ turned out to be successful since they have experienced astonishing economic growth and social improvement within a short time. Those Asian tiger states became the new models for developing countries like Rwanda to follow in terms of economic management and social engineering (ibid: 7). Although the Rwandan government aimed at creating entrepreneurial individuals who take responsibility for their own socio-economic decisions, it did not want to give up its autonomy in leading and controlling the Rwandan society and economies. Rwanda’s post-genocide government was inspired by the authoritarian form of governance, which has been applied by those former developmental states of Asia (Honeyman 2016: xiii).

Regarding its urban renewal strategies and Kigali’s on-going transformation into the
country’s economic megacity, Singapore constitutes the model city-state for Rwanda (Ökumenisches Netz Zentralafrika 2010: 8-9; Straus & Waldorf 2011: 10). Just like Taiwan, South Korea or China, Singapore is one of the ‘Asian Tigers’, characterised by their authoritarian form of governance (Honeyman 2016: 8, 12). Investments from abroad and from the local elite should enable Rwanda to take the leap from an agrarian to a service-providing society, based on the model of the former East and Southeast Asian developmental states mentioned above. Generally speaking, Kigali should assume the role of the motor of the country’s overall development so that Rwanda can become ‘Africa’s Singapore’ in terms of authoritarian leadership, economic development with state involvement, a certain expertise in ICT, and not to forget its maintenance of public cleanliness and order (Ökumenisches Netz Zentralafrika 2010: 7).

With its specific form of governance, Rwanda follows the same aesthetic principle like Singapore. Everything has to be ordered, clean, and planned: be it the appearance of public streets or any business branch. According to Catherine Honeyman, expert in international education policy, street businesses, for example, have been “tidied up and brought into the formal market” (ibid: xii). In Rwanda, all businesses are now required to be registered and to operate at a fixed location. The government promotes self-reliance, but only if it is conducted in an ordered and planned way (ibid). The anthropologist William Rollason (2013) uses the example of the motorcycle taxi drivers in Kigali, who must wear numbered uniforms and helmets, become part of the tax system, belong to a cooperative and get a driving license. They have to “perform to the aesthetic standards of the new, ‘developed’” city of Kigali (ibid: 9). Businesses like the motorcycle taxi sector should fit into the modern, cleaned-up and ordered image of Kigali created to attract economic investments (ibid: 22). This new image of Rwanda should express the country’s “enterprise culture” and increase its economic competitiveness and prestige internationally (Honeyman 2016: 40). The motives and the implications of that image-creation of the Rwandan government on the middle to high-income section of Kigali’s society’s imaginations of cleanliness will be further analysed in chapter 7.

Although the government assured its citizens of a gain in economic freedom, one of President Kagame’s guiding principles was and still is: “Development first, then democracy” (Kinzer 2017). Since his first presidential election, President Kagame has practiced “deft authoritarianism justifying its restriction on political parties, civil society and media” in order to accomplish his socio-economic and environmental engineering goals as fast as possible.
Since the turn of the millennium and the election of the new government, the Rwandan regime increasingly enforced its authoritarian rule by impeding the development of other political parties and restricting the freedom of the press. At the end of the political transition in Rwanda in 2001, the regime announced the start of a democratisation process. However the RPF took the full control over this process (Reyntjens 2004: 182-183). To give an example, the RPF exercises control over all government ministries (Longman 2011: 32). Moreover, there have been reports of numerous cases of ‘disappeared’ opponents of the RPF within the last fifteen years (Reyntjens 2015: 22). In 2010, for example, the vice president of Rwanda’s Green Party, André Kagwa Rwisereka, was found beheaded, one week after he expressed criticism of President Kagame (Longman 2011: 34). Although the political system of Rwanda is characterised by multiple parties and regular democratic elections, viewpoints that do not comply with the RPF’s political ideas will be ignored by the authoritarian regime and are aggressively excluded from political debates (Straus & Waldorf 2011: 11). Regarding the restricted press freedom, the RPF-led regime has a “monopoly on truth” (Reyntjens 2015: 28). Various Rwandan journalists and editors have been sentenced to years in prison, suspended, or sent into exile. In addition, President Kagame signed a new press law in 2009 “allowing the government to review the content of publications” (Longman 2011: 35-36). The restricted political and press freedom in Rwanda has often been criticised by human rights organisations, such as Human Rights Watch (2017) and Freedomhouse (URL9).

The regime asserts that Rwanda can only become more prosperous under President Kagame’s leadership and that after few years, democracy, political freedom and freedom of speech may be re-established. In the name of development, the RPF-led regime practices top-down governance and does not tolerate a multi-party democracy (Longman 2011: 27, 41). To say it in President Kagame’s words, Rwanda has applied a specific form of democracy, “that fits with us” (Steinwachs 2017).

Since Rwanda’s shift towards an authoritarian form of governance, President Kagame is often presented as the “Entrepreneur President” (Honeyman 2016: 26). According to President Kagame, “entrepreneurship is the most sure way of development” (ibid). A Rwandan respondent who has lived in Europe for over ten years mentioned this entrepreneurial spirit of the Rwandan President. He argued that the President reminded him of a business leader. President Kagame guides his country just like an enterprise. The Rwandan interviewee added:
“The President is aware of everything what happens in our country. It already happened that he asked ministers or other government officials about a specific issue of their respective department and when they could not give him an answer right away, they were fired immediately. […] Strong governmental leadership is important for development. It should be like that in every other country as well” (Interview P.H., 21.09.17.).

6.1.2. Rwanda’s Authoritarianism and the Concept of Governmentality
Most of my interviewees mentioned Rwanda’s authoritarian form of governance when explaining why, in their opinion, Rwanda could implement its clean-up measures in a very short time. When I asked my interviewees how Kigali could become the cleanest African city, one Rwandan respondent living in Kigali and working in a public office answered: “The reason why is because of our leader. […] Since his first election, cleanliness has been at the top agenda of our country” (Interview J.K., 07.10.17). Another Rwandan interview partner claimed that it was only because of President Kagame’s entrepreneurial and authoritarian governance form that Rwanda has been able to become the cleanest African city (Interview P.H., 21.09.17).

A non-Rwandan interviewee who travelled to Rwanda several times told me that he had the impression that people in Rwanda are actually forced to clean up their surrounding environment. As President Kagame governs with absolute power and does not tolerate any violation of the environmental policy (or any other policy), people just obey and stick to the rules concerning the maintenance of public cleanliness and order. Just like many other interviewees, the non-Rwandan respondent mentioned above is of the opinion that Rwanda would not be that developed, clean and ordered without President Kagame’s authoritarian governance (Interview F.M., 30.09.17.).

My gate keeper who had already been to Rwanda before the genocide noticed that Rwanda, and especially Kigali, has always been remarkably tidy. However, she said that after the election of President Kagame and the new RPF-led government, she perceived Rwanda visually cleaner. She had the impression that Rwandans just did what their President told them to do: cleaning up the public space and maintaining overall cleanliness. Additionally, she explained to me: “Rwandans are highly obedient! They do whatever their leader, Kagame, tells them to do. They really admire him. When he tells them to keep their environment clean and to participate at Umuganda once in a month, they obey. […] Unfortunately, this was also
the case during the three months in 1994. The Hutu majority received the order to kill all the Tutsis. And they just did. They said: ‘We complete the task, which the government gave to us’. So Rwandans are very obedient and disciplined people” (Interview B.S., 21.09.17.).

Another non-Rwandan respondent, a political scientist who travelled to Kigali twice, affirmed that he hasn’t seen “any scraps of litter” anywhere in Kigali and that this high level of cleanliness would be “atypical for African cities” (Interview S.G., 09.10.17.). When I asked him why he thinks that Rwanda is extraordinary tidy and much cleaner than, for example, other African countries, he answered: “Rwanda has a particular policy and a certain form of leadership. [...] People are very disciplined. [...] Rwanda has improved tremendously in different areas like cleanliness or business. [...] Of course there is a price to pay. A part of this price is political freedom. [...] But the positive is, it is a very clean city” (ibid).

Rwandans and non-Rwandan interviewees identified a link between the specific form of governance, Rwanda’s disciplinary and ‘obedient’ society, and the maintenance of public cleanliness and order in Kigali and in Rwanda in general. The Rwandan government disciplined its population to keep the environment clean. But the pursuit of absolute urban cleanliness constitutes not only an environmental or health measure, but also a political objective for the Rwandan government: Kigali’s exemplary cleanliness should attract investors and tourists and, consequently, boost the national economy. As the management of waste or pollution in general of a specific urban society can constitute an “excellent opportunity for the analysis of everyday situation of urban governance” (Bouju 2009: 143), I refer to Michel Foucault’s ([1970] 2006) concept of governmentality when analysing the Rwandan government’s creation of discipline and order for the achievement of absolute cleanliness. According to the anthropologists Chris Shore and Susan Wright (1997), governmentality or “the art of government” constitutes a “useful starting point for understanding how modern systems of power work” (ibid: 29).

Governmentality refers to the modern government’s “conduct of conduct” or the government’s power over its population (Inda 2005: 1). It analyses the way or the techniques through which subjects of a society are governed. Individuals of a society are conducted and their living behaviours are shaped or influenced through different disciplinary techniques, such as specific systems of control, which should ensure collective welfare and other political objectives. Those political objectives justify the government’s particular way of exercising
power. Specific political discourses, such as the cleanliness discourse of the Rwandan government, legitimise certain governmental decisions. In order to achieve those political goals, specific phenomena or social circumstances are defined as ‘problems’. Modern governments use different techniques or technologies of power to shape the conduct of individuals and to solve the so-called problems, or in other words, to achieve the political objectives (ibid: 7-9). According to the anthropologist Jonathan Xavier Inda (2005), Foucault does not merely reflect on those techniques or activities of the state, rather on the government’s “rational effort to influence and guide the conduct of human beings through acting upon their desires, circumstances and environment” through such disciplinary techniques (ibid: 6).

Referring to Foucault’s ([1970] 2006) concept of governmentality, the Rwandan government uses a system of public control, awareness campaigns and strict law enforcement as techniques to discipline its population and to transform individuals’ behaviour regarding their avoidance of pollution and attitudes towards cleanliness. Through a system of discipline and surveillance, the government conducts, manipulates and transforms Kigali’s residents into docile bodies who should help achieving overall urban cleanliness. Through such disciplinary techniques, the Kagame administration wants to actualise the overall political reason for its strict form of governance: Rwanda’s transformation into a middle-income country by 2020 (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2012). The government uses this political objective and its cleanliness discourse to justify its specific technologies of power and in general its authoritarian form of governance. According to President Kagame, the waiver of democracy is important to achieve first, through the application of specific techniques that were presented in chapter 5, absolute cleanliness in Kigali and, in the second instance, to further national economic development (Helber 2013: 295; Kinzer 2017). The system of control applied by the government to implement its political and legal clean-up measures and which shaped Kigali’s residents’ management of cleanliness and created self-discipline among the urban population will be further presented in chapter 6.3.

It can be noted that there exist two quite opposing perspectives from which to examine Rwanda’s political environment. The more optimistic and positive point of view, which is often taken by, for example, international politicians, journalists and aid agencies, praises President Kagame’s ‘visionary leadership’, the country’s economic development, the neoliberal, market oriented policy, the empowerment of women, as well as the improvement
of the education and health sector. The opposed position, which is mostly adopted by political scientists “fearing that injustice could lead to political instability and renewed conflicts”, criticise President Kagame’s autocratic rule, the RPF’s numerous abuses of human rights and the growing inequality within the labour market (Reyntjens 2015: 20).

However, it must be said that the vast majority of Rwandans, just like everyone of my Rwandan interview partners, worship ‘their’ President and see him as the real driver of Rwanda’s development (Helber 2013: 293, 297; Kinzer 2017). It is with good reason that Paul Kagame has been President of the Republic of Rwanda for almost fifteen years in a row. After all, he is widely liked by the Rwandan population, as he has provided social stability and economic growth (Steinwachs 2017). As I already mentioned above, the non-Rwandan female interviewee had the impression that “they [Rwandans] really admire him [President Kagame]” (Interview B.S., 21.09.17). Moreover, each of my Rwandan interview partners sees a link between the maintenance of Kigali’s cleanliness and President Kagame’s authoritarian form of governance. One of them, a female respondent living in Gisenyi, is of the opinion that “Rwanda would not be that clean, ordered and modern as it is without Kagame. […] We owe him a lot, actually the whole clean-up and reconstruction of our country” (Interview M., 27.09.17.). Interview statements like this one confirm the claim of Timothy Longman (2011), director of the African Studies Centre at Boston University, that Rwandans “will not care about political liberties if the government brings them prosperity” and an increase in their quality of living thanks to the strict prohibition on urban visual pollution (ibid: 41).

This subchapter presented Rwanda’s authoritarian governance and points out on its intertwining with Kigali’s visual cleanliness and urban development. Referring to the information collected from secondary literature and statements of my informants partly representing a heterogeneous educated, middle to high-income section of Rwanda’s urban population, Kigali’s society can be interpreted as what Foucault ([1975] 2008) calls a “disciplinary society” or a “surveillance society” (ibid: 265). Through an authoritarian form of governance, Kigali’s inhabitants are controlled and disciplined by the Rwandan government. The Rwandan state disciplines and controls its population in order to provide public safety and order, to achieve its political objectives and, in general, to strengthen its political power (Foucault [1970] 2006: 524).

The following two sections will analyse in more detail how far this governance form of
President Kagame and the RPF has influenced Kigali’s middle to high-income residents’ attitude towards and dealing with urban pollution. In addition, the extent to which the decision of the financially well-off section of Kigali’s heterogeneous population to rely on self-discipline regarding the maintenance of public cleanliness and to comply with governmental clean-up prescriptions justifies, and therefore strengthens, the autocratic governance of the state shall be examined.

6.2. Maintenance of Cleanliness as an Imposed Cultural Feature


I noticed that for most of the Rwandan people I interviewed cleanliness is perceived as ‘a part of their culture’ or simply a part of their life. One Rwandan interviewee, a civil servant who lives close to Kigali’s city centre, said that the maintenance of cleanliness means a lot to him and the rest of Kigali’s population. He affirmed that this urge for cleanliness is “in their minds” (Interview J.K., 07.10.17.). Another respondent, a Rwandan sociologist who works in Kigali, is of the opinion that all Rwandans have “the same perception about cleanliness” (Interview P.R., 04.10.17.). My gate keeper said that this need for cleanliness is now “in Rwandans’ nature” and that it became a “part of the Rwandan spirit” (Interview B.S., 21.09.17.). One female respondent who lives in a newly built, bourgeois neighbourhood in Kigali is convinced that the avoidance of material pollution through the inappropriate disposal of solid waste became part of Rwandans’ mentality. She said: “Everything started with the awareness campaigns almost fifteen years ago. Today, everybody, even children take care of the overall cleanliness” (Interview S.N., 06.10.17.). One Belgian interviewee, who has lived in Kigali for years, is of the opinion that Kigali’s citizens, especially the younger generations, have become accustomed to living in a clean urban environment. For Kigali’s inhabitants, “it became like normal” for them (Interview J.-L.D, 08.11.17.). As the Rwandan civil servant who I already mentioned above said, Kigali’s citizens could not imagine living in an untidy space anymore, where nobody respects the law that regulates the management of waste and general urban cleanliness (Interview J.K., 07.10.17.). Rwandans prefer to comply with the rules and implement cleanliness measures they were informed about by public authorities, such as REMA, during nationwide environmental awareness campaigns (Interview M., 27.09.17.).

The Rwandan interviewees highlighted the pride they feel when thinking about the remarkable cleanliness of Rwanda, and especially of Kigali, the country’s ‘model city’.
According to the Belgian respondent living in Kigali, most of his neighbours, who live in a bourgeois area close to embassies and other public buildings, associate a certain increase in their standard of living with the improvement in urban cleanliness and order. They are proud that, after the genocide, the country has been rebuilt and cleaned-up within a relatively short time and that this has changed the image of Rwanda in general in a positive way (Interview J.-L.D., 08.11.17.). Another interview partner who works for an international organisation and lives close to Kigali’s city centre similarly revealed that he feels proud of “being in a clean place” (Interview D.N., 25.09.17.). He added: “I want to keep everything in a good state. Not only my house, but also my whole neighbourhood” (ibid).

Moreover, according to most of my respondents, Rwandans share a feeling of collective responsibility for the cleanliness of Kigali. Because of this, they participate at Umuganda in a highly motivated way. An event like Umuganda where all citizens are called up to help cleaning up Kigali strengthens the environmental awareness of the society and transforms the nationwide clean up into a cultural event, a “patriotic act” (Interview S.N., 06.10.17.). The civil servant asserted that, although the government forces its citizens to participate at Umuganda, he has not been forced by anybody to clean up his neighbourhood: He really wants to participate at the event, since “it’s an opportunity to give your community something back” (Interview J.K., 07.10.17.). One of my non-Rwandan interview partners who travelled to Rwanda four times had the impression that there exists a “common commitment to keep their environment tidy” and that the participation in Umuganda might “foster a certain sense of joint ownership for the people’s space” (Interview H.G., 04.10.17.). Rwandans feel responsible for the maintenance of cleanliness and order (ibid).

However, it must be noted that the society as a whole and the previously mentioned feeling of collective responsibility put a certain pressure on the individual citizens and force them to maintain urban cleanliness. The Rwandan sociologist told me that if they get caught disposing of waste in an inappropriate way or simply not participating in keeping the urban environment clean by another citizen who will bring a charge against them, they risk not only a legal sanction but also “social blame” (Interview P.R., 04.101.7.). He takes the example of Umuganda: “People in Kigali feel like they have to comply. […] If you are missing the national clean-up event at the end of every month, for example, you will be the person who feels like the person who is always out of the society. Like standing out of the crowd. You must know that in Kigali, or in Rwanda in general, it is the society who is doing things for the
The Rwandan citizen who works for an international organisation explained to me: “Last time, we forgot to sort [the different kinds of waste] and we felt very uncomfortable” (Interview D.N., 25.09.17.). He also claimed that he would feel “embarrassed” when hosting guests in his untidy house (ibid). Some respondents also mentioned that they also have a look at other people, for example, their neighbours, if they keep their surrounding environment clean. The Rwandan civil servant said: “If a citizen is throwing something in the streets, I even go there and ask him: ‘Why are you doing this?’” (Interview J.K., 07.10.17.). He added: “We always make sure that our neighbourhood is clean. And whoever is not performing well in terms of cleaning, we get together as a neighbourhood and we visit whoever is not performing good work. And we try to understand why he or she is not giving a good performance” (ibid). My non-Rwandan gate keeper told me that people in Rwanda feel really ashamed when you catch them, for example, disposing of waste in an inappropriate way. She laughed and said: “If I saw people throwing their garbage on the streets, I said to them with a wink: ‘Hey, I will go to Kagame and tell him about this incident!’” (Interview B.S., 21.09.17.). So in this sense, the cleanliness of Rwanda did not only become a national imperative, but also a cultural landmark excluding those who will not keep their surrounding environment clean. Many of my interview partners referred to this social pressure and citizens’ collective discipline regarding the avoidance of visual pollution.

The example of Kigali’s population’s overall compliance with cleanliness rules in order to avoid ‘social blame’ can be interpreted with Mary Douglas’ ([1996] 2003) statement that pollution has “much to do with morals” (ibid: 160). The anthropologist argues that certain provisions of a society about how its population should think of and subsequently deal with forms of appearance of pollution highlight general societal rules about “morally disapproved behaviour” (ibid: 160). Rules of how to manage pollution can reflect what behaviours a society defines as appropriate or completely unacceptable. The public moral code of what is acknowledged by a society in terms of pollution impacts the population’s dealing with laws prescribing the maintenance of Kigali’s cleanliness. After all, very few people want to be seen as ‘polluters’ who crossed the line of what is accepted by their society regarding the production of pollution. As they are deterred from the society’s reaction to members who are polluting the environment, they prefer to stick to moral rules of cleanliness (ibid: 161-165). The fact that concepts of pollution and cleanliness, which are broadly anchored in a society, constitute instruments for the maintenance of public order explains how the Rwandan
government was able to successfully clean up Kigali City in a short time. As revealed by numerous interview statements, the majority of Rwandans avoid, after all, to be sentenced by law, as well as being socially stigmatised by the rest of the society for the violation of pollution rules.

6.2.2. Government’s Top-Down Discipline and People’s Self-Discipline

The social pressure, together with the feeling of collective responsibility, among the interviewed section of Kigali’s society also demonstrate that at least a part of the financially well-off urban residents manage the urban pollution caused by solid waste themselves and that they maintain order and cleanliness on their own. As I already mentioned above, one of my interviewees, the Rwandan sociologist, stated: “It is the society who is doing things for the communal interest” (Interview P.R., 04.101.7.).

Referring to Michel Foucault ([1975] 2008), one can say that people living in Kigali ‘discipline themselves’ (ibid: 276) regarding the avoidance of urban pollution because they actually want to live in a clean city, since they can not imagine living in an untidy area anymore and prefer to meet the society’s expectations regarding the urge for absolute cleanliness. After years of environmental awareness campaigns, the implementation of the environmental policy, the adherence to the Organic Law and the respecting of the polythene bags ban, Rwandans understand the numerous environmental and health reasons why it is important to avoid urban pollution. In addition, they understand that keeping Kigali clean increases the city’s visual attractiveness, which might entice foreign investors and tourists.

Mary Douglas’ ([1966] 2003) theoretical analysis of pollution rules of a society and their impact to individuals of that society can be applied to the examination of the way Kigali’s residents deal with the cleanliness rules, which are established by the Rwandan government and respected by seemingly the majority of the city’s inhabitants. According to Douglas, pollution rules represent a small aspect of morally disapproved behaviour. Individuals’ behaviour is shaped and influenced by the public code of morals. Public rules about the way people should deal with pollution also have an influence on the individual management of pollution of every single citizen. If people do not follow public cleanliness rules, they risk to be excluded from the rest of the society, since they endangered public safety and order and behaved in a manner that is determined as ‘bad’ by the rest of the society (ibid: 3, 160-172). Similarly to Douglas, Foucault ([1970] 2006) argues as well that the classification of
behaviour patterns in ‘good’ and ‘bad’, ‘normal’ and ‘abnormal’ forces individuals to follow the rules of conduct. Since individuals do not want to deviate from the social norm and to be excluded from the rest of the society, they prefer to abide by rules of conduct. The state uses its disciplinary power to control people’s behaviours and to punish every abnormality so that general order and security will be maintained (ibid: 229-236).

So, combining Foucault’s ([1970] 2006) concept of governmentality with Douglas’ ([1966] 2003) theoretical perspective on the impact of social pollution rules to members of a society, as well as the way my informants talk about Kigali’s residents’ pride and the importance of cleanliness in their everyday life, President Kagame’s regime appears to have successfully guided Rwandans’ attitudes towards cleanliness, as well as their consumption habits, with the goal of reducing or avoiding visual pollution. The government inculcated its citizens this idea of ‘cleanliness as a part of their culture’ by claiming that, for the cleaning up of the country, the commitment of every single Rwandan inhabitant would be needed. Thus, President Kagame and his single-ruling party RPF have not only achieved their political goal of a clean, ordered city within a very short time, but the high level of cleanliness will also continue thanks to the society’s intensified attitude towards visual cleanliness. Referring to Foucault ([1970] 2006), individuals of Kigali’s society have been ‘disciplined’ by the state to comply by rules of maintenance of cleanliness. Subsequently, one could say that Kigali’s inhabitants, or at least my Rwandan informants representing the middle to high-income section of the urban society, disciplined themselves over time after they had internalised the rules of conduct prescribed by the state. After all, they do not want to be excluded by the rest of the society that tries to keep the city clean. The shift from top-down discipline to self-discipline, as well as the on-going mutual influence of both forms of discipline on my informants regarding their maintenance of public cleanliness will be further discussed in the following subchapter.

Due to the fact that citizens obey public authorities and help in the implementation of cleanliness laws and in the general avoidance of Kigali’s visual pollution, President Kagame and the RPF feel vindicated that their strict authoritarian form of governance has been successful and that it transformed Kigali into the cleanest African city. Besides the country’s need for socio-political, economic and environmental re-engineering after the genocide, the government justifies its top-down policies by referring to the population’s will for change, their strengthened environmental awareness and the pride of their ‘cleanliness
culture’ when inundated with criticism from the world community and human rights organisations regarding its authoritarian and undemocratic way of managing urban pollution (Straus & Waldorf 2011: 13; Froïdbise 2015). All Rwandan interview partners claimed that they are grateful to President Kagame and that they owe the improvement of Kigali’s public cleanliness to his policies. One of them stated: “We owe him a lot, actually the whole clean-up and reconstruction of our country” (Interview M., 27.09.17.). Another one was of the opinion that it changed Rwandans’ environmental awareness and how they deal with solid waste (Interview S.N., 06.10.17.). In addition, the majority of Kigali’s residents comply with the government’s cleanliness formalities, since they have understood that it is important to keep Kigali clean in order to protect the urban environment, human health and for the Rwanda’s image. Therefore, they want to support the government’s strive for absolute cleanliness (Interview P.H., 21.09.17; interview P.B., 19.10.17.). Rwandans are proud that President Kagame enabled the country to turn itself into “a most unexpected success story” in terms of public cleanliness, safety and order (Kinzer 2017). This gratitude towards their president is evidenced by the fact that President Kagame got re-elected to a third seven-year term in 2017 because Rwandans “want this progress to continue” (ibid). However, it must be noted that such statements about my Rwandan informants’ pride towards their President must be analysed critically with special regard to the authoritarian regime, which does not tolerate any critique against the political system.

The findings demonstrate that, after the government applied disciplinary “security techniques” (Foucault [1970] 2006: 23) shaping Kigali’s inhabitants’ attitude towards and management of urban pollution, the population is willing to support the government regarding the implementation of its numerous clean-up measures. According to my respondents, the majority of Kigali’s population has always had a certain urge towards cleanliness and order, even before Paul Kagame became president of Rwanda. However, they were of the opinion that a large part of Kigali’s residents have intensified their efforts to maintain public cleanliness and have adapted an appropriate management system for urban pollution since President Kagame has put the maintenance of public cleanliness at the top of his political agenda. Thus, many of my interviewees claimed that cleanliness has become even more a part of Kigali’s residents’ ‘culture’ after Paul Kagame’s election and that they abide by the government’s rules of cleanliness because they actually want to live in a tidy space.

There exists a mutual cooperation and influence between the Rwandan government and
Kigali’s inhabitants, as well as amongst the residents, regarding the avoidance of urban pollution. However, the government’s impact on urban dwellers’ management and conception of pollution is predominant, as will be shown by my respondents’ reactions to and observance of the different techniques the government uses to achieve absolute urban cleanliness.

6.3. Cleanliness on the Basis of Political Power and Self-Discipline

6.3.1. “In Rwanda, an Order is an Order”

As soon as I analysed statements of Rwandan interviewees who told me about the way they manage their household waste or how they keep their surrounding environment clean, I realised that most of them not only mentioned the fact that this became ‘normal’ in Rwanda or a ‘part of their culture’. They also brought up almost in the same breath words like “we have to” (Interview D.N., 25.09.17; interview M., 27.09.17.), “we must obey” (Interview S.N., 06.10.17) or “the government obliges” (Interview J.K., 07.10.17; interview J.-C.M., 11.10.17.). A Rwandan respondent who lives in the Nyarugenge district of Kigali, for example, affirmed that he feels proud of “being in a clean place” and that he really wants to keep it like that (Interview D.N., 25.09.17.). Then, his next statement was: “Well, it has been imposed by the government to keep our environment clean. So we just do it” (ibid). A female resident of Kigali who lives in a newly built neighbourhood in the Kicukiro district affirmed that “Kigali’s cleanliness is mandatory” and that every citizen just “has to” actively help the government to keep it as clean as it is (Interview S.N., 06.10.17.).

The reason why my informants ‘have to’ keep their surrounding environment clean and are obliged to avoid any form of urban visual pollution is the government’s strict law enforcement. One resident of Kigali said that REMA put specific laws into place. He mentioned one example of such laws: “Everybody has to put the household waste outside of the house. It should not stay inside for a long time, so that COPED can collect it, but also that the waste does not stink in the house, you know” (Interview D.N., 25.09.17.). Another interviewee, who lives in Gisenyi mentioned this national law as well. REMA obliges every citizen to keep his or her household waste outside his or her house (Interview M., 27.09.17.).

One interviewee from Kigali who lives in Europe explained to me that, according to the state, “pollution is a crime” and therefore strictly regulated by law (Interview P.H., 21.09.17.). Similarly to that statement, another respondent, a Rwandan environmentalist said: “The national police considers uncleanliness as a hindrance, a menace” (Interview P.N., 04.10.17.).
This explains why people risk being legally sanctioned with immediate effect if they get caught disposing of waste illegally by the police, REMA or the military, as mentioned by another respondent, a Rwandan sociologist working in Kigali (Interview P.R., 04.10.17.). One interviewee, a Rwandan veterinarian, referred to the ban on plastic bags: “If the government sees that you are still using them, they will punish you” (Interview J.-C.M., 11.10.17.). According to the “Law relating to the prohibition of manufacturing, importing, use and sale of polythene bags in Rwanda”, an unauthorised person who still uses non-biodegradable plastic bags risks to be “punished by a fine ranging from 5,000 to 100,000 RWF” (4.9 to 98 EUR) (Journal Officiel de la République du Rwanda 2009: 84-85).

Another example of Rwanda’s strict law enforcement would be the privatised solid waste collection system: Article 81 of the Organic Law prohibits “any kind of dumping of garbage outside ones plot” (Sano 2007: 65). It is strictly forbidden to throw it on the streets. It should be stored in the waste bins, which have been provided by the state authority, outside the house and collected by a private waste collection company (Interview D.N., 25.09.17; interview M., 27.09.17.). This law actually forces households in Rwanda to sign contracts with waste collection companies and to financially support the city’s aim of reducing the amount of waste entering the public streets and sanitation systems. One person working in Kigali as a civil servant said that they just “have to” pay for the collection service of a private company, which will weekly collect their household waste and bring it to a nearby landfill or a recycling centre (Interview J.K., 07.10.17.). Another male respondent living and working in Kigali claimed that they even have to pay for the standardised waste bins from REMA (Interview D.N., 25.09.17.). A Rwandan citizen who is currently living in Europe said that even if people can not afford the waste collection service, they have to find a solution on their own. Some people, for example, share trash bins in order to share the costs for the collection service. Rwandans just have to follow the rules, no matter how and even if they are theoretically not able to follow them, for example, due to financial reasons (Interview P.H.: 21.09.17.). Through its strict law enforcement, the Rwandan state disciplines Kigali’s inhabitants and ensures that they keep their urban environment clean.

My Rwandan interviewees’ compliance with official cleanliness rules because of the government’s strict law enforcement emphasises the draconian nature of the enforcement policies, which in turn emphasise the government's prioritization of the maintenance of cleanliness. An interviewee from Kigali mentioned: “Everybody has to obey to the
government and put into practice the cleaning up of the country. The government wants its people to keep Kigali clean” (Interview D.N., 25.09.17.). A non-Rwandan interview partner who travelled to Kigali last year told me that the municipal cleaning activities within the city centre of Kigali remind her of a dystopian novel in which people clean up their surroundings despite the fact that there is nothing to clean up. Community workers just have to clean-up Kigali as ordered by the government, no matter how clean the streets already are (Interview C.W., 04.10.17.). After all, as one interviewee from Kigali indicated in French: “Au Rwanda, un ordre c’est un ordre”¹ (Interview P.H., 21.09.17.). If the order of the state is that community workers have to sweep the streets, they just do it in order to avoid any penalty of the state if public authorities would see a single piece of waste. The fact that my interview partners often referred to the government’s commanding tone when talking about the achievement of Kigali’s absolute cleanliness underpins Gay Hawkins’ (2006) assertion about the intertwining of ordering and the emphasis on cleanliness. According to Hawkins, people – as well as whole governments, as it is the case for Rwanda – clean up or discard specific things because of their “interest in ordering” (ibid: 24). By explaining that the elimination of specific kinds of waste or any other socially defined form of pollution can establish or at least strengthen public order, Hawkins refers to Mary Douglas ([1966] 2003) who argued that “dirt makes systems of order visible” (Douglas [1966] 2003; quoted in Hawkins 2006: 2). To quote Douglas ([1996] 2003), the Rwandan state creates order “by exaggerating between within and without”, by dictating what should be perceived as ‘waste’ or ‘urban pollution’ and how its citizens should maintain overall cleanliness (ibid: 4).

6.3.2. Governmental Control to Maintain Urban Cleanliness

A term that most of the interview partners used to describe the reason why Kigali can be defined as an exceedingly clean city is ‘control’. One interviewee from Kigali who has lived in Europe for thirteen years argued that besides the strict cleanliness laws, public authorities’ uninterrupted control of the urban space forces the citizens of Kigali to keep it as clean as possible. According to a Rwandan interviewee, the government has to “keep an eye on its citizens” (Interview P.H., 21.09.17.). Without this public control, Rwanda’s objective of absolute visual cleanliness would not have been achieved (ibid).

In this sense, people’s actions, consumption habits and ways of dealing with waste are not only prescribed by the Rwandan government but also heavily controlled by national

¹ Engl.: “In Rwanda, an order is an order”
authorities. One of my female respondents living in Gisenyi mentioned the example of the introduction of the ban on polythene bags. In her opinion, one could not find any single-use plastic bag in Kigali within a very short time after the introduction of the ban, not only thanks to numerous awareness campaigns, but also because policemen controlled citizens at the market or on other public places. If they saw a person carrying a plastic bag with him or her, they confiscated it and gave a warning (Interview M., 27.09.17.).

As pollution is perceived as a crime or a menace for public safety and the aesthetic appearance of Kigali, people risk a legal sanction if they get caught disposing of waste in an inappropriate way by the police, REMA or the military. Many of my non-Rwandan interview partners mentioned that, in the city centre of Kigali, you see policemen and people from the military with submachine guns at almost every corner (Interview V.V., 26.09.17; interview C.W., 04.10.17.). Although they ensure that citizens comply with all laws of public order, the overall maintenance of cleanliness by urban dwellers constitutes one of their major concerns.

According to the Rwandan interview partner who lives in the Nyarugenge district of Kigali, the cleanliness of the different districts of Kigali are ensured and controlled by the respective mayor. Every district has a mayor who has to make sure that the urban environment and people’s houses are cleaned-up and meet the city’s hygienic and aesthetic standards. He added that if a place is not clean, the mayor’s task is to solve the ‘pollution problem’ by, for example, giving the responsible people the instruction to clean the place up, by asking private waste collection companies to dispose of the waste, etc. (Interview D.N., 25.09.17.). So as another interviewee living in Kigali summarised, “the management of pollution happens at the district level” (Interview J.-L.-D., 08.11.17.). The Rwandan environmentalist who I interviewed explained that mayors have to report on the cleanliness and hygiene condition of their district to the Ministry of Health. However, it can happen that officers of the Ministry go to a district and inspect the degree of cleanliness without informing the responsible authorities (Interview P.N., 04.10.17.). As one can see, Kigali’s districts are kept clean, among others, due to an official top-down control.

The strict national cleanliness inspection of the Rwandan regime begins at the border. Non-Rwandan, as well as some Rwandan, interviewees told me that when they flew to Rwanda, the stewardesses told the passengers right before the landing that they should leave any plastic bags they are carrying with them in the airplane (Interview P.H., 21.09.17; interview B.S.,
At the Rwandan airport, travellers’ backpacks will be searched by REMA, the so-called “plastic police”. If they find plastic bags, they confiscate them and people risk punishment (URL1).

An interviewee from Luxembourg who has visited Rwanda several times cited another example of the strict pollution control: he told me the story of when he and his friends wanted to visit a national park and left Kigali by car with a Rwandan tour guide and they were stopped by the military as soon as they crossed the city’s border. It was the last Saturday of the month and the tour guide had to explain to the militarist why he did not participate at Umuganda. After an intense discussion, the tour guide finally got the permission to ‘skip’ the national clean-up event (Interview F.M., 30.09.17.). People who decide not to participate in the national clean-up event have to have an acceptable excuse.

My gate keeper, who has also travelled to Rwanda several times in order to work on an honorary basis for a charitable organisation, gave me another example for the strict governmental control over the maintenance of Kigali’s visual cleanliness and the protection of the urban environment: three years ago, she decided that children should launch one thousand white balloons during a huge symbolic peace event, taking place in Kigali. She had to order those balloons from Nairobi, as she could not find any balloons in Kigali. She assured me that it was a complicated procedure to get those balloons to Kigali: “An officer of Rwanda’s Ministry of the Environment was sent to that balloon company in Nairobi so that he could analyse how far those balloons are biodegradable. […] They even sent some balloons to a laboratory to make sure that they won’t harm the environment” (Interview B.S., 21.09.17.). She wanted to show me that in Rwanda, authorities control literally everything that might disturb the clean image of the country (ibid).

The numerous interview statements about Rwanda’s public authorities as guardians of Kigali’s overall cleanliness demonstrate that the exertion of official control of the state over public cleanliness through police, military or REMA officials, is almost omnipresent in Rwanda’s capital. Numerous policies and laws regulating the avoidance of pollution have encouraged this high level of control over urban cleanliness situation by the Rwandan government. Some of those cleaning policies, as presented in more detail in the previous chapter, include the launch of awareness campaigns, the ban on polythene bags, or the whole
environmental protection policy, instituted in 2004. According to the anthropologist Johanna Rolshoven (2010), the application of strict cleaning policies, as it is the case in Rwanda, increases the government’s “control over public spaces” (ibid: 164). In addition, the anthropologist Jacky Bouju (2009) argues that “the dirtiness of a city” can constitute a “political issue” and reflect public authorities’ “loss of control over space” (ibid: 163-164). It makes sense that the national maintenance of cleanliness constitutes a legal and political principle of control for authoritarian regimes like the one of President Paul Kagame. After all, a clean place reflects the government’s control over it and facilitates the maintenance of public order. To quote Michel Foucault ([1970] 2006), through a coercive system of control, which would be the government’s military or police control in the case of Kigali, any breach of governmental cleanliness rules, as well as any other form of discipline, should be detected so that general order can be maintained (ibid: 56, 73).

6.3.3. Kigali, a Modern Panopticon

As one of my female interviewees living in Kigali summarised, in Kigali, people “have no other choice than follow the rules imposed by the state” regarding the avoidance of their city’s visual pollution (Interview S.N., 06.10.17.), which shows again that Kigali’s citizens’ maintenance of cleanliness is a top-down enforced cultural feature. Rwanda is governed by an authoritarian regime, which can implement its top-down policies almost overnight, controls its citizens, and does not tolerate violations of any applicable law (Reyntjens 2015). People in Kigali are conditioned to obey to what the government dictates to them regarding the management of pollution caused by solid waste or the overall protection of the urban environment (Interview P.H., 21.09.17.). President Kagame and his partially single ruling party RPF have declared environmental protection an educational measure that has to be implemented by every single citizen, in order to attract investors and tourists who should further Rwanda’s socio-economic development (Helber 2013: 298; Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2012). The cleanliness of Kigali is guaranteed because, amongst other things, the Rwandan government controls and subsequently disciplines its population, especially through strict law enforcement.

The interview statements point out that Kigali’s citizens started to discipline themselves over time, as they knew they risk to be punished if they were to disobey or someone were to catch them while disposing of waste in an inappropriate way. Take Michel Foucault’s ([1975] 2008) words from his book *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison*, the Rwandan state
created ‘docile bodies’ through a system of control, sanctions and the resulting social discipline (ibid: 177). The French philosopher develops his theory of the “surveillance society or the “disciplinary society” (ibid: 277-278) with the help of the Panopticon Tower. The term ‘panoptism’ has been coined by Foucault to explain Western states’ increasing creation of control and the resulting conformity of their societies since the eighteenth century. This idea is inspired by Jeremy Bentham’s term ‘panopticon’, which describes the architectural design of “the perfect prison” (ibid: 256). According to this design, a tower has to be located within the middle of a ring-shaped building. People who have to be supervised will be brought into individual areas of this building. If located in the tower, one single person can observe all the people that are housed in the building around it. The whole panopticon is designed in such a manner that people in the ring-shaped building cannot see the watchman, but the watchman can see them. As soon as they get caught behaving in a manner that is not tolerated by the watchman, they get punished. However, they do not know when exactly the watchman keeps an eye on them, since they cannot see him. The imprisoned people do not want to risk a sanction and therefore maintain discipline and ‘stick to the rules’ of the observing person. As a result, overall order is ensured (ibid: 257).

The purpose of the panopticon is the strengthening of the power of the respective watchman and the imposition of specific behaviour on the controlled people. They should act and behave as prescribed by the respective sovereign (ibid: 256). In this sense, the panopticon works as a metaphor for a state with hierarchical structures and disciplinary power applying a certain policy, a certain technique, which creates obedient bodies willing to be controlled by and submit to state authorities. Subsequently, this submission of the population enables the maintenance of public order (ibid: 276-277). The power of the state to produce with specific techniques docile human beings and to subsequently augment their capacities refers to what Foucault calls ‘biopower’. The state governs and controls individual bodies or human beings and can thus manage collective life and maintain overall safety and order (Inda 2005: 6; Foucault [1970] 2006: 27).

Just like prisoners in a panopticon who are monitored by a watchman, Kigali’s residents know that they may be observed by public authorities, if not by their neighbours who might socially stigmatise them if they would catch them polluting the urban space. Kigali’s residents prefer to maintain order to forego any form of punishment and social exclusion. As a result, the appropriate management of visual pollution and the importance of cleanliness, which have
been engineered by the state through numerous clean-up measures and disciplinary techniques, are now internalised and anchored in the Rwandan society. In addition to the state’s rules of cleanliness and neighbours’ ‘observing view’, the clean cityscape of Kigali works as a panopticon as well. Since the streets of Kigali are cleaned-up, nobody wants to get negative attention by polluting the clean urban environment and to deviate from the norm. The clean urban space contributes to urban dwellers’ self-disciplining.

Kigali’s citizens’ self-disciplining has been triggered by political and social pressure. This external pressure provoked in a way a will for change among the urban population, as reported by some of the interview partners. At least the majority of the middle to high-income section of Kigali’s society meanwhile understands the numerous political, socio-economic and environmental reasons why it is important to keep their city as clean as possible. Moreover, as presented in chapter 5, some interviewees are of the opinion that their struggle for absolute cleanliness has always been “a part of Rwandans culture” (Interview B.S., 21.09.17.). As a result, they appropriate the different cleanliness rules and the required lifestyle or consumption habits, not only because they “have to”, but also because “they want to” live in a clean, ordered and aesthetically appealing city (D.N., 25.09.17.).

This self-discipline is not merely established by the people themselves but influenced and strengthened by external factors, such as Rwanda’s authoritarian governance and the risk of social exclusion. Kigali’s citizens prefer to conform to strict laws and implement cleanliness measures they were told by public authorities than risk legal sanctions. The population helps in the implementation of the government’s main political priority by sticking to imposed rules and regulations. As a result, and by applying Foucault’s ([1970] 2006; [1075] 2008) concepts of governmentality and panoptism, citizens’ behaviours have been successfully conducted by the political power of the authoritarian regime for the achievement of one of its main goals: the maintenance of urban cleanliness, which should in return further Rwanda’s overall socio-economic development (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2012).

In this sense, Kigali would not have achieved its high level of cleanliness without the urban community’s will for change and its agreement for obedience. After all, it occurred to me that none of my Rwandan interview partners had a problem with the government’s order of maintaining absolute cleanliness or with the undemocratic way the authoritarian regime has implemented its clean-up measures. They are very proud of the clean image of Kigali and
therefore tolerate the authoritarian governance and the zero-tolerance policy of President Kagame. As part of a high-trust society, Kigali’s residents keep their city clean, not only because they were told to do so by the government, but also because they “prefer to live in a clean place” (Interview P.N., 04.10.17.). This finding reflects the idea of different anthropologists, such as Giorgio Blundo and Pierre-Yves Le Meur (2009), who criticise Foucault’s concept of governmentality for the use of a one-sided perspective on the relation between the government and its population. Foucault focuses too much on the way the government dominates human beings with different techniques, which ensure order, safety and control. However, the individual subjects of the society should not only be seen as “objects of domination” but also as “active agents” who permit the government to dominate them and who also contribute to the strengthening of the government’s political power by adopting and internalising the imposed behaviour patterns and ways of thinking (ibid: 10). In addition, as already mentioned at the beginning of chapter 5, Kigali’s population had already had a certain urge towards cleanliness even before Paul Kagame became president of Rwanda. In this sense, the population itself with its already existing will for cleanliness and order contributed to the fast transformation of Kigali into the cleanest African city.

According to Foucault ([1970] 2006) and his concept of the art of government, modern governments use specific techniques in order to achieve their political objectives. The anthropologist Jonathan Xavier Inda (2005), whose research focus lies on governmentality, explains that such techniques of a government seek to “shape the conduct of individuals and populations in order to effect individual and collective welfare” (ibid: 7). They constitute systems of power, systems of control, through which a public authority governs its society. This means that such techniques strengthen the power of the state while simultaneously maintaining public order (Foucault [1970] 2006: 449-452).

Specific techniques aim at “translating thoughts into practice and actualising political reasons” (Inda 2005: 9). In the case of Kigali, the government’s clean-up measures, laws and regulations endeavour to transform citizens’ behaviour in terms of the maintenance of cleanliness. Thanks to the changed behaviour and mentality of every single resident, public authorities’ overall goal of attracting investors and tourists for socio-economic development, as well as the transformation of Rwanda into a middle-income country by 2020, might be achieved (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2012). With the help of different technologies of power, such as a system of control, strict law enforcement or the
government’s overall authoritarian leadership, numerous imposed clean-up measures targeted to keep Kigali, and Rwanda in general, absolutely clean, have guided and partly changed citizens’ consumption habits and cleanliness concepts. The environmentally friendly management of urban pollution and the prescribed lifestyle, which are internalised and adopted by Kigali’s residents, reproduce the political power of the authoritarian regime.

The fact that Kigali’s citizens see the importance of cleanliness as a ‘part of their culture’ demonstrates that the government successfully conducted their management of urban pollution and led to Rwandans’ self-disciplining. By referring to the concepts of governmentality and panoptism, the Rwandan government’s various techniques, such as the system of official control or the numerous cleanliness laws and regulations aiming to “shape, regulate and manage the comportment” (Inda 2005: 1) of its urban dwellers in regards to their management of visual pollution, brought it a few steps closer to the achievement of its overall objective: the transformation of Rwanda into a clean, ordered, middle-income country.

Referring to the information collected from secondary literature and statements of my interview partners who represent the educated, middle to high-income section of Rwanda’s heterogeneous urban population, Kigali has become Africa’s cleanest city within less than fifteen years through President Kagame’s authoritarian governance form, the government’s system of control and surveillance, strict law enforcement, and population’s risen self-discipline. Since Rwandans have always kept their surrounding environment clean throughout Rwanda’s post-colonial history, at least to a certain degree, the achievement of absolute urban cleanliness can not only be traced back to the inauguration of President Kagame, but to the historically determined national cleanliness conception. However, the already existing environmental awareness has been strengthened and thus overall public cleanliness has been achieved through the interaction of Rwanda’s twenty-first century government with its urban population that is willing to abide by rules of maintenance of public cleanliness.

The next chapter further highlights what the Kagame administration means with ‘a clean city’, how it uses its cleanliness discourse to legitimise different urban restructuring measures and to what extent the government thereby influenced and reconstructed the imaginations of urban cleanliness and pollution of the interviewed people representing the financially well-off section of Kigali’s society.
7. **Forced Displacement and the Cleanliness Discourse**

As demonstrated in the chapter above, and using Foucault’s ([1970] 2006; [1975] 2008) mode of expression for the analysis of the Rwandan regime’s specific form of power exercised over its population, the Rwandan government has successfully shaped its urban citizens’ behaviours in regards to their avoidance of visual pollution and by enforcing specific ‘security techniques’, such as a the introduction of the monthly clean-up day, the launch of awareness campaigns and, strict law enforcement, through a system of surveillance and control. Kigali’s absolute cleanliness achieved with the help of these governmental techniques is one means to an end, namely the creation of Kigali’s image as a clean, modern, ordered capital with a service-based economy by 2020 (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2012).

The government’s order of keeping Kigali clean does not end at freeing public streets from visual solid waste. Kigali’s image as a clean, planned and developed city should be emphasized through the complete reconstruction of its central cityscape, whereby urban dwellers who always lived in those areas will be resettled on the outskirts of the city in order to not disturb this new clean, ordered, developed image of the capital.

In this context and by referring to different scholarly perspectives of James Scott (1998), Eveline Dürr and Rivke Jaffe (2010; 2014), this chapter identifies how the Rwandan government legitimises those partly forced displacements and the reconstruction of Kigali with its cleanliness discourse. Afterwards, what the Rwandan government actually understands under urban pollution, which has to be brought under control, will be analysed through anthropological perspectives on waste of Thomas H. Eriksen (2013) Catherine Thorleifsson (2017) and Zygmunt Bauman (2005). In addition, it will be examined to what extent those imposed resettlement and reconstruction measures of the state have impacted imaginations of and subsequently the dealing with urban pollution of the interviewed middle to high-income section of Kigali’s society.

7.1. **Kigali, “City of Excellence”: Vision of a Modern, Pollution-Free City**

7.1.1. **Kigali Conceptual Master Plan**

According to the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (2005), governments’ increasing public
security and order and their compulsive striving for urban re-planning has been triggered by the global modernisation drive of the last decades. This is also the case in Rwanda where the governmental requirements for visual cleanliness and order goes hand in hand with the implementation of numerous modernisation measures, especially in the capital.

Kigali’s modernisation drive has been pushed since the Rwandan government introduced the Kigali Conceptual Master Plan (KCMP) in the year 2008. Consultants from the United States of America and from Singapore designed the plan, which should be accomplished by 2030. The KCMP is a radical urbanisation policy, which was commissioned by the City of Kigali and the Rwandan Ministry of Infrastructure in the year 2005, in order to ensure sustainable urban development of Rwanda’s capital (City of Kigali 2013: 20). In his article about the fate of Kigali’s motorcycle taxi drivers, the anthropologist William Rollason (2013) explains that “every issue pertaining to development in Kigali must be seen in terms of this [Master] Plan” (ibid: 11). The main aim of this urbanisation policy, which is developed on the basis of the guidelines of the government’s Vision 2020 document, is the transformation of Kigali into the modern financial centre and ICT hub of East Central Africa, or in other words into ‘Africa’s Singapore’ (Figure 5). This should be achieved by radically modernising the capital’s overall socio-economic structure (Ökumenisches Netz Zentralafrika 2010: 8-9; Goodfellow & Smith 2013: 3201; Manirakiza 2014: 162, 169).

In order to promote its emergence onto the world stage and to attract investors from abroad who should boost the national economy by investing into the ICT, banking and private sectors, Kigali should be transformed into a “model city” for economic development, “environmental conservation, public order”, as well as “social harmony” (Goodfellow &
Smith 2013: 3201). To be more precise, the KCMP pursues the target “to protect the environment, exercising best practices to minimize […] pollution and waste, to promote equitable solutions that protect the interests of all people including marginal populations, to support economic opportunities for all”, as well as “to build neighbourhoods for all citizens” (City of Kigali 2007: 7). In this sense, the KCMP addresses common issues for developing cities, such as increased population growth, the expansion of informal settlements and the growing urban pollution, which should be mastered through the complete reconstruction of Kigali’s cityscape. All in all, the government aims with the KCMP to create a “new ‘clean, green and safe’ Kigali”, which enables its citizens to live in an economically, socially and environmentally sustainable habitat (URL10).

This order of the government that Kigali should be kept clean is also mentioned in the City Development Plan (CDP). The CDP, which constitutes a five-year development scheme for Kigali, is based on the Kigali Conceptual Master Plan and therefore takes into account the Vision 2020 goals (City of Kigali 2013: 2).

With the CDP, Rwandan authorities pursue the mission of transforming Kigali into a “city of character” with a “vibrant economy” in order to enable “rapid and effective development” (City of Kigali 2013: 9). The overall vision of the CDP is to create a “centre of urban excellence in Africa” (ibid: 2). This vision should become a reality through different interventions that aim at contributing to the country’s economic development and the improvement of the urban dwellers’ quality of life. One way to improve people’s quality of life and to make Kigali not only economically but also aesthetically appealing for investors boosting the national economy is to keep Kigali a clean, ordered city (ibid: 10). As one can see, the maintenance of Kigali’s cleanliness is an overall objective of three intertwining policies determining the future development of Kigali, namely Vision 2020, the KCMP, and the CDP.

According to the CDP, a cleaned-up cityscape emphasises the modernisation process of a city. After all, a modern city is symbolised by implemented cleanliness measures such as “the zero tolerance for plastics” or an “improved garbage collection” (City of Kigali 2013: 10). In this sense, the legal and political clean-up initiatives of the Rwandan government, such as the ban on polythene bags in 2008, the improvement of the solid waste collection and disposal system, the installation of street bins, as well as the state’s system of control through REMA
or police and military force, contributed not only successfully to an improvement of Kigali’s state of cleanliness but also, as mentioned in the CDP document, to its image of a modern city (ibid: 21-25).

Many of my interviewee partners determine a linkage between Kigali’s improved urban cleanliness and modernisation due to the planned reconstruction of the cityscape. When I asked them about the implementation measures taken by the Rwandan government to keep Kigali clean, they mainly referred to the local authorities’ efforts to further push Kigali’s urban development and to rebuild the capital in order to attract local and foreign investments. A Rwandan sociologist was of the opinion that the cleanliness of Rwanda’s capital was greatly improved once the city has been rebuilt. He noted that cleanliness is also measured by “how the houses are built” (Interview P.R., 04.10.17.). He argued that the urbanisation of Kigali “has to be planned and brought under control” by the government in order to keep the urban pollution in check as well and to subsequently enable Kigali’s socio-economic development (ibid). He added that the urbanisation process of Kigali is now highly planned and as a consequence, the cleanliness of specific areas has been successfully improved (ibid).

As already mentioned in chapter 5, one interviewee, a Rwandan veterinarian, claimed that Kigali’s cleanliness “comes with modernisation”. He explained: “The more the city is developed, the more hygiene is there” (Interview J.-C.M., 11.10.17.).

The majority of my financially well-off Rwandan interview partners associate not only a gain in modernisation and urban development, but also an increase of visual cleanliness with the reconstruction measures of the government. They confirmed that the demolition and rebuilding of old houses is justified in Kigali by the need for cleanliness. Their statements about their perception of urban cleanliness strengthen the argument that the government’s notions of cleanliness and pollution have affected the way Kigali citizens meanwhile determine the characteristics of a clean, or polluted, urban environment. This confirms Dürr’s and Jaffe’s (2010; 2014) argument that a certain cleanliness discourse, propagated in this case by the national government, can influence the cultural production of difference among a society. The Rwandan interview partners, representing only a small section of Kigali’s heterogeneous society, namely the educated middle to high-income population, is of the opinion that people living in informal or traditional settlements “have to be expelled” (Interview P.H., 21.09.17.) and that their neighbourhoods need to be restructured so that cleanliness and overall development can be achieved (Interview J.-C.M., 11.10.17.).
The introduction of the KCMP accelerated the already fast transformation of Kigali into a completely reconstructed, clean urban space. Many of my Rwandan and non-Rwandan interview partners claimed that Kigali’s cityscape has changed tremendously since the implementation of the modernisation policy and Kigali’s CDP. One interviewee from Belgium who lives in Kigali said that Rwanda’s capital is currently marked by very fast development (Interview J.-L.D., 08.11.17.). The Rwandan veterinarian explained, that “there is progress every year” (Interview J.-C.M., 11.10.17.). The female interviewee from Gisenyi said that Kigali’s city centre had been completely rebuilt after the destruction of informal settlements. New, modern buildings with at least three floors have been constructed in those former illegal neighbourhoods (Interview M., 27.09.17.). One female interviewee living in Kigali said that her neighbourhood had been completely reconstructed and that there are a lot of “new buildings” in the neighbourhood (Interview S.N., 06.10.17.). “I really like it”, she affirmed (ibid). Another Rwandan interview partner, who has lived in the Nyamirambo sector of the Nyarugenge district since 1987, told me that there has been “a lot of development around this neighbourhood such as roads that have recently been inaugurated” (Interview J.K, 07.10.17.). Before its reconstruction, the neighbourhood of Nyamirambo was characterised by “unplanned, low rise” buildings made out of wood and mud (URL11). Most of my interview partners living in Kigali perceive the current development as a positive thing happening to their hometown. The respondent living in the Nyamirambo neighbourhood mentioned: “There are good things happening in our neighbourhood. […] We have a very satisfied level of change” (Interview J.K, 07.10.17.).

The political scientist who visited Kigali ten years ago for the first time and went back last year affirmed that he did not recognise the city anymore. He added: “One can see the development that has happened in the city. […] It seems that the city continues to expand and grow and it seems like it would do so in a very disciplined and orderly way (Interview S.G., 09.10.17.). An interview partner from Rwanda who lives in Europe and who regularly visits his home country told me that the last time he visited Kigali, he got lost because the cityscape has changed so drastically. He claimed: “They even changed the whole road network” (Interview P.H., 21.09.17.). He explained to me that public authorities have stipulated a plan for Kigali, the KCMP. According to this plan, citizens of Kigali have to keep their city clean and people cannot build their houses in any manner. People have to stick to this plan, be it in terms of cleanliness or in terms of urban planning, in order to accelerate Kigali’s modernisation process (ibid).
The Rwandan Ministry of Infrastructure actually wrote in its updated version of the national human settlement policy that the aim of the government regarding the reorganisation of Kigali’s urban space is to take control of the whole urban planning by defining infrastructures that which can be demolished. According to the Ministry of Infrastructure, development can only be achieved through official control (Ministry of Infrastructure 2009: 18). The reconstruction of Kigali’s cityscape is highly planned and controlled by the government. Almost every built structure that had been constructed before the launch of the KCMP or in other words “extent in 2007” must be “slated for replacement” (Rollason 2013: 11). Even many well preserved traditional housing areas have been demolished as their houses made out of wood and clay do not follow the modern building standards laid down in the KCMP (Ökumenisches Netz Zentralafrika 2010: 7). As one of my Rwandan respondents also mentioned during our interviewee, newly constructed buildings within the city centre will be transformed into the city’s central business district and have to be at least three to four floors high (Ökumenisches Netz Zentralafrika 2010: 10; interview M., 27.09.17.). The reconstruction of Kigali and the numerous building requirements of the government can be explored with Michel Foucault’s ([1975] 2008) theoretical analysis of a surveillance society. Informal or traditional urban areas are reconstructed in order to create an ordered, planned, ‘modern’ cityscape. This reconstruction can be interpreted as a ‘technique’ (ibid: 177) of the government to better control its citizens and to maintain public order.

7.1.2. Forced Displacement in the Name of Modernisation and Cleanliness

The governmental measures implemented to create a controlled, ordered, modern ‘model city’ do not stop at cleaning up the rubbish-strewn streets and the reconstruction of the cityscape. One of the main governmental objectives is to create a clean, ordered, planned cityscape of Kigali, which should be achieved with policies, such as the KCMP, the CDP, the environmental policy, as well as the national human settlement policy. In order to achieve a “modern city status” (City of Kigali 2013: 20), whole neighbourhoods, especially informal settlements, have been eradicated and the government has displaced the affected residents to the outskirts of Kigali or in more rural areas (Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Environment 2003: 31; Ministry of Infrastructure 2009: 1, 5; Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2012: 19). Those displaced residents primarily represent the low-income section of Kigali’s society who live in illegal settlements or dwellers of traditional residential areas in the city centre. As already mentioned in chapter 4, Kigali had to deal with increasing population growth after the genocide in 1994. Numerous former Rwandan refugees wanted to
start a new life in the economic centre of the country. In addition, more and more people originally living in rural areas wanted to find jobs in the capital (Isugi 2016: 62). The newcomers started to erect spontaneous, informal settlements all across the city since they could not afford the housing costs in formal settlements.

This resettlement of a section of the urban population already started with Kigali’s rapid population growth in the late 1990’s. Subsequently, the government took measures in the early 2000’s under the ‘villagization policy’ to relocate urban dwellers into less densely populated, planned settlements in rural areas, called ‘imidugudu’ (Adekunle 2007: 76-77). The mastering of the housing challenge regarding the uncontrolled urbanisation and the increase in population in Kigali is also one of the goals expressed in the Vision 2020 policy document (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2012: 19).

Initially, the relocation of people of informal or traditional urban neighbourhoods to grouped settlements should be voluntary, not forced, as written in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper of the Rwandan government (2002: 53). The UN Human Settlement Program reported in 2015 that slum-upgrading programs in Kigali will be done in a “participatory” manner by adopting “inclusive policies” to strengthen the resettled communities (URL11). However, thousands of people have already been coerced to leave their houses and to give up their social life in their trusted neighbourhoods. Giving an example, in July 2008, city authorities prohibited overnight the inhabitants of the Muhima sector in the Nyarugenge district from entering their houses. At the beginning, the government did not provide any housing alternative for the thrown out residents. Inhabitants of other demolished sectors have been given around three months time to leave their neighbourhoods. Otherwise, they can and will be resettled against their will. Many expelled people lost their jobs after their displacement as they were resettled to areas far away from their workplace or they could not afford the transport facilities to get to their workplace. Other citizens of Kigali just had to leave the city centre after its reconstruction, since they could not afford the increasing housing costs in Kigali anymore (Ökumenisches Netz Zentralafrika 2010). The forced political action of the Rwandan state has often been questioned by human rights organisations (Human Rights Watch 2017; Freedomhouse.org 2017).

Although the government demolishes whole centralised, traditional or informal residential areas and forces people to leave the city centre and to resettle on Kigali’s outskirts, the
government justifies those strict displacement and reconstruction measures with the intertwined discourses of cleanliness and modernisation. As written in the updated version of the national human settlement policy of Rwanda, unplanned urban residential areas and their inhabitants would allegedly “hinder the development” (Ministry of Infrastructure 2009: 21). People living in illegal areas have to be resettled in planned neighbourhoods outside Kigali City in order to further the development and the modernisation drive of Rwanda’s capital. Afterwards, authorities will bring order and cleanliness in those illegal neighbourhoods by restructuring them (ibid). The reorganisation of informal neighbourhoods into planned modern city districts, which constitutes a goal of the environmental protection policy as well, is justified with the need for cleanliness. The sustainable management and restructuring of the urban space should contribute to the avoidance of pollution, the protection of ecosystems for sustainable development and in general to an improvement of people’s well-being (Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Environment 2003: 6, 29-31).

After the elaboration of the KCMP and subsequently the CDP, many more residents of Kigali had been displaced in the name of cleanliness and modernisation. Even many historical quarters at the urban centre of Rwanda’s capital, such as the already mentioned Muhima sector of the Nyarugenge district, have been demolished. After all, the traditionally or partly provisionally built houses made out of wood and clay do not follow the modern, ordered building standards laid down in Kigali’s KCMP (Ökumenisches Netz Zentralafrika 2010: 4-7).

By and large, clean-up measures and the planned rebuilding of the cityscape are often mentioned in the development plans for Kigali, namely the KCMP and the CDP, as two of the main governmental intervention sections aiming at transforming Kigali into a modern, developed city. The reconstruction of informal settlements goes hand in hand with the government’s aim of reversing the process of pollution within the urban space in order to modernise the Rwandan capital. The notions ‘clean’ and ‘planned’ are referenced together in those modernisation policies listing the measures implemented by the government to modernise Kigali. According to the CDP, a modern city is symbolised by its absolute cleanliness and safety. Planned housing measures enable an increase in cleanliness and safety and allow modern urban development. The Rwandan government equates in this development plan “dirty” and “polluted” with “underdeveloped” and “unsafe” (City of Kigali 2013: 10, 20). The notions ‘planned’ or ‘ordered’ are interconnected with the terms ‘cleaned-up’, as
well as ‘safe and secure’, referring to the huge renovation work stipulated in the Kigali Conceptual Master Plan transforming the capital into a modern, clean and safe ‘model city’ (ibid: 10, 20; URL 11), while displacing and marginalising thousands of its inhabitants. With its cleanliness discourse, the Rwandan government justifies its strict spatial rebuilding measures taken in Kigali’s environmentally polluting informal settlements in the name of progress and modernisation.

Eveline Dürr’s and Rivke Jaffe’s (2010; 2014) examination of the role of the pollution discourse in the cultural production of difference facilitates the understanding of how it could come to be that the Rwandan government’s forced human displacement plans in the name of urban cleanliness and modernisation have been authorised. According to Dürr (2016), the notion of urban pollution can be used to legitimise the implementation of specific political measures, such as the restructuring of illegal urban districts and the forced displacement of the people who live in these areas (ibid: 138). Just like Mary Douglas ([1966] 2003) already determined in the 1960’s, the anthropologists Eveline Dürr and Rivke Jaffe (2014) define pollution as a socio-cultural phenomenon (ibid: 414). Eveline Dürr explained to me during our expert interview that societies ascribe a negative meaning to pollution and associate it with backwardness and a lack of modernity. The absence and avoidance of urban pollution is a “sign of progress and […] modernity” (Expert interview E.D., 27.02.18.). Therefore, a modern state is symbolised by cleanliness (Dürr & Jaffe 2010: 10). As urban planning should primarily be marked by progress and public order, where any form of pollution has to be eliminated and avoided, a city has to be cleaned-up and freed of “undesirable elements” if it wants to become modern and progressive (Dürr & Jaffe 2014: 418). After all, filthy, poor and chaotically constructed urban areas are opposed to the image of an overall ordered, future-oriented and progressive city. People living in those areas are “matters out of place” that have to be resettled in planned and tidy areas and their former neighbourhoods need to be rebuilt so that the state’s modern future can be ensured (Douglas [1966] 2003: 44; quoted in Dürr & Jaffe 2010: 10). As pollution is often perceived as a threat to social order (Douglas [1966] 2003: 3; quoted in Dürr & Jaffe 2014: 415), whereas the absence of urban pollution is defined as a symbol, a feature of development and modernisation, the social segregation and forced displacement of a certain section of a society living in informal, polluted urban areas is legitimised (Dürr & Jaffe 2010; Dürr 2016: 138).

Michel Foucault’s ([1975] 2008) theoretical analysis of a surveillance society and different
security techniques disciplining individuals of this society can be not only applied to analyse the numerous building requirements of Rwanda’s capital mentioned in section 7.1.1, but also to the analysis of the forced resettlement of a segment of Kigali’s society. To paraphrase Foucault ([1975] 2008), the displacement of inhabitants of informal urban areas and their separation from the rest of the society constitutes a ‘security technique’ of the government applied in order to better control a certain group of people and to maintain public discipline and order (ibid: 177, 181-182).

Similarly to Foucault ([1970] 2006; [1975] 2008) and to Dürr and Jaffe (2010; 2014), the political anthropologist James Scott (1998) is of the opinion that authoritarian high-modernist regimes, such as Rwanda, reorganise human communities in order to “make them better objects of political control” (ibid: 224). After all, an ordered, planned cityscape “facilitates police work” (ibid: 116). Moreover, by superimposing Scott’s theory about authoritarian governments’ high-modernist planning on the rebuilding of Kigali’s city centre, this planned reconstruction of Rwanda’s capital symbolises order, which is “directed from above” (ibid: 125).

7.1.3. Creation of an Utopian Image of Kigali

City authorities of Kigali are still transforming the city centre into a highly developed and aesthetically appealing business district with newly constructed buildings emphasising the capital’s modernisation drive (City of Kigali 2007). Within the last few years, more and more well-tended parks have been created, which should contribute to the urban beautification and greening of Kigali. However, one of my non-Rwandan interviewees who travelled to Kigali last year noticed that nobody enters those green urban areas. She had the impression that the main purpose of these parks, just like the whole restructuring of the city centre is to underline the new image of Kigali as a clean, ordered, aesthetically appealing city (Interview C.W., 04.10.17.).

With the help of its modernisation policies, Rwanda as a “visionary authoritarian state” (Ingelaere 2012: 394) wants to put its vision of a “city of urban excellence” (City of Kigali 2013: 9), which is modern, orderly planned, and absolutely cleaned-up, into reality through official control and strict law enforcement (Rollason 2013: 14). Based on the information collected from secondary literature and from interviews with non-Rwandans and Rwandan citizens representing primarily the educated and financially well-of section of Kigali’s

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heterogeneous society, it can be concluded that the government’s supposed desire to free Kigali from pollution is one means to an end. The purpose is to make the vision a reality. The government creates an “imagery of order and modernisation” (Rollason 2013: 24) by completely reconstructing the city so that absolute urban cleanliness can be more easily achieved. The displacement of poor people living in informal settlements and the subsequent rebuilding of those areas should contribute to Kigali’s image as a clean and safe city, which is “a good place to do business” (Manirakiza 2014: 171). As mentioned in chapter 5, the rebuilding of Kigali is partly based on aesthetic principles related to the visual appearance of the city. The redevelopment of Rwanda’s capital should be achieved with the help of a specific image-creation, namely the image of a clean, ordered, modernised ‘model city’ (Rollason 2013: 21).

In his work Seeing like a state: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed, the anthropologist James Scott (1998) deals with the social engineering of authoritarian high-modernist governments that are too utopian to succeed. According to Scott (1998), high-modernist authoritarian states, which want to maintain order among their society, see this “rational order in visual aesthetic terms” (ibid: 4). They want to create a “visual image of heroic progress toward a totally transformed future” (ibid: 95). In order to make the visual and aesthetic components of its high-modernist plans a reality, an authoritarian state uses coercive power to bring about almost “utopian changes in people’s work habits, living patterns” and “moral conduct” (ibid: 5). As informal settlements or slum areas are perceived as an “obstacle” or a “menace” in the state’s urban transformation efforts and provide shelter for the “human garbage of the city”, they have to be newly planned and reconstructed and its inhabitants are relocated, partly against their will (ibid: 116). Scott argues that this visual image of an ordered planned city that is free of informal settlements, is highly utopian, since individual needs and the local history and traditions are completely ignored (ibid: 93, 133). James Scott’s (1998) theoretical perspective on utopian social engineering schemes of authoritarian high-modernist governments can be applied to my findings concerning the creation of Kigali’s new image, which does not seem to reflect the actual urban life, as will be shown below.

Since the tourism sector is now Rwanda’s “leading money-earner” (Kinzer 2017), it seems that the creation of a new, visually attractive image has been successfully implemented. The new image helped to achieve the government’s objective of attracting people from abroad
investing into the fast-developing country. On the other hand, scepticism also exists among foreign investors and international organisations, since the expropriations of informal settlements are perceived as an “elite-driven project with little clear relevance for poverty reduction” (Goodfellow & Smith 2013: 3202). After all, most of the investments in Kigali’s overall reconstruction have come from powerful domestic investment groups (ibid).

Sixty to eighty per cent of Kigali’s population lives in informal settlements and the government plans to resettle the majority of this social group (Ökumenisches Netz Zentralafrika 2010: 7). Foreign investors perceive it as questionable whether or not modernisation policies in Rwanda, such as the KCMP or the CDP, are actually eradicating old problems or simply causing new ones (Manirakiza 2014: 162). It is doubtful whether public authorities are really concerned with social problems of the majority of its population, such as the ending of poverty, and the actual urban life or rather with covering up the aesthetic appearance of poverty (Ansoms 2009: 304; Rollason 2013: 11, 20-21). After all, as the anthropologist Bert Ingelaere (2012) mentions in his article about the traditional gacaca courts, the vision of the Rwandan state is more “magical than real” and the country’s actual reality is denied or hidden by the national elite (ibid: 399). For example, consultants from the United States of America and from Singapore designed the KCMP for Kigali (Goodfellow & Smith 2013: 3201). However, it seems that Kigali’s actual urban reality or the local knowledge of urban life were not considered during the development of the KCMP. Instead, the plan focuses more on other “‘modern’, ‘efficient’ cities of the West and East Asia”, such as Singapore, defining the level of success of Kigali, and their respective authoritarian images of urban life (Rollason 2013: 11, 21).

To quote James Scott (1998), it seems that the Rwandan government focuses only on the “aesthetic view of order” and ignores “the individual needs of its inhabitants” (ibid: 133). This is confirmed by the government’s KCMP. The overall plan for Kigali is to transform the different urban neighbourhoods into single-use, mono-functional districts. For example, the Muhima sector will work exclusively as the central business district, the Nyarugenge sector will become the new cultural and institutional district, and so on (City of Kigali 2007: 2). There is a strict demarcation between shopping areas, residential areas or business districts (Figure 6).
To conclude, due to the government’s desire to achieve progress and modernisation, the reorganisation of informal neighbourhoods into planned modern city districts, which constitutes a goal of the environmental protection policy as well, is justified with the need for cleanliness. As they do not fit the image of a modern, clean and developed capital that should attract tourists and economic investors boosting the country’s economy, the government justifies its strict spatial reorganisation through its cleanliness discourse. According to the Rwandan government, cleanliness is shorthand for modernisation. Therefore, Kigali has to be freed from visual pollution and unplanned settlements so that its image as a clean, modern model city will not be disturbed.

Besides the environmental protection policy and Vision 2020, one can say that the KCMP and the CDP constitute two more policies which have already been partly implemented with the help of different governmental techniques that shaped Kigali’s citizens’ behaviour regarding their avoidance of urban pollution and subsequently contributed to Kigali’s transition into the cleanest African city. After all, most of my Rwandan interview partners know that the maintenance of urban cleanliness of every single inhabitant of the Rwandan capital will strengthen Kigali’s reputation as the cleanest African city.

The government of Rwanda and my Rwandan informants representing the educated middle to high-income section of Kigali’s society share in a way the idea of a clean city that is not only liberated from solid waste and material pollution, but which is also constructed in a modern and planned way. In this sense, a modern city is a city that follows certain aesthetic principles, such as cleanliness and order. After all, a city’s modern image can be emphasised by its specific visual appearance. Within this context, it seems that the Rwandan government claims that Kigali can only become modern and cleaned-up when orderly planned and when a certain
group of people that does not fit the image of a clean, ordered and controlled city resettles far away from the city centre.

On the basis of these findings, one could think that the Rwandan government treats certain sectors of Kigali’s society just the way it treats garbage or any other form of visible, material pollution. In the following subchapter, this assertion will be further analysed.

7.2. Clean City by Disposing of Human Waste?

As presented in the previous subchapter, whole informal neighbourhoods have been eradicated and the government has displaced the affected residents to the outskirts of Kigali or in more rural areas (Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Environment 2003: 31; Ministry of Infrastructure 2009: 1, 5; Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2012: 19).

However, government authorities have displaced and expelled from the city centre not only low-income residents of informal settlements, but also other population groups that apparently do not fit the newly envisaged image of Kigali as a clean, ordered and modern model city. Giving some examples, street businesses have been “tidied up and brought into the formal market” (Honeyman 2016: xii). Beggars are expelled from the city centre through a law, which strictly prohibits begging in public spaces in Kigali. Moreover, street kids are brought to “educational institutions” (Helber 2013: 298). Authorities also detained sex workers, street vendors who are still not registered and do not possess a fixed place of business, as well as poor people, in ‘transit centres’, which are run by the police and managed by the City of Kigali (URL12). As written in the latest report from Human Rights Watch about Rwanda (2017), the conditions in those centres are “harsh and inhumane”, as many of the detainees have been ill-treated by military officials and police men (URL12).

Another example for the partly arbitrary – as there does not exist any legal basis for their arrest (URL12) – detention of a segment of Kigali’s population would be the government’s dealing with Kigali’s motorcycle taxi drivers. The anthropologist William Rollason (2013) critically analyses the tensions between the Rwandan government and Kigali’s motorcycle taxi drivers in terms of the “appropriate performance of development” (ibid: 9). In his article, Rollason (2013) explains that, according to the Rwandan regime, those taxi drivers “don’t perform to the aesthetic standards of the new, ‘developed’ Kigali” (ibid: 9). Although it constitutes a flourishing labour market offering especially young men a good livelihood and
therefore contributes to the reduction of urban poverty, which is one of Rwanda’s overall goals in order to become a middle-income country by 2020, city authorities have tried to eradicate motorcycle taxis from Kigali’s cityscape (ibid: 10). Analysing the case of Kigali’s motorcycle taxi drivers, it seems to be doubtful whether government authorities are concerned with the actual urban life in trying to end poverty or rather with covering up the aesthetic appearance of poverty and merely creating an image of order and modernisation (Ansoms 2009: 304; Rollason 2013: 11, 20-21).

As the government of post-genocide Rwanda wants to achieve “secure and orderly development”, which is crucial for its “political survival” (Goodfellow & Smith 2013: 3202), and poor people, such as prostitutes, beggars or street vendors, are perceived as a threat to public safety and order, those people have been displaced from Kigali (ibid: 20-21). The exclusion of a group of people from society gives the impression that the country’s actual reality is denied or hidden by public authorities (Ingelaere 2012: 399).

While reading and analysing academic papers and newspaper articles about the forced displacement of thousands of residents of Kigali, I had the impression that the Rwandan government treats this segment of the urban population just the way it manages solid waste produced in the capital. Government officials are of the opinion that the displacement of a certain group of people to transit centres or planned settlement outside Kigali is important as “they make the city look dirty” (URL12). The parallel between the Rwandan government’s justification for and final implementation of the forced displacement of a segment of Kigali’s society and its management of solid waste can be examined with the help of theoretical lines of Mary Douglas ([1966] 2003), Zygmunt Bauman (2005), Thomas H. Eriksen (2013) and Catherine Thorleifsson (2017) about unwanted and socially excluded human beings who are perceived as waste.

Inspired by structuralism for the analysis of pollution, the anthropologist Mary Douglas ([1966] 2003) is of the opinion that societies strive after public order. Otherwise they could not survive. As dirt constitutes a threat to social order, waste or any other socially defined form of pollution are unwanted and should therefore be disposed of (ibid: 44). What matters are defined as dirty or polluting depends on the cultural context of the social order. In the case of Rwanda, everything and everybody “hinder[ing] the development” (Ministry of Infrastructure 2009: 21) of the city will be displaced from Kigali’s city centre.
The anthropologist Thomas H. Eriksen (2013) draws a parallel between the way we handle waste and the way people are treated. Just like material objects, humans may be classified by the society as “matters out of place” (Douglas [1966] 2003: 44; quoted in Eriksen 2013: 123) who have to be controlled or excluded from this society. As inherent order has to be maintained, unwanted humans, considered as a possible threat to this public order and tidiness, can be expelled from this society on the basis of their physical appearance, the appearance of their living areas or their financial status (Eriksen 2013: 21). As soon as they are classified as impure or filthy and that they do not fit an ordered community, which is striving for development and progress, they will be monitored, which often equates with “expelled from society” (ibid: 121-125).

The sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (2005) argues that this demand for public order has even been increased by the global modernisation drive of the last decades. According to Bauman (2005), we currently live in a world of excess where not only material objects are much more quickly defined as superfluous or unwanted and should therefore enter the status of waste, but also human beings. Some people, just like specific objects, do not fit into the rebuilding and development project of certain societies striving for (urban) planning and order and therefore have to be expelled from the society (ibid: 37, 46).

Socially excluded people are often ‘disposed of’ in places outside the community, such as prisons, refugee camps or isolated settlement areas, so that the ‘tidy’ part of the society can keep a certain distance from them and does not have to confront themselves with these ‘discarded’ humans. Similarly to Eriksen (2013) and Bauman (2005), the anthropologist Catherine Thorleifsson (2017) argues that the attribution of the status of waste to unwanted humans, be it immigrants, foreigners, fellow citizens, etc., is an outcome of modernity as there are more and more ‘superfluous’ people within a confined space who have little (economic) value to the society (ibid: 318). Thorleifsson (2017), who applies the theoretical approaches of Zygmunt Bauman (2005) and Mary Douglas ([1966] 2003) in her analysis of the categorisation of humans as waste, explains that “polluting others” are portrayed by a specific social group or a state as a danger or a threat to the local order, security, culture or its image (Thorleifsson 2017: 319). They are framed as an “anomaly to the quest for utopian purity, unity and order” (ibid: 319). By equating a certain group of people with waste and by defining them as a threat to the public order, their exclusion or forced displacement will be legitimised.
Regarding the case of Kigali, some citizens, such as informal dwellers, street kids or poor residents are treated like things that disturb the aesthetic appearance of the city and therefore have to be expelled. Citizens of Kigali who are out of the public norm because of their financial status, their physical appearance and/or their place of living, and who therefore do not fit the image of an economically developed, ordered and clean “city of excellence” (City of Kigali 2013) are displaced to ‘transit centres’ or to planned settlements on the outskirts of Rwanda’s capital.

The anthropologist Eveline Dürr (Expert interview E.D., 27.02.18.) explained to me during our expert interview that freeing city centres from what she terms “human waste” in the name of modernisation, public security and socio-economic development is certainly not an exclusively Rwandan phenomenon (ibid). The displacement of a certain group of people constitutes a specific measure taken in many other countries as well, in order to correspond to the ideals of cleanliness, order and modernisation. This measure should help in creating the image of a clean, modern cityscape attracting investors and tourists. People who do not fit into this image and who are perceived as a threat to social order should not disturb the ordered cityscape and will therefore be expelled from the city (ibid).

Similarly to Eriksen (2013), the anthropologists Eveline Dürr and Rivke Jaffe (2014) point out that public rules of or discourses on pollution and order can legitimise the exclusion of marginalised people as they are defined as ‘dirty’ persons who pollute different places and should therefore be ‘disposed of’ by the society (ibid: 418, 423). As already mentioned in the first section of chapter 7, the Rwandan government equates “dirty” and “polluted” with “underdeveloped” and “unsafe” in the CDP (City of Kigali 2013: 10). In this sense, it justifies its strict spatial rebuilding measures taken in Kigali in the name of modernisation and cleanliness. The state legitimises the forced resettlement of the residents of informal urban areas, as they are perceived as ‘dirty’ humans who pollute the urban space and subsequently decelerate the process of modernisation. To quote Mary Douglas ([1966] 2003), they are living “out of place” (ibid: 44) and therefore have to be removed from the planned, ordered capital.

I am of the opinion that such an anthropological analysis of the categorisation of humans as polluting agents can be applied to the examination of the Rwandan government’s policy and its specific arguments determining whose citizens have to leave the city centre of Kigali. It
seems that the residents of informal urban areas are perceived as humans polluting the cityscape and subsequently slowing the process of Kigali’s modernisation. Dwellers of spontaneous settlements in Rwanda’s capital have to be displaced out of Kigali just like solid waste that is disposed of to dumpsites on the outskirts of the capital. They just do not fit the image of a clean, ordered and modern capital that should attract tourists and investors and boost the country’s economic growth. The state legitimises their forced resettlement by asserting that they constitute, just like their informal neighbourhoods, an obstacle for the city’s development (Ministry of Infrastructure 2009: 21). In order to further the modernisation drive of Rwanda’s capital, people living in illegal areas have to be resettled in planned neighbourhoods outside Kigali.

Although the government influences the way Kigali’s citizens individually define and manage urban pollution, only three of my Rwandan interview partners referred to “clean people” when talking about their conceptions of urban cleanliness. One person working in Kigali explained to me that that there are laws in Rwanda stipulating that “everywhere it has to be clean” (Interview P.R., 04.10.17.). He affirmed: “Believe me! Everywhere it is clean now. Even in remote areas. […] Even your body! You have to be washed, you have to be clean” (ibid). A Rwandan interview partner working in a public office in Kigali referred to the Vision 2020 goal of making Kigali attractive for investors in order to achieve economic development when talking about the cleanliness measures implemented in his country. He said: “We want to make Rwanda attractive. One way to achieve that is by making it clean. And clean to us, it’s not only concerning the waste. You should also have a clean body, you know” (Interview J.K., 07.10.17.). Another Rwandan person from Kigali who has lived in Europe for thirteen years mentioned as well that Kigali has not only clean streets, but also “clean people” who take care of themselves (Interview P.H. 21.09.17.). Those people who are not keeping their surrounding environment and their body clean have to leave the city: “They have occupied the city. Occupied! […] They have to be expelled from the city” (ibid). He also referred to “poor people” when he was talking about the people who are polluting and occupying the capital (ibid). On the basis of this evidence, the extended definition of urban pollution is only partly assumed by a segment of Kigali’s citizens.

As can be seen from above, the modernisation process has not produced only winners in Kigali. Kigali had a price to pay for its development, namely the segregation and displacement of the poor. The marginalised population living in informal settlements that do
not fit the image the Rwandan government wants to create for its model city are not benefitting from Kigali’s fast socio-economic development.
8. Conclusion

This thesis points out how and why a country that still has to deal with the aftermath of a devastating genocide and which is often called ‘underdeveloped’ became the cleanest city of Africa and has been able to strengthen its population’s ecological awareness, as well as to bring visual pollution under control, in a period of less than twenty years. Based on the information collected from secondary literature and from statements of interview partners who partly represent the middle to high-income section of Kigali’s heterogeneous society, this thesis gives a deeper insight into the way, as well as the main motives why, a section of Kigali’s population, namely educated and financially well-off members of the urban society, currently manages to keep its surrounding urban environment extraordinary clean.

Due to various legal and political frameworks that have been introduced in Rwanda within the last eighteen years, the Rwandan government managed to reduce the accumulation of urban pollution caused by solid waste through what Foucault ([1970] 2006) calls disciplinary “security techniques” (ibid: 23), such as the launch of awareness campaigns, the implementation of a highly developed waste disposal system, the ban on single-use plastic bags, and the introduction of the national clean-up day called Umuganda. As explained by the anthropologist Jonathan Xavier Inda (2005), governments aim with such specific techniques at “translating thoughts into practice and actualising political reasons” (ibid: 9). In the case of Kigali, the government’s clean-up measures, laws and regulations endeavour to transform citizens’ behaviour in terms of the maintenance of cleanliness. Thanks to the adapted behaviour of every single resident regarding the dealing with urban pollution, public authorities’ overall goal of attracting investors and tourists for socio-economic development, as well as the transformation of Rwanda into a middle-income country by 2020, might be achieved (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2012). The city authorities’ aim is to contribute with its zero-tolerance for visual urban pollution to one of the overall political goals, namely the implementation of a socially and environmentally sustainable city contributing to Rwanda’s transformation into a middle-income country by 2020.

Through analysis of the interview statements, it became clear that the achievement of this political imperative of the Rwandan government was only feasible with the help of Kigali’s citizens. There are multiple reasons for Rwandan citizens’ engagement in the avoidance of urban pollution: health issues, the aesthetic aspect of cleanliness, the concomitant
development and modernisation promised by the state, the pride about their cleaned-up capital and its new post-genocide image, as well as their cultural background and internalised behaviour patterns regarding their dealing with visual pollution. In addition, Kigali’s residents keep their city clean because they are forced to do so by the government. With the help of the government’s system of control, numerous imposed clean-up measures targeted to keep Kigali, and Rwanda in general, absolutely clean, have guided and partly changed citizens’ consumption habits and cleanliness concepts. The environmentally friendly management of urban pollution and the prescribed lifestyle, which are meanwhile internalised and adopted by the majority of Kigali’s residents, reproduce the political power of the authoritarian regime. People started to discipline themselves over time, as they know they risk being punished if they disobey or someone catches them while disposing of waste in an inappropriate way.

The emergence of self-discipline among Kigali’s population regarding the maintenance of urban cleanliness, which has been explored in this thesis by applying Michel Foucault’s ([1970] 2006; [1975] 2008) concepts of governmentality and panoptism, demonstrates that Rwandan public authorities and Kigali’s inhabitants, at least interviewed members of the educated middle to high-income section of the urban population, enter a mutual cooperation in terms of the avoidance of urban pollution. It must be noted that the importance of cleanliness and order was already part of Rwandans’ cultural background before President Kagame’s strict cleanliness measures – at least to a certain degree.

Since the turn of the millennium, Kigali’s residents’ ecological awareness has been strengthened and their desire for cleanliness intensified. This is due to the fact that Rwanda’s President Paul Kagame put the protection of the environment and the concomitant management of visual pollution at the top of the country’s political agenda. In this sense, the government’s impact on citizens’ conceptions, imaginations and subsequent management of pollution is predominant, since the population would not necessarily discipline itself without a previously imposed top-down discipline of the state triggered through a “coercive system” of control (Foucault [1970] 2006: 56). However, President Kagame’s political urban clean-up measures could not have been implemented within such a short time and by such a vast number of urban residents without Kigali’s population’s cultural background and internalised attitudes towards cleanliness. The new image of Kigali as a clean, ordered, developed and aesthetically appealing ‘model city’ created by the government has been accepted and partly internalised by the urban population.
So the population’s self-discipline and will for change and cleanliness, together with the authoritarian regime, which does not tolerate any violations of the law and controls its population uninterruptedly, contributed to Kigali’s clean and ordered appearance. Kigali was able to improve its management of urban pollution caused by solid waste over the past eighteen years and is nowadays rightly described as the cleanest African city (URL2). As President Kagame aims at implementing the environmentally and socially sustainable development of Kigali by protecting the environment and human health, the enhancement of the city’s waste management system was and still is at the top of the political agenda (Republic of Rwanda 2014: 1).

To answer the theoretical sub-question of this thesis (How does the Rwandan government’s urban cleanliness discourse legitimise Kigali’s spatial reorganisation?), the exemplary management of waste and the strict cleanliness requirements in Kigali underlie not only a hygienic or environmental motive, but also a socio-political one, namely the development of a planned, modern, business driven and aesthetically appealing city in order to attract investors and tourists boosting the national economy. The data collected from secondary literature and statements of interviewed people of the middle to high-income section of Kigali’s society referring to the Kigali’s spatial reorganisation and the forced displacement of inhabitants of the capital’s informal settlements can be explored with the theoretical perspective of the anthropologists Eveline Dürr and Rivke Jaffe (2010; 2014) on the legitimisation of political decisions through the cleanliness discourse.

The findings stated in chapter 7 demonstrate that the government legitimises the segregation of the urban poor through the notion of cleanliness and modernisation. People living in informal neighbourhoods or who do not fit the image of a modern, clean and ordered city are conceptualised as ‘pollutants’, determined as threats to the modernisation process of Kigali. Dürr and Jaffe (2010) state that the absence of waste, be it in form of material objects or humans, is a feature of development and modernisation (ibid: 9-10). By equating “dirty” and “polluted” with “underdeveloped” and “unsafe”, as written in the CDP (City of Kigali 2013: 10), Rwandan government authorities justify their strict spatial rebuilding measures taken in Kigali in the name of modernisation and cleanliness. The state legitimises the forced resettlement of the residents of informal urban areas, as they are living in illegally and environmentally unfriendly constructed housing areas, which pollute the urban space and subsequently decelerate Kigali’s process of modernisation (Ministry of Lands, Resettlement
and Environment 2003: 6, 29-31; Ministry of Infrastructure 2009: 21). By claiming that the plan to modernise Kigali can be realised by starting to free the city from urban pollution and that the displacement of residents of informal settlements, which will be demolished and then rebuilt in a more modern way, is necessary to forward the city’s will to achieve absolute urban cleanliness and a ‘modern city status’ (Ansoms 2009: 291, 304; Ministry of Infrastructure 2009: 21), the Rwandan government legitimises its authoritarian control over the urban space and the social segregation of mostly low-income families living in informal or traditional centralised housing areas. It must be noted that this conclusion about the segregation of the poor urban population can only be drawn from secondary literature and from statements of my interview partners representing a specific, namely an educated and financially well-off, section of the heterogeneous society of Rwanda’s capital.

The planned reconstruction of the cityscape underpins the image of a clean, ordered and controlled city, which is economically and socially developed and has become highly modernised within a very short time. In order to conform to the aesthetic requirements of the government, the inhabitants of unplanned and informal neighbourhoods are forced to resettle in more rural areas, as their former living spaces will be completely rebuilt. Thus, the management of material waste is not the only way local authorities try to build up the image of Kigali being the cleanest African city that is free from any kind of urban pollution. The government’s huge renovation work aims at transforming Kigali into a modern, clean and safe business city, while displacing and marginalising thousands of its inhabitants. Within this context, this thesis examines the extent to which the aspiration of the Rwandan government for a clean capital is not only a hygienic requirement, but also one means for a political purpose, namely the rebuilding of the capital and the forced resettlement of urban residents by reasons of economic development and national image improvement. Urban public cleanliness constitutes a symbol of the socio-economically developed, modern, ordered ‘model city’ of Rwanda.

With the help of the KCMP and its cleanliness discourse, the Rwandan government intends to make the image of a clean, ordered capital, free of anything and any people not fitting this image a reality. Whether the government is actually concerned with the social problems of the majority of its population, as over seventy per cent of it is actually living in informal neighbourhoods (URL3) and has to be expelled from the ordered, cleaned-up city, and the actual urban life in general constitutes an open question. As the anthropologist Eveline Dürr
argued during our expert interview (27.02.18.), the displacement of people does not change anything regarding their financial situation or their marginalisation. They are still poor and they become even more marginalised when resettled to another place against their will. It must be said that the rebuilding of planned, ordered neighbourhoods enables the better and faster collection of solid waste. However, Dürr is of the opinion that poor people should be more integrated into the urban planning programs of the city (Expert interview E.D., 27.02.18.). Considering that thousands of urban dwellers had to leave Kigali for modernisation and cleanliness reasons, only a small part of the society, namely Kigali’s elite, to whom the majority of my Rwandan interview partners pertain, is part of its success story and benefits from the capital’s fast socio-economic development and urban beautification measures.

Through reading numerous official Rwandan documents, literature and academic papers, I determined the main characteristics that the Rwandan government attributes to the clean image of Kigali. A clean city like Kigali is a city that is not only safe, ordered, properly planned and free of any kind of material waste, it is also free of human waste. This kind of waste symbolises a disordered and underdeveloped image of Kigali, which the Rwandan government is trying to replace by an image of a visually and economically attractive city full of progress, tidiness and order.

On the basis of the information collected from secondary literature and from statements of my interview partners partly representing the middle to high-income sectors of Kigali’s society, I realised that the new image of Kigali created by the Rwandan regime has been accepted and partly internalised by at least a part of the studied segment of the heterogeneous urban population. The implementation measures of the post-genocide government contributing to the transformation of Kigali into the cleanest African city have influenced the way its residents define cleanliness today and the way they manage to avoid any form of urban pollution. At this point one can say that Kigali is kept extraordinary clean through what Dürr and Jaffe (2010) call the socio-political “production of pollution”, which is internalised by its urban population (ibid: 2).

To conclude, Kigali became the cleanest African city in less than twenty years through the intertwining of state regulation and control, as well as the urban population’s self-discipline and culturally shaped attitude towards cleanliness. Paul Kagame, who still occupies the office
of president, is perceived as the instigator of the environmental movement in his country. However, he often implements his projects at the expense of democracy by denying any political counter argument. His authoritarian form of governance has often been questioned by international policies and human rights organisations. Nevertheless, it is debatable as to whether Kigali, and Rwanda in general, would also be as socio-economically developed and free of visual pollution if President Kagame had not enforced this authoritarian form of governance. Rwanda can certainly constitute in one way or another an inspiring example regarding environmental protection and urban pollution management – not only for other so-called ‘underdeveloped’ countries, but also for the self-proclaimed ‘developed’ ones.
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10. **Appendices**

**Appendix 1: Abstract**

Appendix 1.1. **English Version**

After years of recovery from the aftermath of a devastating genocide, the reduction of environmental pollution, especially within the capital Kigali, was, and still is, at the top of the political agenda of Rwanda’s government. As written in national policy documents, the Rwandan government equates ‘polluted and unclean’ to ‘disordered, unplanned’ and subsequently to ‘underdeveloped’. In this context, a lot of socio-political projects, which should primarily help to keep Kigali clean and free of any form of urban pollution in order to further push the modernisation drive of the capital, have been implemented over the last twenty years. In response to strict law enforcement, public control and social pressure, residents of Kigali have disciplined themselves and follow the legal guidelines on cleanliness. Through this mutual cooperation between the government and Kigali’s population, Rwanda’s capital has often been described as ‘the cleanest African city’. However, the various urban cleaning operations in Kigali include not only the cleaning of public streets, but also the complete reconstruction of unplanned and informal neighbourhoods, whose inhabitants are forced to resettle in areas further away from the capital. Kigali has undergone an enormous spatial reorganisation within the past years, transforming it into a modern, clean and planned city, while displacing and marginalising thousands of its inhabitants. By collecting primary and secondary data, as well as by focusing on anthropological perspectives on pollution and waste and on governmentality studies, this thesis produces arguments in response to the research question: To what extent do the legal and political clean-up measures imposed by the Rwandan government and Kigali’s residents’ imaginations, concepts, and their management of urban pollution mutually influence each other regarding the maintenance of Kigali’s public cleanliness?
Appendix 2: List of Interview Partners

  Rwandan citizen, he has lived and worked in Europe for over ten years.
  European citizen, she travelled to Rwanda several times.
  Rwandan citizen, he works for an international organisation and lives close to the city centre of Kigali.
  European citizen, she visited Rwanda once (tourism).
  European citizen, she visited Rwanda once (tourism).
  Rwandan citizen, she lives in Gisenyi (Rwanda).
- **F.M.**, 30.09.2017, 10:55 am – 11:37 am, face-to-face interview.
  European citizen, he travelled to Rwanda twice.
  European citizen, she travelled to Rwanda four times within the framework of her studies.
- **P.N.**, 04.10.2017, 3:02 pm – 4:16 pm, e-interview via Skype.
  Rwandan citizen, he is an environmentalist working in Kigali.
  Rwandan citizen, he is a sociologist working in Kigali.
  European citizen, she travelled to Kigali last year within the framework of her studies.
  Rwandan citizen, she lives in a newly built neighbourhood in Kigali.
  Rwandan citizen, he works in a public office in Kigali and lives close to the city centre.
- **S.G.**, 09.10.2017, 10:00 am – 10:18 am, e-interview via Skype.
  European citizen, he is a political scientist who travelled to Rwanda twice.
  Rwandan citizen, he is a veterinarian.
  Rwandan citizen, he works for a private waste collection company in Kigali.
   European citizen, he lives in a bourgeois neighbourhood in Kigali.
   German citizen, she is a Professor at the department for ethnology, University of Munich (LMU).

Appendix 3: English Questionnaires
Appendix 3.1. English Questionnaire for Interviewees Living in Rwanda

INTRODUCTION
• Tell me a little bit about yourself: Who are you, how old are you, where do you come from, etc.!
• Tell me something about your living situation: In which district and neighbourhood do you live and since when? With whom do you live? Why exactly did you choose this neighbourhood?
• How would you describe your neighbourhood? Who lives there, how does it look like and how do you perceive it? Is it beautiful and well considered by other city dwellers?

CLEANLINESS
• How important is cleanliness for you and why?
• What exactly do you undertake to keep your house clean? When do you define your surrounding/house as clean or cleaned up?

MANAGEMENT OF SOLID WASTE/POLLUTION IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD
• How would you define waste or pollution: When do you define something as waste? When do you define something as polluted?
• How do you and your household members get rid of your household rubbish? Do you throw it in a waste bin, in the streets, do you burn it, etc.?
• Would you like to explain me what exactly happens to your waste as soon as you dispose it of?
• Who is in charge to collect the household waste in your neighbourhood? Are you satisfied with their collection service (costs, cleanliness, reliable, etc.)?
• What kinds of rubbish do you produce? Do you sort the different kinds of waste?
• Do you know any legal framework, laws or obligations concerning the way you should manage your waste properly? If yes, from where did you get all the
information about the appropriate disposing and sorting of waste? Who educated you (government, public authorities, school, etc.)?

- Do you sometimes feel excluded from the waste management system, wrongly treated or misinformed regarding the current waste disposal system or the access to infrastructure and services related to the management of your household rubbish?
- How do people living in your neighbourhood deal with or manage their different sorts of waste? How do they dispose it of?

KIGALI IN GENERAL

- How do you perceive Kigali and how would you describe the streets of Kigali, regarding the city’s management of waste?
- In your opinion, to what extent has Kigali changed since your first arrival?
- In your opinion, how or why could Kigali, and Rwanda in general, become such a huge role model in terms of solid waste management and cleanliness? How could Kigali become the cleanest city in Africa?
- Do you think that there exist differences or even inequalities between different neighbourhoods or districts regarding the cleanliness and the waste deposits within the streets of Kigali?
- Are you engaged in any environment/cleaning activities in Kigali, especially in your neighbourhood?
- Do you have any wish for the future of Kigali, especially in regard to the city’s management of pollution?

Appendix 3.2. English Questionnaire for Interviewees Who Have Travelled to Rwanda Several Times for Numerous Reasons (Visiting Family Members, Working, Tourism, etc.)

INTRODUCTION

- Tell me a little bit about yourself: Who are you, how old are you, where do you come from, etc.
- Tell me something about your relation to Rwanda: Since when / How often have you travelled to Rwanda, why, etc.?
- How would you describe the neighbourhood where you resided? Who lives there, how does it look like and how did you perceive it? Is it beautiful + well considered by other city dwellers? How is the atmosphere between you and your neighbours?
PLASTIC / SOLID WASTE

- During your time in Rwanda, were you using plastic bags? If yes, for which occasion?
- Which relation do the inhabitants of Kigali have to plastic / plastic waste / solid waste?
- Which kinds of bags do people / you use while transporting any things or doing some shopping?
- Tell me about any experience with plastic or plastic / solid waste you have made in Rwanda!

MANAGEMENT OF WASTE IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD

- How did people living in ‘your’ neighbourhood deal with or manage the different kinds of waste (in a waste bin, in the streets, burn it)? How did they dispose it of? Did they sort the different kinds of waste?
- Do you know what exactly happens to their waste as soon as they dispose it of?
- Do you know any legal framework, laws or obligations concerning the way people should manage their waste properly in Kigali? If yes, from where did you get all the information about the appropriate disposing and sorting of waste?
- How far could you do your duty of ‘appropriate waste disposal’? Are there enough possibilities (formal or informal waste disposal companies/groups, access to infrastructure, etc.) to dispose of waste in an appropriate manner?
- Do you know any people who sometimes feel excluded from the waste management system, wrongly treated or misinformed regarding the current waste disposal system or the access to infrastructure and services related to the management of their household rubbish?

KIGALI IN GENERAL

- How did you perceive Kigali and how would you describe the streets of Kigali, regarding the city’s management of pollution?
- In your opinion, to what extent has Kigali changed since your first arrival?
- Do you think that there exist differences or even inequalities between different neighbourhoods or districts regarding the cleanliness and the waste deposits within the streets of Kigali?
• In your opinion, how or why could Kigali, and Rwanda in general, become such a huge role model in terms of solid waste management and cleanliness? How could Kigali become the cleanest city in Africa?