

City Development Strategies in the City of Kampala

An analysis of participatory development in practise

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Acronyms and explanations

CDS	City Development Strategies
ITDG-EA	Intermediate Technology Development Group – Eastern Africa, an international NGO committed to improving the livelihoods for urban poor.
LC I, LC II, LC III, LC IV, LC V	Local Council I-V; political and organisational levels. LC I is the Village or Zone, LC II is the Parish, LC III is the Division or Sub-County, LC IV the Municipality and LC V the District. In Kampala there is no LC IV.
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
PDC	Parish Development Committees; local, non-political, elected committees that work for the development of their respective Parishes
Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
UMP	Urban Management Programme, a sub organisation to UN-Habitat

Abstract

Participatory development is a key concept in the development discourse. The paper examines how this concept works in reality, by looking at the City Development Strategy (CDS) process in Kampala as an example. The objective of this process is to improve the environment for the people living in the city's slum areas, by using participatory methodologies. Participants at different organisational levels of Kampala City Council and among the residents have been interviewed about how they perceive the process as well as their own and others' participation in it. The role of participation is then analysed through four crucial aspects: active involvement, key issues for participation, commitment to participation and the sense of ownership. The interviews showed that information about and influence in the process are two crucial factors for the commitment to participation; and both these issues are lacking. The paper also asks how involved people must be for the process to be called participatory.

1. Introduction

This paper is about participation in development processes.

Participation by all stakeholders, particularly the grass root recipients, has become a very important aspect in development aid. Participation by all stakeholders is crucial if a project or process is to be sustainable. Ownership of one's own development – be it at national, local or individual level – hinges to a great extent on one's participation in and influence over that development, and ownership is also deemed as necessary for sustainability. For the analysis in this paper, the City Development Strategy process in Kampala is used as an example. In this process, participation is one of the corner stones, and the objective of the process is to improve the environment in the City's slum areas. Five pilot areas are involved in this process, but it is envisaged that the same process can be applied in the other slums of Kampala at a latter stage.

Sida's Poverty Programme from 1996 states Sida's view of participation:

Sida particularly supports the full participation of poor women and men in defining and combating their own poverty. Sida will also help to increase the opportunities for active participation and thus to contribute to a process of democratisation at all levels of society. Those who live in poverty have unique knowledge about their own situation and its causes and can contribute relevant experience, ideas and proposals for solving the problems. Initiatives, planning and controls should, as far as possible, be managed by the immediate stakeholders themselves. (1996 p.5)

Uganda is heavily depending on foreign aid; in 2001 more than half of the state expenditure was financed by donors. That equals to 12% of BNP. The World Bank is the main donor and Sweden is the fifth largest donor, not including the aid that is channelled through EU. Sida stated in the country strategy for Uganda 2001-2005 that the Swedish aid during this period should focus on poverty reduction, human rights, the northern parts of the country, the Lake Victoria region and environmental issues (Sida 2001b).

As has been mentioned before, it is often stressed in the aid debate that it is imperative that the recipients own their own development. This needs to be acknowledged both by the donors and the recipients. According to Sida's analysis 2001, Uganda strives towards such ownership. Ownership in Uganda does not only involve the State but also the civil society and the grass roots of society. Democratic institutions like the Parliament, media and the civil society is steadily increasing in importance as well as people's participation in society (Sida 2001b).

This paper is also about sustainable development.

The sustainable development concept became popularised with the Brundtland report "Our Common Future" of 1987, presuming that economic development and improved environment can, and has to, go hand in hand. The report states that "Poverty reduces people's capacity to use resources in a sustainable manner; it intensifies pressure on the environment" and "A necessary but not sufficient condition for the elimination of absolute poverty is a relatively rapid rise in per capita incomes in the Third World" (WCED 1987 p.49-50). This assumption is in part derived from the Environmental Kuznets Curve, which stipulates that as a country's economy grows, the environmental status will first worsen and later be improved – the curve is an inverted U with income per capita on the x-axis and environmental degradation on the y-axis. The main reasons for this phenomenon would be technological changes, increased environmental information and education and improved environmental regulation as well as enforcement of that regulation. This

notion has however been questioned lately and several models developed to this effect. An increase in the economy inevitably implies more consumption, more use of resources and more waste. The improvements that can be seen concerning some very hazardous pollutants in some industrialised countries are partly due to that the most polluting industries have moved to countries with less strict regulation and enforcement. These countries do not have the same option of moving these industries to other countries if all would have strict environmental regulations (Stern 2004). Satterthwaite (2003) adds that import of “exotic” goods and food to rich countries from poorer countries also leads to that the poorer countries are the ones faced with the environmental problems derived from the production of those goods. Another concern about the Environmental Kuznets Curve is that some pollutants such as carbon dioxide and pollution from energy production seem to increase as the scale of a country’s economy grows. This effect is lessened if the growth of the economy is slow. Some environmental health problems like poor sanitation are improved when the economy increases. There are also evidences showing that developing countries shift to cleaner technologies earlier than the developed countries have done, so their peak levels of pollution do not reach the same high level. This is mainly a side effect of globalisation (Stern 2004).

Sustainable Development is built on three interdependent and equally important pillars: environmental, social and economical sustainability. There are several links between these three. Poverty reduction is one issue that encompass all parts of the sustainable development concept. For UNDP, poverty implies “the denial or deprivation of opportunities and choices that would enable the individual to lead a long, healthy, creative life and to enjoy a decent standard of living, freedom, dignity, self-respect and the respect of others” (Mabogunje 2002 p.10). Globalisation could, according to Mabogunje, lead to increased poverty but also to reduced poverty as the nation-states must have minimum standards of infrastructure and economical, political and social stability to attract foreign investments. The concept of poverty in the way it is normally used is questioned by Rahnema (Sachs 1992). He claims that it normally refers only to income level, but that poverty should, and for many cultures do, entail many different aspects such as social and physical conditions and even choice. Poverty is, at least in the Western world, today seen as a failure and a deficit, but it has not always been viewed that way. Rahnema argues that the poverty concept is used to introduce aid programmes that in fact only maintain the inequality of the world between and within countries. Latouche (Sachs 1992) criticises the “standard of living” concept for similar reasons, saying that it now normally only refers to income level, but that it should encompass many other aspects of well-being as well. All that said, poverty is still a fact of many people’s lives regardless of how it is defined, and the word will be used in this paper.

The economic and social aspects of poverty may be more obvious, but there is also a strong link between poverty and environment. Poverty worsens the environmental situation and bad environmental status worsens the poverty situation. About 20 million people around Lake Victoria live below the poverty line (Sida 2001a). Poverty leads to urbanisation and the growth of informal settlements, slums. These areas usually have poor sanitary and waste disposal facilities, which makes the health situation poor for the residents, and which also contributes to the pollution of land, air and water. Poverty also often means industries with little or no pollution abatement systems, leading to environmental degradation and health problems. Poverty makes people use unsustainable and/or illegal methods of getting food, such as poison fishing, over-fishing and use of illegal fishing nets. Felling of trees for firewood and charcoal production leads to deforestation and soil erosion (Sida 1999, Mabogunje 2002). The environmental and health situation in the Lake Victoria region can thus not be tackled unless the poverty situation is also included in the analysis and implementation of the programmes.

Satterthwaite (2003) argues that poor people actually do not contribute much to environmental degradation, but that poverty is significantly worsened by a bad environmental situation. Poor people consume less and use less space for their houses, and many of the environmental problems that are caused by poor people, like untreated sewage in streams for instance, are actually more of planning issues than anything else. Poor people are generally more vulnerable to environmental hazards, both concerning their physical, social and economical status and concerning the places they reside and work in as well as their possibilities to influence them. Poverty is according to Satterthwaite not only a matter of income level but should also include environmental, health and social factors. Lack of services, lack of influence and lack of secure tenure are also important factors of poverty. Many of these issues are in fact government responsibilities, and if they were addressed, there would be a great change for the poor. It would among other things imply reduced costs for them, which would improve their financial status. Good governance is thus absolutely central for successful poverty reduction. Chambers (1997) also argues along the same lines, and he also stresses that poor people themselves define poverty in this wide-ranging way. Mabogunje (2002) agrees with poor people's increased vulnerability to environmental hazards and the importance of good governance for poverty reduction and improved environmental standards. Good governance is for Mabogunje associated with three basic conditions: decentralisation, inclusiveness/participation and accountability.

The concept of "environment" is also widened by Satterthwaite (2003), to include not only pollution and resource depletion, but also environmental health issues such as sanitation, safe drinking water, drainages, waste collection, health care and physical hazards. These are all issues that have a great impact on poverty and the situation for the poor. He stresses the "large range of environmental actions that can not only improve health but also contribute to employment generation and to lower costs and reduced vulnerability for low income groups" (p.73). Provision of safe drinking water, for instance, means less physical effort to carry water, reduced prevalence of diseases, reduced costs for medical care for the individual as well as for society, increased possibilities to earn a living from labour as the physical status is improved, improved sanitation and reduced costs for purchase of water from vendors, to mention a few advantages. Improved waste management, toilets, housing, pollution from industries and other environmental health issues can be discussed in a similar way.

The right to a clean and healthy environment is established in the Constitution of Uganda and since 1995 there is also an environmental law (Sida 2001b). However, the state of the environment in Lake Victoria still leaves a lot to be desired. Introduction of exotic fish species in the 1950's has led to disturbances in the ecosystem. During the 1980's, the water hyacinth entered the lake, and it has caused severe economical and ecological damage. It is not until recently this weed has been combated successfully. Over-fishing is another problem. The lake suffers from eutrophication and the nutrient contribution from the surrounding lands is still far too big. Many of the nutrients and other pollutants come from the rapidly growing cities around the lake. Industrial effluents, herbicides, pesticides, refuse and sewage deteriorates the lake's environmental situation. These pollutants also have a negative environmental and health effect on the people on land (Sida 1999, Sida 2001a). About one third of the population in Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania is depending on Lake Victoria for their livelihood, a fact that emphasises the need to sustain and improve the environmental status of the lake (UN-Habitat 2003a).

The bottom line is that improvement of the environment is an essential part of poverty reduction and development.

2. The CDS process in Kampala

EAC, the East African Community, emphasised Lake Victoria issues in its Development Strategy for 1997-2000. In 1999, they formed a Committee on the Lake Victoria Development Programme (LVDP), with the objective of promoting sustainable development in the Lake Victoria basin (Sida 1999, Sida 2001a). It was noted that there are strong linkages between poverty and environment and the approach was to be process-oriented. The programme that has been developed has a strong focus on participation in all stages of the process, particularly the early ones. Participation is envisaged from all stakeholders – City Council politicians and officials, residents in the areas involved and the civil society (Sida 1999).

Since 2002, City Development Strategies (CDS) are being formulated in three towns and cities around Lake Victoria; that is Kampala in Uganda, Kisumu in Kenya and Musoma in Tanzania. This process is spearheaded and supervised by UN-Habitat and supported financially by Sida, who also participates in some workshops and other activities (Sida 2003b). The objective for the CDS process is to develop strategies to address the environmental and poverty situation in these urban centres, with focus on the slum areas. It also seeks to strengthen their capacities and improve their planning. To do this, regional cooperation as well as participation of stakeholders at all organisational levels of society is needed (UN-Habitat 2003b).

City Development Strategies (CDS) are action plans for equitable growth in cities, developed and sustained through participation, to improve the quality of life for all citizens (UN-Habitat 2003a p.7).

City Development Strategies have been developed in many cities around the world, but this is the first time it is applied in a regional context. The problems are often similar in neighbouring countries and there are thus many things to learn from each other. The Lake Victoria CDS also works together with other local and regional initiatives aimed at improving the livelihood for people in the area (UN-Habitat 2003a).

For UN-Habitat, as well as for the other stakeholders in this programme, local ownership and participation is central to the CDS process. Not just the grass roots of society has to be involved in the process, it is also vital that the top people of Council and society are wholly participating so that people see that the process is taken seriously from the top (UN-Habitat 2003a). According to Sida, all organisational levels in the three participating cities are very interested and actively participating in the CDS process, and different stakeholders have increased their involvement over time, particularly in Kampala (Sida 2003c). The three participating cities have also acknowledged that low participation by residents, poor information flow and communication and poor representation of the poor in decision-making are obstacles in developing the region (UN-Habitat 2003a).

The participatory approach of CDS fits well with the decentralisation policies in Uganda. A statute in 1993 institutionalised the local government system with five organisational levels at the Councils, Local Council I-V. Kampala District (LC V), who embraces all of Kampala, is divided into five Divisions (LC III), and these are further divided into Parishes (LC II), who in turn are split into several Zones (LC I). There are 98 Parishes and 998 Zones in Kampala District (UN-Habitat 2003a). There is no LC IV, Municipality, in Kampala District. The objective with this system is to ensure that development is driven from the local level and that the residents have a representative that they can put forward concerns and ideas to. (ITDG-EA 2002) Women, youth, disabled and elders have their representatives in all organisational levels in Uganda, which is institutionalised by law. These policies also fit with the prerequisites for good governance as outlined by Mabogunje (2002).

The CDS process follows four steps:

1: preparations, agreements, stakeholder identification, background information

2: consultations with stakeholders at all levels

3: prioritisation, action planning, investment planning

4: implementation of the action plans and institutionalisation

(UN-Habitat 2003a). Different stakeholders are involved to various degrees in the four steps mentioned above. The process starts from the top, and the residents in the slum areas concerned are mainly engaged in step 2 and 3. A big portion of the process in Kampala is run by the Divisions. The top officials maintain their supervisory and coordinating role, however.

Five slum areas were chosen to be part of the CDS process in Kampala. The selection was done by steering committees at the Divisional level of Kampala City Council (UN-Habitat 2003a). After the selection was done, the residents, local politicians and other important groups in these areas were invited to participate. Views from a variety of stakeholders were assembled;

Consultations with varied stakeholders including local communities, the civil society and the private sector have been rigorously undertaken (UN-Habitat 2003b p.2).

These consultations have resulted in Strategic Action Plans with priority areas pointed out, and Strategic Investment Plans (UN-Habitat 2003b). The CDS process is about upgrading people to upgrade the area, which is different from earlier slum upgrading programmes. The residents will get loans on a micro credit scheme and they will do the actual building of houses etc themselves (interview with Kampala District CDS Coordinator 30 March 2004).

The aim is now to widen the initiative to include all urban centres around the lake and involve more civil society stakeholders. This will strengthen the regional bond and cooperation, and it will improve the chances for local or regional actors to implement the strategies. At the local level, the CDS is meant to be incorporated into national development plans and the priority areas that have been identified are to be addressed accordingly (UN-Habitat 2003b).

3. Objectives and scope

The objective of this study is to see how the much talked about concept of participatory development works in reality, using the CDS process in Kampala as an example. The role of participation will be analysed through four crucial aspects:

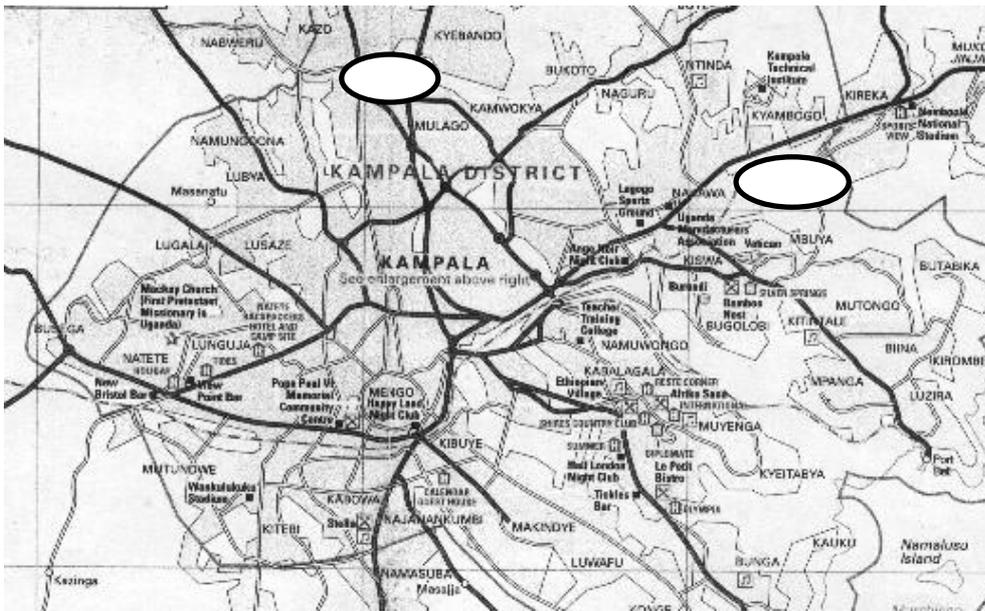
- a) *how actively involved* the participants are
- b) the *key issues for a successful participatory process* according to the participants
- c) the *commitment to participation* by all levels involved in the process, and
- d) the *sense of ownership* the participants have towards the process.

The outcome of a development process is to a great extent depending on the participation in and commitment to that process by the participants. In this study, “participant” refers to participants at all levels – residents, Council staff and politicians and the international agencies that are involved. The survey looks at the residents and the Council staff and politicians; how they see their own and others’ participation. Donors do play a role; they have the money and thus a lot of power, and they can influence a process like the CDS process greatly. Their role is however outside the scope of this paper and will not be examined. Most attention is directed to the participation among the residents and local leaders; how it is perceived among themselves and among the other groups in this study. The study is not an evaluation; rather it is a snapshot of the current situation and an attempt to grasp the views that some of the stakeholders have of the process. The hypothesis is that participation is pivotal for a development process to be sustainable.

4. Methodology

The study has been conducted through a series of interviews with Council politicians and staff and grass root participants in the CDS process in Kampala. Four different questionnaires have been used, with only little variation between them. There was one questionnaire for the residents, one for local leaders and staff and politicians at the Divisions, one for the staff at the District and one for the District Councillor. The questionnaires are included in Appendix 1. The respondent groups are the different organisational levels at Kampala City Council, and all levels have different but important roles in the CDS process. The differences in roles justify the different questionnaires that have been used for the interviews – some questions are more relevant for one organisational level than for another. Other stakeholders that are more or less involved in the CDS process, like NGO's, CBO's, donors, the Councils of Kisumu and Musoma etc, have not been involved in this study as that would broaden the scope too much. The groups that are included are deemed as absolutely essential for the CDS process in Kampala and were therefore chosen.

Information about the process at large and the participation in the two areas included in this study have also been gathered and compiled. Kampala District CDS Coordinator has been the primary source of information, but other sources at Kampala City Council, Sida and the Swedish Embassy in Kampala have also contributed. Information has also been taken from reports about the process; these are included in the list of references.



Two areas that are involved in this process were selected for analysis, encircled on the map above. They were chosen because they received the CDS process differently. The two areas are also very different according to geography and socio-economic factors. Some of these differences are listed in the table below. Hesitancy about development processes in Bwaise II has been shown in earlier efforts to improve the livelihoods for the residents there, and also in the responses to the CDS process. There have been several meetings and sensitisation activities in the area, but many are still hesitant about it. In Kinawataka, however, the CDS process was received more positively from the start. The problems with drinking water, toilets, bad roads, few services, poverty, health problems, drainage, solid waste, illiteracy, lack of plans and poor houses are however the same in the two areas (Kampala City Council 2002).

Bwaise II	Kinawataka
Situated in a valley, which gets flooded every rainy season	Situated on a hill slope, with less problems of flooding
Ethnically homogenous area; many residents come from the same part of Uganda	Ethnically mixed; residents originate from different parts of Uganda
The land is owned by the residents	The land is owned by Kampala City Council
Unplanned area	More planned than Bwaise II
Hesitant about development processes	Welcome development processes

The selection of areas to be involved in the study has been done by Mrs Phoebe Gubya, who is both the District Environmental Officer and the Coordinator for the CDS process in Kampala. In total 37 interviews were conducted between 22 March and 1 April 2004 as shown in the table below. F and M refers to female and male respondents respectively.

Area	Number of respondents		Age (years)	
	F	M	F	M
Residents				
Kinawataka, Nakawa Division		6		34-72
Bwaise II, Kawempe Division	2	4	50-60	21-80
Local leaders (LC I, PDC)				
Kinawataka	2	1	65-69	39
Bwaise II		3		30-60
Division staff				
Nakawa Division	1	3	50	34-46
Kawempe Division	2	3	50-53	30-37
Division Councillors				
Nakawa Division	2	2	?-33-?	30-32
Kawempe Division		None		None
District staff				
Kampala District	2	3	39	44-57
District Councillor				
Kampala District		1		52
Totally				
Kinawataka, Bwaise II, Nakawa Division, Kawempe Division, Kampala District	11	26	33-69	21-80

The respondents were selected by Zabron Kimumwe (LC I Chairperson for Kinawataka Zone I), Erias Ssebunya (resident and landlord in Bwaise II), Dan Kitazze (CDS Coordinator for Kawempe Division), Abel Rwenfuna (Planner at Kawempe Division), Betty Onek (CDS Coordinator for Nakawa Division) and Phoebe Gubya (CDS Coordinator for Kampala District). These persons have good knowledge about who has participated in the CDS process in their respective areas and because of the limited time available it was necessary to rely on them – or others with similar insight - for the selection of interviewees. Apparently, this dependency constitutes a risk in that the selection of respondents could be unrepresentative. This risk is however somewhat limited as several people, with different roles in the process, have been involved in the selection.

The table above shows that there are considerably more men than women that have been interviewed, particularly among the residents. The age distribution is also much wider among the men than among the women. These two concerns obviously constitute a weak point in this study.

Interviews enable people to give their own views of the process and its significance for the development of Kampala. However, there are several weaknesses with such a method: Time constraints limit the number of people that can be interviewed and the ones that are interviewed may not have the same opinions about the process as the ones that are not; the responses to the questions are always subjective. Only two areas out of the five that are involved in the process in Kampala are analysed, and the successes and failures of these may differ from the successes or failures of the whole process. Time constraints have also made it necessary to some extent to rely on the CDS Coordinator for Kampala District for information and selection of areas, and in part also individuals to be involved in the study. Some of the interviews with residents and local leaders have been translated, and translation is always risky pertaining to information flow. It is impossible to determine how the translation has affected and possibly distorted the outcome of this study, but it is reasonable to assume that the results would have differed to some degree if none of the interviews had been translated. The interpreter that has been used is not connected to the CDS process in any way, which could be positive as she did not have any predetermined ideas about the questions or the responses, and hence could not put the words in the mouths of the respondents. Another weakness is that it is very difficult to determine whether respondents answer the questions asked in a truthful, honest and openhearted manner. To minimise the consequences of these weaknesses, several people have been interviewed and the questions have been asked in a very open way, to enable the respondents to answer more freely.

An alternative to doing interviews would be to distribute questionnaires that the respondents would answer and send back. This is however a method that limits the possibilities for the respondents to elaborate on their answers, and it also makes it very difficult to follow up answers that are unclear in some way. I found it more valuable to let fewer respondents explain their views more in detail than letting more respondents answer a simpler questionnaire that I would not be able to follow up to the same extent. There is an inbuilt bias as well in written questionnaires as only a part of the ones that get such a questionnaire normally responds, and the ones who do are often more interested in the process than the ones that do not. Also, personal interviews on site give a better perception of the realities on the ground and hence a better understanding.

Chambers (1997) questions the use of interviews and questionnaires altogether. He puts forward that behaviour and views among individuals are unpredictable and difficult to measure in this way. Statistics and numbers that commonly are results of questionnaires are often misleadingly deemed as objective and precise, while the reality is that they are usually approximates. It should thus be stressed that the figures used in this paper are only there to visualise tendencies - moreover, the respondents are far too few to draw any far-reaching conclusions. Chambers also states that the interview situation is often an unequal situation that can be intimidating for the interviewee. Speech, behaviour, accessories and associates all contribute to this situation. Chambers also mentions several strategies that the interviewees can use in these situations, like trying to answer the way they think is expected of them and self-censorship. In this study, some of these shortcomings were obviously there while others were not. Some respondents thought that I was there as a representative of Sida, i.e. a donor, which could affect the answers. Apparent attributes like educational level and skin colour are also there. However, the fact that I am female and relatively young hopefully made the interview situation less intimidating.

The objective of the interviews was to try and see how participation has worked in this case, using the four aspects outlined under the “Objectives and scope” section of this paper as the mental framework. A set of key questions has been developed to analyse the interviews:

1. Who is participating and why?
2. What are the views about the CDS process among the participants?
3. How is the activity level among the participants?
4. Do the participants feel that they play an active part in the development of the city?
5. Do the residents that participate feel that their involvement is taken seriously by the City Council staff and politicians?
6. How do the Kampala City Council Councillors and staff regard the involvement of the residents in the areas concerned and their contribution to the development of the city?
7. How committed are the participants to this process?
8. What are the key issues for the CDS process to be successful according to the participants?
9. Who owns this process according to the participants?

By answering these questions, the paper seeks to explore some of the issues that influence participation and the implications that this can have for a development process.

5. Participatory Development

The concept of participation is today embraced by most governments, development institutions and individuals. Some of the reasons for this are, according to Rahnema (Sachs 1992), that it is no longer perceived as a threat as it can be used and controlled for any purposes, it can be used as a political slogan, it can be used to attract donor money and it can make the private sector more involved in development activities. Rahnema criticises the concept of participation and means that participatory methodologies are full of biases and hidden values, which are normally not acknowledged. The concept is thus not all uncontroversial, even if most development theoreticians and practitioners would say that properly implemented, participatory methodologies are positive.

UMP lists the virtues of participatory methodologies at a workshop in Kisumu in 2002:

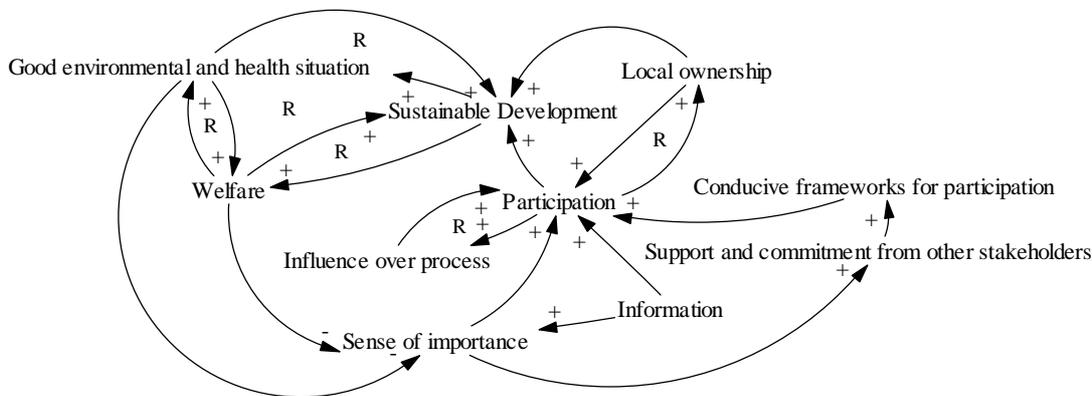
- Participation promotes ownership of development action.
- It gives meaning to local democratic processes.
- It provides solutions tailored to local circumstances and experiences.
- It allows resources to be pooled for more effective action.
- It empowers stakeholders.
- It builds capacity for dialogue.
- It motivates and stimulates.

(ITDG-EA 2002)

Satterthwaite (2003) also talks about the importance of involving the urban poor in planning and prioritisation of activities. The broad definition he uses of poverty and environment also implies that many different agencies and groups have to be involved in the work to reduce poverty. This is in line with the ideas underlying the CDS process.

There is thus a lot that talks in favour of participatory methodologies, and they are also used more and more in development processes, but there are also several possible pitfalls that has to be avoided. There is a risk that the more powerful groups in a society make sure they have a bigger say than the weaker and more vulnerable groups do. Conflicts become more visible and the process requires more time and resources than non-participatory processes do. It can also be perceived as threatening to those in power (something Rahnema says is no longer the case - see above). It is important to be aware of these possible hurdles so that they can be dealt with (ITDG-EA 2002).

A simplified Causal Loop Diagram (CLD) is shown below, including the most important issues affecting participation that will be dealt with in this paper. There are many, many more aspects affecting participation and the other variables in this CLD, but they fall outside the scope of this paper and is left out for clarity. “Conducive frameworks for participation” refers to democratic systems, that meetings and other activities are organised in a way that makes it easy for everybody to participate, that there is trust between all stakeholders etc. B refers to balancing loops and R to reinforcing loops. “Welfare” is used as an opposite of “poverty”.



Cornwall (2002 p.73) asks a question that underscores the complexity of participatory development: “Who participates, in what, how and on what basis?”

5.1 What?

In the 1960s, participation arose as one of the corner stones for successful development projects. Development agencies and groups started to realise that their target groups needed to be involved in the process, and the arguments for this new approach were basically three: the implementation of the projects becomes more *effective and efficient*, people have a *right* to be involved in the development of their own lives and neighbourhoods, and there is an important component of *mutual learning* and reciprocity between these people and the development workers. If there is sufficient participation by the target groups, there is a greater chance for the project to be sustainable in the long run. Nowadays it is often added that participation empowers people and makes the process more transparent in that the policy makers can be held to account to a greater extent than with regular planning methods (Cornwall 2002, Clayton et al 1997). Rahnema (Sachs 1992) argues, though, that people are actually not powerless and empowerment is therefore unnecessary or even damaging. The view that participation is a prerequisite for a successful development project or process has, with a few exceptions, become a truism in the development discourse.

Participation is thus both seen as a way to make the project or process better and as an end in itself. Empowerment of the participants, structural changes of society and capacity building are some of the side effects of a successful participatory development process, and these are commonly viewed as equally or more important as the more direct effects on the project (Clayton et al 1997).

The ownership of a project or process should be in the hands of the people affected by it; control, actions and initiatives should as far as possible stem from them. The shift from top-down approaches to bottom-up practices implies a major change in the methodologies and mind-sets of development agencies and development workers. The bottom-up perspective requires that participation is an integral part of the whole process; that is planning, decision making, implementation, benefit sharing and evaluation. The wishes, needs and interests of the people affected by the process must underlie all the key decisions and actions and their knowledge and skills must be seen as positive contributions to the project. This way of working demands a lot of flexibility and sensitivity towards political, cultural and social contexts (Clayton et al 1997).

Sida is continuously working to increase the recipient countries' ownership of their own development, and there are evaluations done to this effect. Lack of recipient ownership can lead to ineffectively used funds, reduced incentives for the government to drive the country's development and aid dependency (Sida 2003d). However, the recipients can never own a process if it is initially driven by donors (Sida 2003d). For Sida

Ownership implies that Sida pass to the recipient government the control of development assistance activities in as far as that is politically and technically possible (Sida 2003d p.1)

5.2 Who?

An important question is *who participates?* The participants should be representative of the target groups, but in reality this is seldom the case. It is frequently argued that women are not involved to the same extent as men and that women therefore benefit less from the outcomes of the projects. (See, for instance, Cornwall 2002). Groups that are marginalised in the community tend to be less vocal and participate less in participatory development processes and to involve them demands a lot of skills and commitment from the facilitators of the process (Cornwall 2002).

Sida's Poverty Programme (see the "Introduction" section of this paper) talks about immediate stakeholders. Who, then, are they? Immediate, or primary, stakeholders is a concept that often refers to poor and marginalised people and it is regularly overlooked that these people actually include a variety of different individuals with differing social, political, economical and personal requisites. The views, priorities and needs differ significantly from one person to another and this must be considered in participatory development processes. Cornwall (2002) and Rahnema (Sachs 1992) argue that while these issues are nowadays in many cases discussed or mentioned in plans and policies, the actual work on the ground still leaves a lot to be desired in this respect.

To make people participate is an issue that needs a lot of consideration. There are many reasons for people *not* to participate. They may not be expected to because of their social status or gender. They may not be able to travel to the meetings because of the distance to the meeting place. The meetings may take place at times when there are other, more pressing, household issues to take care of. They may not feel that they would be listened to even if they did participate. They may have bad experiences from earlier participatory development initiatives. People sometimes exclude themselves from participation, but the process can also be designed in a way that de facto makes it very difficult for many people to participate even if they wanted to (Cornwall 2002). Sometimes mismatch between project methods or management and the overall programme objectives have a suppressing effect on participation. Hierarchical organisations that try to promote participation are for instance deemed to fail, as there is a lack of consistency (Clayton et al 1997).

5.3 How?

Another key issue about participation is *how is it done?* Cornwall (2002) claims that the term "participation" can imply anything from very ambitious attempts to include all different groups of individuals and stakeholders in all stages of a project or process, to mere information about the project to a few stakeholders. This is due to difference in commitment but also due to the type of programme or project; different programmes or projects necessitate different degrees of participation (Clayton et al 1997). Chambers (1997) states that an important component of successful participation is trust between participants, facilitators and other stakeholders. Trust is needed for the process to be open and truthful. The facilitators must also step back and take time to listen and watch the process, which should be driven by the people themselves.

5.4 On what basis?

Rahnema (Sachs 1992) states that participatory methods are often used only to validate programmes that have already been decided by others; people with power, organisations and donors; the people themselves are deemed as incapable of coming up with identification of problems, prioritisation and their solutions. For successful participatory development, it is imperative that the concerns and views expressed by the participants are taken seriously by the authorities. Politicians locally and nationally must support the process (Clayton et al 1997). Cornwall (2002) puts forward that if empowerment is a goal, you cannot only ask people what they want or need, even if that would make them feel listened to. Empowerment entails much more than that.

Another important aspect to consider is that even if the grass roots have participated in the process, their inputs are filtered through reports and aggregated reports done by civil servants or development workers, and it is likely that some of the views eventually come out differently from their original version. This phenomenon has been noted at several occasions (Cornwall 2002).

6. Findings

The key questions that are outlined under the “Methodology” section of this paper have been used for the analysis of the interviews. The questions that do not apply to the respondent group being discussed have not been used for that particular group. The “Findings” section is based on the interviews and where other material is used it is stated explicitly.

6.1 Residents

Twelve interviews were conducted with residents; six in each area. Only two of the respondents were women. All interviews with residents apart from one in each area were translated.

6.1.1 Who is participating and why?

The residents were first invited to a meeting through a letter or a visit by the LC I Chairperson or the Division Councillor. The reason why people decided to participate varies. Some residents felt that they needed to know what the CDS is all about as they own property in the area or because they were interested and happy to get help. Another reason for attending meetings when called upon was that they were expected to, or had to as good and obedient residents. If the leaders ask you to go to a meeting, you do. This was mentioned by residents in both areas.

Most respondents agreed that all Zones and groups of people were represented at the meetings. Many of the participants among the residents are landlords, as they have a personal interest in upgrading the area, and they would be most negatively affected by a possible displacement. Elders and other respected persons in the area also often attend as they feel it is part of their duties. One group that seldom attends is the tenants. They rent a room in other peoples’ homes, and normally only stay for a short time until they find a job or a better place to stay. The tenants are thus not very interested in the development of the area and seldom attend meetings or other activities. In Bwaise II it was mentioned by particularly the Division staff that the fact that so many people stay only for a short time in the area makes sensitisation and continuity of the process difficult.

The participants at all levels put forward in the interviews that the residents were hesitant about the process at first but became more positive the more they were sensitised about it. This is probably true, but it is also true, according to the interviews among the residents and local leaders, that the ones that were the most negative about the CDS process from the start stopped participating, as they did not want to have anything to do with it. Thus, the most sceptical voices are no longer heard, which could give the impression that the residents are more positive than they actually are.

A few respondents among the residents mentioned that they stopped attending meetings because they did not get any allowances, food or drink, which they felt was needed to make people come. Some respondents put forward that there is no use attending, because everything is already decided from the top anyway.

6.1.2 What are the views about the CDS process?

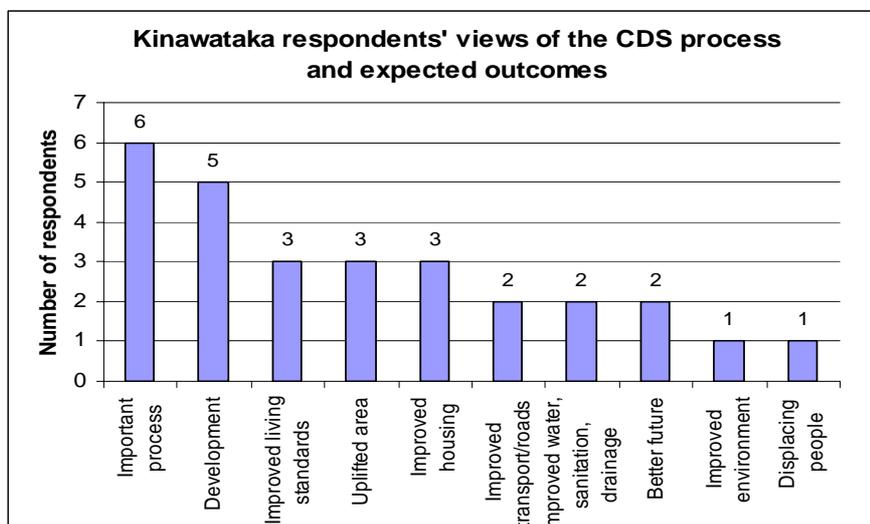
The residents of Bwaise II were doubtful about the CDS process when it was presented to them in 2002. They were afraid that they would be displaced and that they would not get any compensation. They asked for more information and sensitisation before accepting the programme. Several meetings were held to that effect. The main problems in the area according to the residents were eventually identified and put down on paper. These include inadequate safe water supply, lack of toilets, solid waste management, drainages, poor houses, poverty, lack of services, health problems, lack of a public primary school and lack of a community health centre. An action plan was drawn on how to address these issues, including time frames and money needed (Kampala City Council 2002).

The residents of Kinawataka were not as sceptical about the process as their Bwaise II counterparts were when introduced to it. Already during the first sensitisation meeting, they came up with an action plan on how to address problems facing the area. The main issues discussed were the poor road network, poverty, lack of plans, poor solid waste management, poor drainage system, poor houses, few services and bad toilets (Kampala City Council 2002).

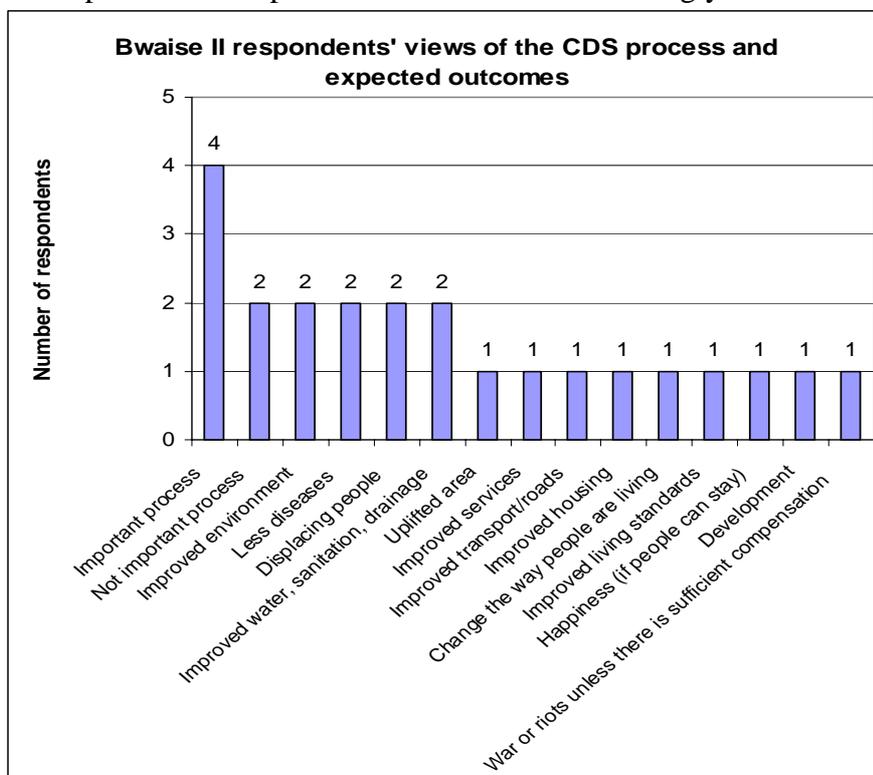
The residents in both areas thus face similar problems and have the same analysis of what needs to be done to improve their area. Most of these issues have however not yet materialised.

In the interviews, it was apparent that the views about the CDS process vary a lot from individual to individual. Some are very positive and look forward to an improvement of their area, while others reject the process totally and say they will refuse any attempts to do any changes, as they will not accept anybody to displace them. There were different views on many issues in the questionnaires.

The Kinawataka respondents all felt that the CDS process was important for the development of the area and for improving the welfare of the residents. One respondent said that the CDS process will help them with resources to improve their houses, so the residents can direct the little money they have to the education of their young ones instead. The expected outcome is development and enhancement of the area.



The Bwaise II interviewees were more divided about the virtues of the CDS process than the ones in Kinawataka; the younger respondents were more positive than the older ones. Four respondents said that the process is important, while two respondents did not think so. One of them put forward that if the residents will not get any compensation, there is no way such a process can lead to development. The expected outcome varied accordingly.



The respondents that are negative about the process themselves also feel that the other residents are negative and vice versa. The Kinawataka respondents thus mean that the other residents are also positive, while the Bwaise II respondents have a more varied perception on what the other residents in their area think.

What do the residents in Kinawataka/Bwaise II think about the CDS process? (number of respondents)			
Area	Generally good	Generally bad	Other comments
Kinawataka	6		
Bwaise II	1	3	2
Totally	7	3	2

One respondent in Kinawataka meant that the residents think that the CDS process is good if they are compensated well. In Bwaise II one respondent said that people think it is good if they can stay, but bad if they are sent away. Another Bwaise II respondent meant that there are different understandings. There was thus a lot of hesitation about the process among some of the residents. The main reason for this was that they were afraid of being displaced – because they would be forced to leave or because they would not be able to afford to stay when the area was upgraded. This is what happened in Namuwongo, another slum area in Kampala, when it was upgraded. See box below. One of the residents mentioned Namuwongo by name during the interviews, and it was referred to explicitly and implicitly in several interviews at all organisational levels.

Namuwongo and Kawala

Namuwongo is a large, semi-central residential area in Kampala. It used to be a slum area, but in 1987-1994 it was upgraded and water, electricity and roads were provided. The aim of the project was to improve the living standards for the residents, but instead the result was that they could not afford to stay, so they ended up selling their plots and building up another slum area that turned out worse than Namuwongo was before being upgraded. The notions of what actually took place differ significantly among the respondents in this study. The residents say that the Namuwongo residents were forced to leave, while the District Councillor claims that the residents had a free will and they would apparently rather have the money they got from selling their plots than staying in an upgraded area. He contends that this is also a form of development. The project is also mentioned in positive words in the Kampala report to the regional workshop in Kisumu in 2002 (ITDG-EA 2002).

What happened in Namuwongo heavily influenced what happened in another slum area that was to be upgraded in 1991, Kawala. The residents there eventually refused any upgrading efforts as they were sure they would also be displaced, the way they felt that the Namuwongo residents had been. The plans and financial resources were there, but there was nothing that could be done without the residents' consent (Kampala City Council 2002, interviews). In this respect, the residents are very powerful.

The CDS process seems to be well known in the communities according to the interviews, but the perception of what it is about varies. Most of the respondents talked about upgrading of their area and seven respondents said that a company/donors/they will come and build new houses and develop the area. According to the CDS Coordinator at Kampala District, the idea is to develop people to develop themselves and give them the tools for upgrading the area, but this information has apparently not gone through.

6.1.3 How is the activity level among the participants?

Most respondents said that many people attend the meetings and that they are active during these meetings. There are heated debates and many questions to the facilitators. There were differing views on if there are certain groups that are more active than others, and what groups that would be in that case. The respondents themselves have participated in between one and eight meetings, and they say that they have been active during these meetings, mainly by asking questions. Some have also been involved in sensitisation and mobilisation in their community.

Four interviewees in Bwaise II and one in Kinawataka claim they have not been active in the CDS process as such. The Kinawataka respondent said the reason for this is that he was not chosen to be a mobiliser or to have any other function, but he would be willing to be active if the chance came up. The Bwaise II respondents who said they are not active in the process declared that it is because they are not happy about it.

6.1.4 Do the participants feel that they play an active part in the development of the city?

The residents that participate in the CDS process see it as a project to upgrade their particular area, and not so much as a process for the whole of Kampala. One respondent in Kinawataka said that if people have better houses, they will be willing to contribute to the development of Kampala. Some of the negative respondents said that this process will *not* lead to any development of Kampala.

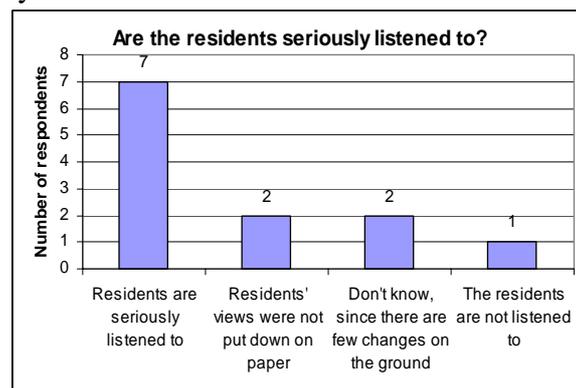
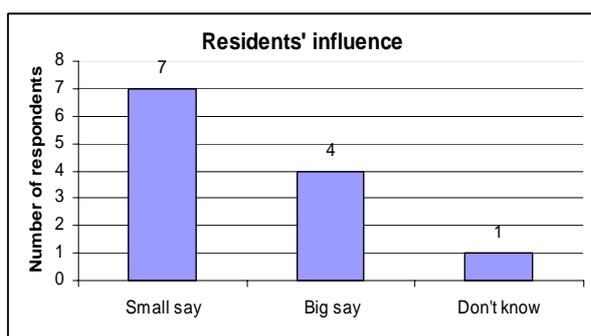
There are yet few changes on the ground since the process started, according to the respondents. The few changes that *have* taken place are described in both positive and negative terms. Some bring up attitudinal changes, that people now work together for their development or that people are now more aware of the health hazards and the importance of sanitation and hygiene. Two respondents claim that people do not build anything now because they wait for the project to be implemented, while one respondent said that there are now fewer developments of illegal structures and another respondent said that there are now more houses being built.

There were similarly differing views on how much influence the residents have. This is discussed in more detail under question 6.1.5.

6.1.5 Do the residents that participate feel that their involvement is taken seriously by the City Council staff and politicians?

Efforts are made to promote participation by the residents. All respondents said it is easy to participate in the meetings, because they are all informed about them and the leaders explain to them why it is important to come. Everyone is invited, nobody is left out or not welcome. The meetings for residents are held in their localities. Three respondents said that it is easy to participate because the people *want* to participate and they are eager to get the information. It is easy to ask questions on and outside the meetings. One respondent in Bwaise II said that people came because they thought they'd get paid. Another respondent said that it is easy to participate because police officers are around to make the meetings safe.

The respondents have very differing ideas on how much influence the residents have in this process. Most said that the residents only have a small say. When asked if the residents are seriously listened to, there were likewise differing views. Most do however feel that they are, but in Bwaise II, there were some disagreements between the leaders and the residents, so two of the respondents there suspect that the views expressed by the residents at the meetings may not have been put down on paper. Two interviewees in Kinawataka thought that the residents had had a big say at the beginning of this process, but that since there are few changes on the ground, they were not sure whether they had actually had any influence at the end of the day.



One respondent in Bwaise II said that “since the government has embarked on this programme, people think there is no turning back”. There were also comments stating that everything is already decided from the top so there is no use for the residents to participate. Hence, some people feel powerless and that it doesn't matter what they say or do. The same respondent said that some people are now selling their land instead of waiting for a compensation they might never get. Another respondent said that people thought that the leaders were bribed to convince them, because they were very positive about the project.

The respondents do however feel that the residents are important for the CDS process, particularly in Bwaise II, where most of the respondents said that the residents is the most important group of all groups involved in the process. In Kinawataka, most respondents meant that all groups were equally important. All respondents feel that the process is supported by the City Council politicians and staff.

6.1.6 – not relevant for this respondent group

6.1.7 How committed are the participants to this process?

The respondents that are positive about the CDS process are committed to it; they attend meetings, participate in sensitisation and mobilisation and are eager for the upgrading project to get off the ground. The negative ones are not committed; they avoid the process as much as possible. It is however worth noting that several of the respondents that are negative about the CDS process said that they would be willing to be more involved and active in the future, if they were sure the process would benefit the residents.

Some residents stopped participating because they did not get any allowances, food or drink at the meetings, so they felt discouraged to come. Comments like this make it clear that these residents do not feel that this is a process that is there for them, to improve their standards of living. At least it is not a process that they have to be involved in to influence it as much as possible. Comments that everything is already decided from the top (see question 6.1.5) is another way of saying the same thing.

6.1.8 What are the key issues for the CDS process to be successful according to the residents?

Most respondents mentioned that there is too little *information*. They wonder why nothing is happening on the ground and what happened to their input to the process. They also wonder what will actually happen to them personally and to their area. The negative respondents said that the only information they got was at the meeting or meetings, and some said that there was only one meeting and no more activities since then. The positive respondents said that the information is spread through meetings, personal contacts with local leaders, posters, radio and information agents. All however agree that the information is not enough.

Many respondents are concerned about how this project will *affect the residents*. They are worried that the facilitators do not consider this when it is implemented, or that they do not bother about it because they are so eager to develop the area. One respondent put forward that it was important to consider the low income of the residents and their insufficient possibilities to pay back loans on a short time frame. Paying for tap water and other services is also impossible for many families.

Connected to the shortage of information is the importance of *implementation*. The ones that are positive about the process are eager for it to get off the ground, while the negative ones did not want the slum upgrading to take place, but at the same time the uncertainty about what will happen and when makes the situation difficult.

Another key issue is *compensation* – if people are displaced there is need for adequate compensation to these people. For many, compensation is the key to whether they will support or participate in the process or not.

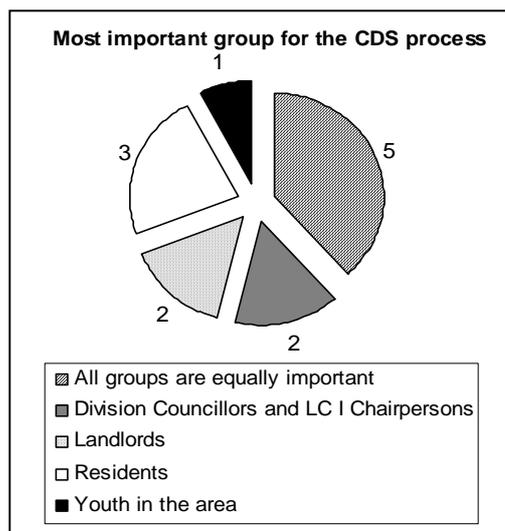
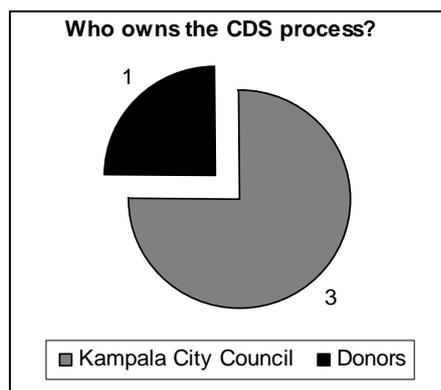
The *dependency of donors* to fund the implementation was also mentioned.

Several respondents said that the ones that are concerned are taken on board and that it is an important asset of this process. *Participation* is thus deemed as essential.

Sensitisation and *mobilisation* were mentioned as important as well.

6.1.9 Who owns this process according to the residents?

The CDS process is, according to the respondents, owned by the City Council or donors. When asked about which group is more important for the process to be successful, the residents however thought that they were an important group, if not the most important.



6.2 Local leaders

“Local leaders” refers to Chairpersons for LC I (Local Council I = Zone), Chairpersons for LC II (Local Council II = Parish), and Chairpersons for PDC (Parish Development Committee). There were six interviews done with local leaders; three in Kinawataka and three in Bwaise II. Two of the interviewees were women. Two of the interviews were translated in full and one was partly translated.

6.2.1 Who is participating and why?

The views among the local leaders were often similar to those of the residents. Also among the local leaders, the most negative ones stopped attending the meetings. Also among the local leaders, some said that they only attend because they are expected to and they have to as good and obedient residents. The local leaders are key persons in this process and they are expected to participate and be a link between the Division and the residents. Three of the respondents said that they also participate out of interest in and curiosity about the process.

All but one respondent said that all groups in the communities are represented and active during the meetings.

6.2.2 What are the views about the CDS process?

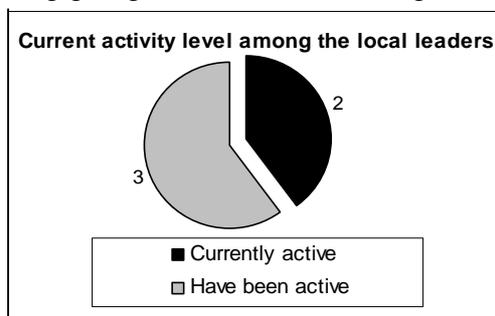
The CDS process was not readily accepted by the local leaders in Bwaise II. Their biggest fear was that the residents were going to be displaced without compensation. During the initial meetings, the local leaders also stressed the importance of information between the community and the Division and the need for more sensitisation (Kampala City Council 2002). In this study however, the respondents among the local leaders in Bwaise II were rather positive about the CDS process and they meant that the residents were too. This view differs from what came up during the interviews with the residents, where some were positive and some were negative.

I have unfortunately not been able to get any reports about the early meetings with local leaders in Kinawataka. During the interviews, there was one respondent that was very negative about the CDS process, one that was a bit hesitant but leant towards the positive side and one that was very positive. The local leaders here are thus, according to the interviews, more divided than the residents of the same area. The negative respondent said that most of the residents are negative too because many people will be displaced, while the positive respondents claimed that the residents are also positive and eager for the project to be implemented.

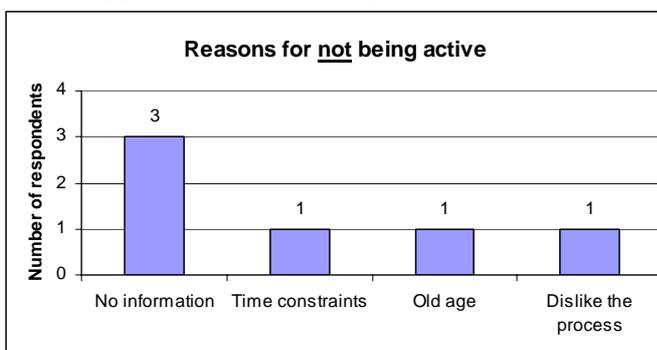
One respondent in each area mentioned that one reason for people's hesitation about the CDS process is that the residents of Namuwongo were sent away when that area was upgraded.

6.2.3 How is the activity level among the participants?

Five of the six respondents have been active in the CDS process, but at the time the interviews were conducted, only two of the respondents claimed that they were active, and the rest said that there is nothing going on so there is nothing to be active in.



The reasons for not being active are time, shortage of information, loss of energy because of old age and disapproval of the CDS process; some mentioned several reasons.



All respondents feel that they played an active role in the activities that they have so far been involved in, and that they have contributed to the process, apart from one respondent. That respondent was also the only one who was not willing to contribute to the process in the future.

All but one put forward that the attendance among the residents in the meetings is very good and that they are also active during the meetings. There were differing views whether some individuals or groups are more active than others.

6.2.4 Do the participants feel that they play an active part in the development of the city?

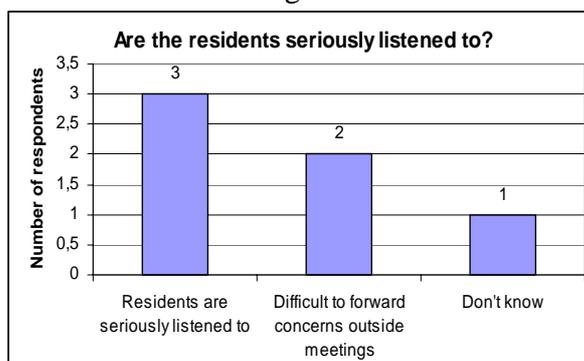
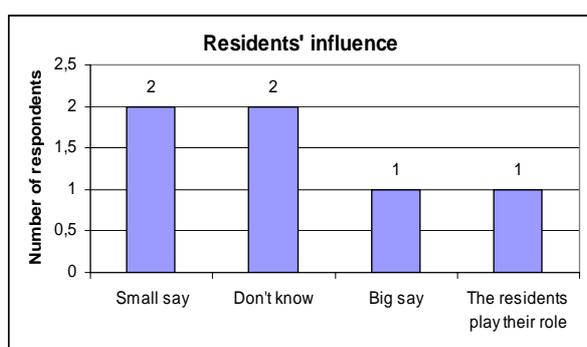
The respondents either thought that the CDS process is very important for the development of Kampala, or they didn't know. The connection between their own involvement locally and the development of the whole city might be a bit weak or difficult to see. Nobody mentioned this link explicitly. Five out of six respondents said that there have been changes in their area since the onset of the process. The changes that were mentioned were that people now think about development, that they have started thinking positively, that "programmes are taking place" and that people now build good houses. A negative change that was mentioned by one respondent was that people are now afraid to buy land in the area because of the process. The respondents did not agree on how much influence the residents have in this process. This issue is discussed under question 6.2.5.

6.2.5 Do the residents that participate feel that their involvement is taken seriously by the City Council staff and politicians?

The local leaders are also residents in these areas, so this question is valid for them as well.

Four of the six respondents feel that the process is run in a way that makes it easy for everybody to participate. Everybody was invited and the meetings were held locally. Two respondents were not happy with the way the process is run. One of them said that the invitation to the first meeting came late, the day before the meeting, and some people had already other duties that day and could not attend. Both these respondents also complained that there is too little information about the process and what is going on.

The local leaders in this study disagreed on how much the residents influence the process, as can be noted from the diagrams below. It is important that the residents are involved in the process and the local leaders are seen as important actors in the process, but other groups are also important. The local leaders feel that the residents are seriously listened to in this process, but two respondents also said that outside the meetings, it is difficult to forward concerns to higher levels in the hierarchy.



6.2.6 – not relevant for this respondent group

6.2.7 How committed are the participants to this process?

Respondents with a positive view of the CDS process are also committed to it. Some have asked higher levels in the hierarchy why nothing is happening and some continue sensitising the community about the importance of hygiene and other aspects of the improvement of the area. The respondent that disagrees with the process is consequently not committed to it.

One respondent complained that the LC I Chairpersons and Councillors did not get any allowances for mobilising people, and that this made them lose their morale. A similar concern was imparted among the residents, and also here does this statement suggest that the respondent do not feel that the CDS process is there for them and that it is theirs. They do the mobilisation for somebody else and should hence be compensated for the work they do.

When asked about the support from politicians towards this process, one of the local leaders said that the politicians support it because they want votes. That means that this respondent, as well as the politicians he/she refers to, believe it is a positive process for people and that the residents feel the same, because otherwise they would not get any votes for supporting it. It also suggests that the politicians support the process for the “wrong” reasons.

6.2.8 What are the key issues for the CDS process to be successful according to the local leaders?

The lack of *information* about what is happening and why the slum upgrading project has not yet yielded that any visible changes is an issue that is mentioned by several respondents. This deficit makes some respondents and residents doubt the process and if it will ever get off the ground. Information is spread at meetings, through information agents, local leaders and PDC, but still more information is needed and some respondents said that they only got information at the meetings.

It is also deemed as important by the respondents with a positive view of the process that it is *implemented*. This is important due to the bad state of the area but it is also crucial to make the participants see that they did not participate in vain.

There are many concerns about how the slum upgrading project will *affect the residents* and that this might not be taken into account when it is implemented. To build a new school or improve the road network, for instance, will demand some space, space that is not there as the situation is today. So somehow some people will probably have to move and there are many worries about how this will be done.

Compensation is also mentioned by several respondents as a crucial aspect. If the residents are displaced, it is important that they get sufficient compensation. If they do, even the most negative ones will support the process.

It is deemed as important that the *residents and local leaders are involved* from the start in the process and that the bottom-up approach is maintained. The *other groups are also important* – all have their own part to play in this process. The *backing of politicians* was also mentioned as important. This support is there, according to the respondents.

Sensitisation and *mobilisation* were also mentioned as important issues for the success of the process.

6.2.9 Who owns this process according to the local leaders?

One respondent said that the process is owned by the City Council. The others did not answer the question explicitly, but Council is suggested as the driving force in many other questions. The local leaders find themselves as important actors, but when they were asked about what group they find most important for the CDS process, three answered that all groups are equally important, one said that the residents are most important and one said she didn't know.

6.3 Division staff

Nine persons among the staff at the Divisions were interviewed for this study; four from Nakawa and five from Kawempe Division. Three of the respondents were women.

6.3.1 Who is participating and why?

Many of the Council employees and politicians declared in the interviews that they had to be part of the process because it is their area of responsibility. The planners called it a planning process, the health officers called it a process about improving sanitation and other issues that are important for the health status of the residents, the community welfare officers meant that they knew the conditions for the residents and how to reach them, and the environmental officers said that the process is about improving the environment so of course they are key stakeholders. This sense of responsibility is a crucial component of ownership.

Four of the five respondents in Kawempe Division are part of the Division steering committee for the CDS process. This steering committee comprise of representatives from different departments at the Division, and they make sure others in their departments get involved as well. There is no steering committee among the staff in Nakawa Division, but they are still involved and appointed different tasks in the process, and there is a steering committee for the politicians. Apart from being summoned to a steering committee or the sense that CDS is part of their responsibilities, several respondents also stated that they are interested in the process and want to be involved.

The interviewees meant that all different groups among the residents are represented in the process.

6.3.2 What are the views about the CDS process?

The process was received positively from the start by the Division staff and Councillors in Kawempe. On their first sensitisation meeting in September 2002, the participants discussed how to move forward with the process and what the obstacles were. They stressed that coordination between the community and the Division staff and information between all levels in the process was very important. The residents need to know what the CDS is all about if they are to support it. Issues of corruption, politics, HIV/AIDS and integration with other ongoing programmes were also discussed (Kampala City Council 2002). Unfortunately, I have not seen any reports about the early meetings at Nakawa Division, but according to the CDS District Coordinator and other interviews, the process was received positively there as well.

The interviews showed that the Division staff at both Divisions is very positive about the process and they find it important. They say that their role in the process is to mobilise, sensitise, administer, assist with the technical expertise and do the implementation. The respondents are proud to be associated with the CDS process and they stress that they hope they will see the results of it and get good residential areas instead of slums, as well as better lives for the residents. One respondent said that the CDS process bridges the gap between different development players. The respondents do however complain about shortage of information and the slow pace the process takes; the lack of implementation.

The staff at both Divisions said in the interviews that the majority of the residents welcome the CDS process and wait for it to be implemented. They also claim that it is a known process, although the residents might not understand all the details and more sensitisation is needed. Also the staff and politicians at the Divisions know about the process.

There were differing views whether the residents will be relocated or not. Some respondents said that all will be relocated to a better place, some said that a few will be relocated and some did not mention relocation at all.

6.3.3 How is the activity level among the participants?

All but two respondents said that they play an active part in the process; the other two said that they do not at the moment. One of these respondents said that the reason was that there is no information now, and the other said that the reason was that the roles in Nakawa Division are not clear, as there is no steering committee for the staff. The Division staff sees that their role in this process is to mobilise, sensitise, coordinate, arrange meetings, explain and supervise the process. They also prepare background material. Currently the respondents describe the process as “at a standstill” and there is not much activity going on, apart from a few respondents that had particular tasks.

The interviewees said that the residents of Bwaise II and Kinawataka are interested in the process and their attendance at meetings is very good. They are also very active during the meetings, asking a lot of questions and debating. There were differing views on whether there are certain groups that are more active than others in the process and what those groups would be. It seems like most groups in the community are represented in the meetings.

6.3.4 Do the participants feel that they play an active part in the development of the city?

The respondents feel that they influence the process. They also feel that they are listened to by the other stakeholders and that they have contributed to the process. However, one respondent said “this is a very big process and I am a small man”, and this concern was forwarded also by others, but in different wordings.

The process itself is considered as very important for the development of Kampala. The community-based approach is essential for the sustainability and credibility of the process. The slum areas cause a lot of problems for the rest of Kampala and if the CDS process is successful in these pilot slum areas, it can be used in the other slums as well.

Most respondents meant that there have been changes already since the process started. Mostly, the changes are attitudinal, but there are also improvements in sanitation, garbage collection, infrastructure and better buildings according to the interviews.

6.3.5 – not relevant for this respondent group

6.3.6 How does the Kampala City Council staff regard the involvement of the residents in the areas concerned and their contribution to the development of the city?

The respondents share the view that the residents influence the process, mainly by causing a demand and that their support is necessary if the process is to move forward. The residents also formulated the work plan with priority areas. Their involvement is crucial for the process, to give transparency and ownership. Their views are also taken seriously. One respondent described the residents as being the focal point of the process. The local leaders are also seen as important actors.

All respondents said that the process is run in a way that makes it easy for everybody to participate. Everybody is personally invited to participate. In Bwaise II, the meetings are held on Sundays in the residents’ localities; and in Kinawataka, both English and Luganda are used at the meetings.

6.3.7 How committed are the participants to this process?

The Division staff that was interviewed has allocated a lot of time to the CDS process, although it differs a lot from individual to individual. The process took most time in the beginning, but since not much had happened the last few months before the interviews were conducted, the time allocated had decreased considerably. They do however look forward to being involved in the implementation in the future.

As has been mentioned before, the interviewees meant that they had to take part as their profession is crucial pertaining to the CDS process. They were all positive and committed to the process. One respondent said that “I would be very proud to get involved to the stage of yielding the result”.

When asked about the support from politicians, one of the respondents claimed that politicians support the process because they want votes. See discussion under 6.2.7 above.

6.3.8 What are the key issues for the CDS process to be successful according to the Division staff?

Sensitisation and *mobilisation* are deemed as very important for the success of the programme. The Division staff puts a lot of effort into these two activities and they say that more sensitisation is needed to make the residents understand the CDS process properly. Also, there is a great deal of mobility in these areas and the new residents do not know about the CDS process. Sensitisation is an ongoing activity.

Information is also pivotal for the success of the process. All but one respondent complained that the information from the District was lacking. When asked about how the information was disseminated to the residents, the views differed between the interviewees. Some said that the information was enough and others meant that there is always need for more information, and sometimes this deficiency was explained by saying that the information that the Division gets from the District is not enough and that is why the Division doesn't have enough information to pass on to the residents. The mobility among the residents also makes the information dissemination difficult. Information to the residents is spread through meetings, posters, mouth-to-mouth, local leaders and volunteers.

Another issue that was put forward is the *participation* by the residents. Their involvement is seen as a prerequisite for the success of the CDS process. The participation from other groups is also important, but not stressed to the same extent as the role the residents play.

Support from primarily the politicians is incredibly important. The respondents feel that the politicians back the process and participate in mobilisation and other activities. The politicians are representing the residents and people have great confidence in them. Also the District staff and politicians support the process and are involved in it.

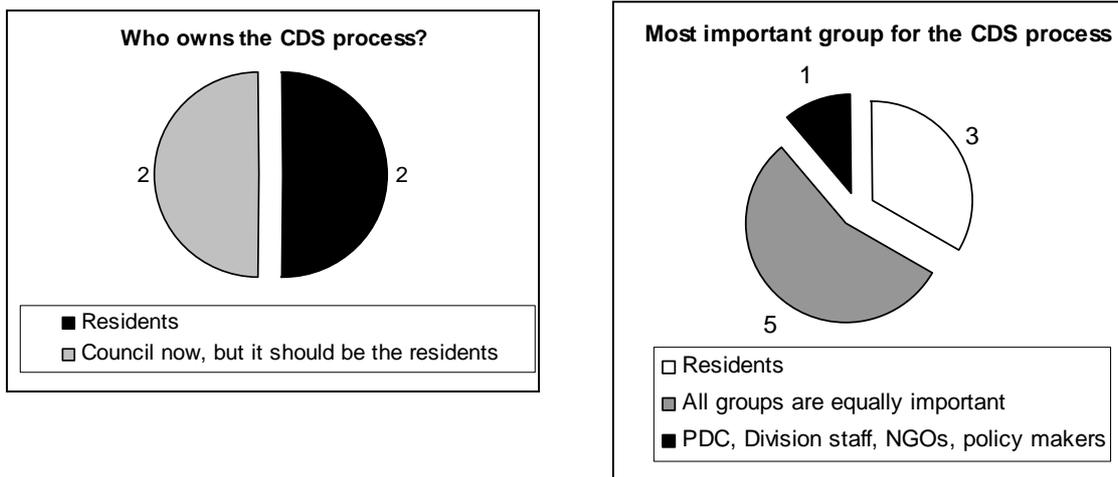
Resources to fund the implementation of the process are also important.

It is deemed as crucial that the project is *implemented* and not left midway. This is important not least for the credibility of the process.

Capable technical staff is considered important as well, something the respondents also feel that there are. This was mentioned as a strength with the process.

6.3.9 Who owns this process according to the Division staff?

There are different perceptions as to who owns the process. When asked explicitly, two respondents said that the residents own the process and two said that the Council owns the process now, but the aim is for the residents to own it. In the responses to other questions, one respondent said that the process is run by the Division staff and another respondent said that the residents take it as their process. Ownership by the residents is deemed as important to sustain the development. The most important group in the process is the residents according to three respondents; the other respondents meant that all groups are equally important but with different roles.



6.4 Division Councillors

Four Division Councillors were interviewed for this study, all from Nakawa Division. Two are women and two are men.

6.4.1 Who is participating and why?

Three out of four Division Councillors in this study consider themselves as involved in the CDS process, even if their activity level at the time the interviews were conducted was not that high. The one who didn't consider himself as involved said that he was before, but not now. They are involved out of interest but also because they feel that it is their area of responsibility, so they should be involved. This notion is the same as for the Division staff; see the discussion under 6.3.1 above.

In Nakawa, there is a CDS committee among the politicians, and this committee chose Kinawataka as the slum area to be targeted in Nakawa Division. The committee is currently not very active, but individuals participate in mobilisation, sensitisation and other activities. One respondent expressed disappointment over that he had not heard anything since the early stages of the process, and he said that he felt "left out" of the process now.

The respondents said that the participants among the residents come from all the different groups in Kinawataka.

6.4.2 What are the views about the CDS process?

The Councillors were positive about the CDS process from the start, see 6.3.2 above. All respondents feel that this is a very important process to improve the situation in the slums of Kampala and one also mentioned that this will help in improving the environmental situation of Lake Victoria. The expected outcome is positive in favour of the poor.

The Councillors said that there is political will and blessing towards this process. They meant that the role of the politicians was to monitor and support the process as well as sensitising and mobilising the residents. One respondent stressed that the politicians should answer people's fears and bring up the views of the residents.

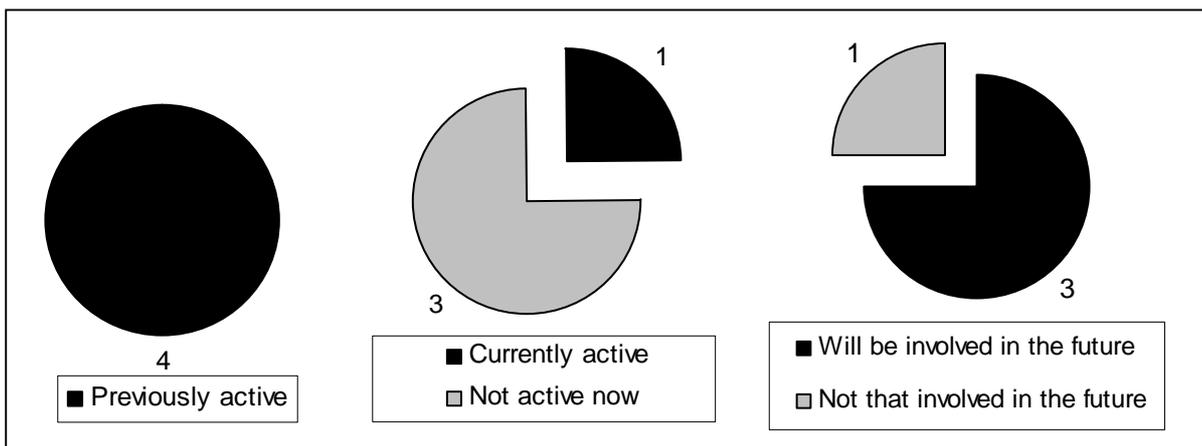
The interviewees said that the residents are positive about the process, but some have fears. Three out of four respondents meant that the process is known among the residents, staff and politicians at Council. The residents know it is a development process.

One respondent mentioned that some will lose their land. Another mentioned Namuwongo and said that what happened there could happen again, and that the participants at all levels need to be vigilant to avoid this.

6.4.3 How is the activity level among the participants?

The attendance among the residents at the meetings is good and they are very active. The respondents did not agree on if certain groups among the residents are more active than others. All respondents mean that residents and Division staff are active in the CDS process, and all said that the Division Councillors are involved, at least before. The views of how involved the staff and Councillors at the District are differed.

The respondents themselves feel that they have been active, but not so much at the time the interviews were done. They are also willing to be involved in the future. See the diagrams below.



6.4.4 Do the participants feel that they play an active part in the development of the city?

The respondents feel that the CDS process is important for the development of the City and they feel that they have contributed, but they also complain that they have not been as involved lately as they would have wished for. The process itself is deemed as very important for the development of the city. The views whether there have yet been any changes differ.

6.4.5 – not relevant for this respondent group

6.4.6 How do the Kampala City Council Councillors regard the involvement of the residents in the areas concerned and their contribution to the development of the city?

The residents need to be involved, but at the same time the respondents think that the residents do not influence the process much in reality. They have some influence by sharing the information they have and they can also influence the process by resisting it if they are not satisfied with it. One respondent said that the residents need to be involved for the process to be successful.

The residents and the local leaders are seriously listened to. However, the respondents are not very convinced that the process is run in a way that makes it easy for everybody to participate, mainly because there is not yet any implementation seen. One respondent said that the process “did a quick nose dive”. More involvement of the residents and less delay in implementing the programme is needed.

6.4.7 How committed are the participants to this process?

The process is important and the interviewees want to be more involved than they are at the moment. Three respondents raised the issue that the process should be headed by the Divisions instead of the District, because the Divisions know the areas and the people there better. They felt that such decentralisation would yield more results faster. All groups of stakeholders are important in the process, but the Divisions take the upper hand.

6.4.8 What are the key issues for the CDS process to be successful according to the Division Councillors?

Information is very important. The respondents complain that they do not get enough information from the District, while there was no agreement as to if the information to the residents is sufficient or not.

It is important to *sensitise* the community on the CDS process. The sensitisation also includes listening to people and answer their fears. Sensitisation will rub off fears and make people understand the process and their role in it.

There is need for *implementation* of the project so that all participants can see some results of their involvement. Implementation should not delay further.

It is very important that the *residents are involved* in the process. All types of people should be accommodated. That caters for sustainability, transparency and smooth implementation of the project.

Mobilisation of the residents and other participants is also important.

Support from politicians and Council staff is crucial. The respondents feel that there is such support, from all levels in Council, particularly from the staff.

6.4.9 Who owns this process according to the Division Councillors?

When asked directly, two respondents replied that the process is owned by the residents, one said that it is owned by the residents and Council and one meant that it is owned by the District. In responses to other questions, however, the view seems to be that the Division is more important and that the District heads the process. The residents do not influence the process very much. That would imply that the predominant view is that the process is owned by the City Council.

6.5 District staff and Councillor

Five persons among the District staff and one District Councillor were interviewed. The Councillor was a man and among the staff there were three men and two women.

6.5.1 Who is participating and why?

The officials and the Councillor that were interviewed at the District are all part of the CDS coordinating team for Kampala District, and they represented different professions and departments. As with the officials and politicians at the Divisions, they all meant that it was important for them to be part of the CDS process because their particular competence was crucial for the process, and the process would also help them in their work.

The interviewees meant that the LC system made sure all groups among the residents participate in the CDS process.

6.5.2 What are the views about the CDS process?

All respondents feel that this is a very important process, and they state different reasons for this: there are many slums that need to be improved, it will help Council to solve many problems, it is participatory and it has changed the view among the Council staff and politicians to focus more on what the residents want. All levels in the process have changed from being providers to being enablers, who enable development to take place. The CDS process fits well with the other policies and programmes at Council and the way they are run.

At the onset of the CDS process, Kampala City Council put forward waste management (solid and liquid) and sanitation as key areas that needed to be addressed, but other issues like poor housing, infrastructure, public awareness on waste, traffic congestion, overcrowding, increased squatter settlements, lack of money and shortage of land were also mentioned in the early stages of the process. (ITDG-EA 2002).

The District staff sees that their role in the CDS process is to advocate for it, supervise, facilitate, mobilise, sensitise and ensure community participation. They feel that they play an active role in the process. The respondents mean that the politicians at all levels in Council support the process, which is deemed as important. The role of the politicians is to mobilise the people and represent them. They should also monitor the process and advocate for it among the residents.

The District staff and politicians in this study were at the time of the interviews heavily involved in the launch of Phase II of the process, and the planning of the regional conference that was to be held in Kampala a few weeks later. Also the Councillor was involved in the launch of Phase II. He said that the process took a lot of his time when it was introduced and it had taken some time during the planning of the launch of Phase II, but generally he did not allocate a lot of time to it. Most of the work is done by the staff.

According to the interviewees, most of the residents are positive about the CDS process, they know it is a development process and that the situation in the slums will be improved. One respondent said that many residents wonder how it will affect them, and that respondent also mentioned what had happened in Namuwongo and Kawala; see section 6.1.2. The process is known among those concerned at all levels in Council and among the residents. However, the fact that the residents in these areas are very mobile makes it difficult to sustain the level of understanding.

6.5.3 How is the activity level among the participants?

All respondents are actively involved in the process and they are all part of the CDS coordinating team for the District. Few of the staff outside this team is involved in the process at the District. The respondents say that the politicians at different levels in Council are involved in the process.

The residents are interested and active in the CDS process, but there were different perceptions whether certain groups or individuals in the communities are more active than others. One respondent said that the mobility of the residents makes it somewhat difficult to make people actively involved in development processes, and there are also saboteurs among the residents.

6.5.4 Do the participants feel that they play an active part in the development of the city?

The respondents feel that they are active and that they influence the process. The Councillor meant that it is important for the residents to see that he is fully participating in the process; it can encourage them to also be active. The process itself is deemed as crucial for the development of Kampala. The five selected slums are pilot areas and the objective is that other slum areas will follow the same process later. One respondent said that some people will have to be displaced.

The respondents did not agree on whether there have been any changes in Kampala since the CDS process started or not. Changes that were mentioned were attitudinal changes and reduced prevalence of diseases. The Councillor said that some changes go on in these areas irrespective of the CDS process; mainly that some residents sell their properties to others, who develop the place. This goes on voluntarily and beautifies the city. The Councillor also said that this is what happened in Namuwongo, and that this is also development, even if that was not the aim of the project. The former residents moved to the outskirts of the city and built up new slums there, while the central parts of the city became more developed. He expected this to happen in the pilot slums that are targeted in the CDS process as well. Namuwongo was also mentioned by one of the staff. He said that in Namuwongo, the residents could not afford the houses that were built, so they had to move.

6.5.5 – not relevant for this respondent group

6.5.6 How do the Kampala City Council Councillors and staff regard the involvement of the residents in the areas concerned and their contribution to the development of the city?

The residents are involved in all stages of the process and they are powerful. Their support is crucial for the process to succeed and they push the process through demand for services and through questioning the leaders. The residents are the ones that prioritised what needed to be improved in their area. Their participation is needed for the sustainability of the programme. Four respondents said that the residents are seriously listened to in the CDS process; one said that they are not, as they lack information; and one said that they should be, but the process has not yet reached that extent. The local leaders are deemed as particularly important in this process, because they have key roles in their communities.

Three respondents said that the process is run in a way that makes it easy for everybody to participate; one said that so far it is not, and one said that he didn't know. The LC system and the inclusive nature of the process promotes participation by all different kinds of people, while lack of information works against participation.

6.5.7 How committed are the participants to this process?

The respondents in this study are committed to the process and feel that it is important. They were at the time of the interviews involved in the launch of Phase II of the process. A regional workshop was to be held in Kampala to that effect a few weeks after the interviews. The respondents were all committed to continue their participation in the process and coordinate, sensitise, implement, evaluate, monitor and spread the CDS process to other areas. There was also a statement from one respondent that the staff and politicians at Kawempe Division are active and committed to the CDS process; they have already started implementing the issues that came up during the meetings with the residents.

Two of the District staff said that politicians support the process because they want votes. This view is not so surprising among the District staff, because they were all positive about the CDS process and they had the notion that most of the other participants were as well. See discussion under 6.2.7 above.

6.5.8 What are the key issues for the CDS process to be successful according to the District staff and Councillor?

Participation of the communities is necessary for the sustainability of the process. The residents are the ones who make the decisions on what to be done and prioritise among all the pressing needs.

Support and commitment by the residents, politicians and Council staff are needed for the process to succeed. They all have different, important, roles in the process.

Regional cooperation with Kisumu in Kenya and Musoma in Tanzania is an important way to learn from each others' successes and failures and spread the CDS process to other areas.

The process is *all encompassing*. It includes environment, sanitation, planning, local and regional aspects, empowerment, capacity building of primarily the residents in the areas concerned, gender issues, slum upgrading etc. This wide-ranging approach is one of the key issues in the CDS process, and it has to be acknowledged.

Sensitisation of the communities is very important and has to be done continuously. People need to understand the process to be willing to participate in it.

There is great need for *information* to be shared between all stakeholders. There is currently not enough information, which hampers the participation of particularly the residents. Information is spread through radio, personal visits, seminars, meetings and the local leaders. Written information is not so effective as many residents in these areas cannot read.

To implement the process, there is need for a lot of *funds*. This necessity makes the success of the CDS process to some extent *depend on donors*, as the funds cannot be found within Uganda.

One respondent mentioned the need for swift *implementation* of the slum upgrading project. The current delay in implementing the issues raised by the residents makes them discouraged to continue participating.

One respondent said that *changes in attitudes and behaviour* are needed.

6.5.9 Who owns this process according to the District staff and Councillor?

There were differing views as to who owns the CDS process. Some respondents said it is owned by the residents, some said that it is owned by Council and some said that all stakeholders own the process. One respondent meant that the process should ideally be owned by the residents, but it is currently owned by Council. In the response to other questions, one respondent said that the process must come from below, and if the residents do not own the process, the outcome is not so good. Another respondent said that this process is planned from the top. One respondent said that the CDS process is a demand driven process; people demand improvements. There is thus no agreement as to who owns the process. When asked about what group is more important for the success of the CDS process, two said that the local leaders were the most important, two said that all groups are equally important and one said that politicians at all levels are the most important stakeholders.

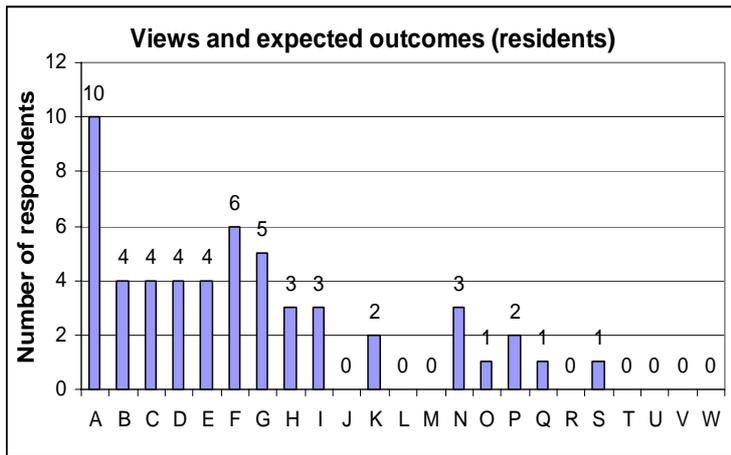
6.6 Comparison between the different organisational levels

In this section, the different respondent groups are compared according to the four aspects outlined under the “Objectives and Scope” section of this paper. The analysis is based on the key questions that have been used to discuss the interviews under section 6.1 to 6.5. The different views of the process are also discussed. When such comparisons are made, it is important to remember that there are 12 residents, 6 local leaders, 9 Division staff, 4 Division Councillors and 6 District respondents, and these differences in numbers obviously affect the aggregated results.

6.6.1 Views of the CDS process

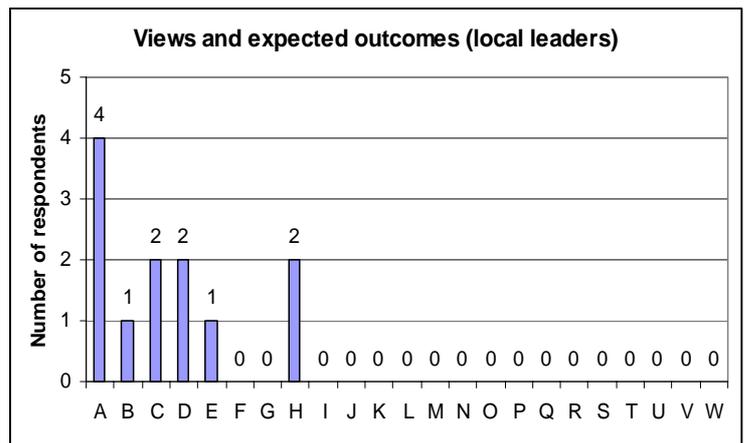
When the CDS process was first presented to the residents and local leaders, it was welcomed in Kinawataka but received with a lot of scepticism in Bwaise II. At the Divisions and the District, the process was embraced at once. The following six diagrams show the views and expected outcomes among the different respondent groups according to the interviews. The A-W categories on the x-axis on these diagrams are the same on all graphs for easy comparison. The table with the categories will however only be shown next to the first graph.

The views about the CDS process and its expected outcomes expressed by the residents in the interviews are shown in the first diagram below. Almost all respondents meant that this is an important process for the development of their area, and they expect the result to be an uplifted area with better roads, sanitation and houses, which will lead to improved living standards and less diseases. The expected outcomes of the process are thus that the problems facing the areas, forwarded at the initial meetings, are addressed. The one such issue that was not mentioned in the interviews was solid waste management, see 6.1.2. Respondents who do not agree with the process stressed that their main concern is that people will be displaced.

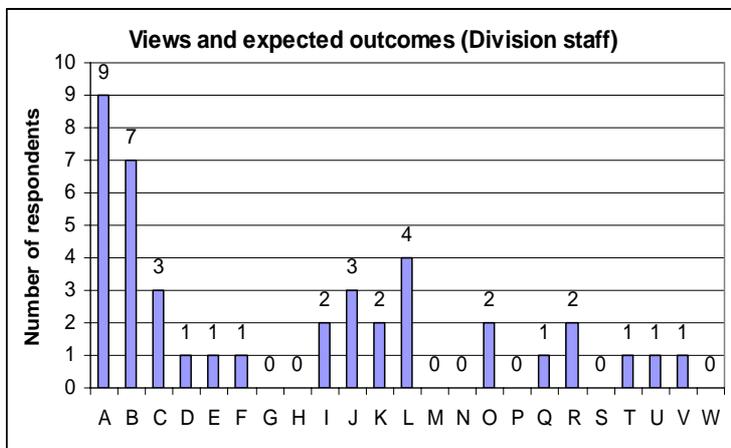


- A Important process
- B Improved living standards
- C Uplifted area
- D Improved housing
- E Improved transport/roads/infrastructure
- F Development
- G Improved water, sanitation, drainage
- H Displacing people
- I Improved environment
- J Less slums, pilot areas
- K Less diseases
- L Involved communities
- M Changed attitudes
- N Better future, happiness
- O Improved services
- P Not important process
- Q Change the way people are living
- R Reduced poverty
- S War or riots unless there is sufficient compensation
- T Increased value of property
- U Less floods
- V Better city
- W Empowered residents

Four out of six respondents among the local leaders also find the CDS process important, and they look forward to a developed area with better houses, roads and improved living conditions for the residents. Displacement of the residents is also here mentioned as a negative outcome. Their views thus correspond well with the residents.

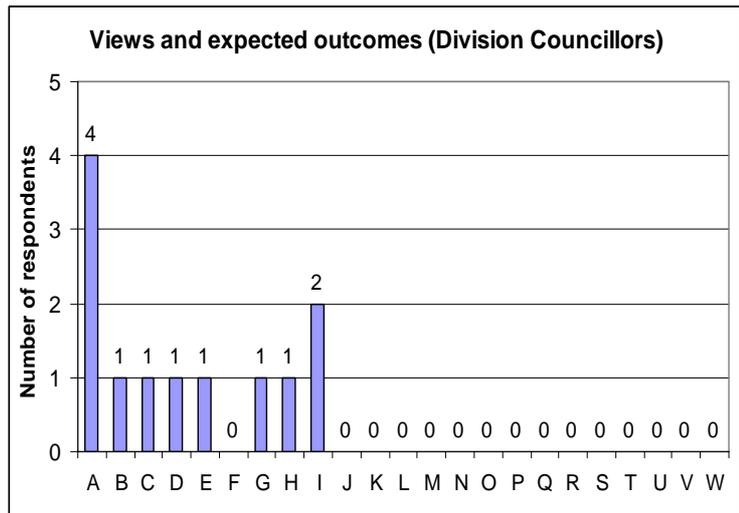


Views and expected outcomes expressed by the Division staff in the interviews are visualised in the next graph. All respondents find the process important and none expected negative outcomes of it.

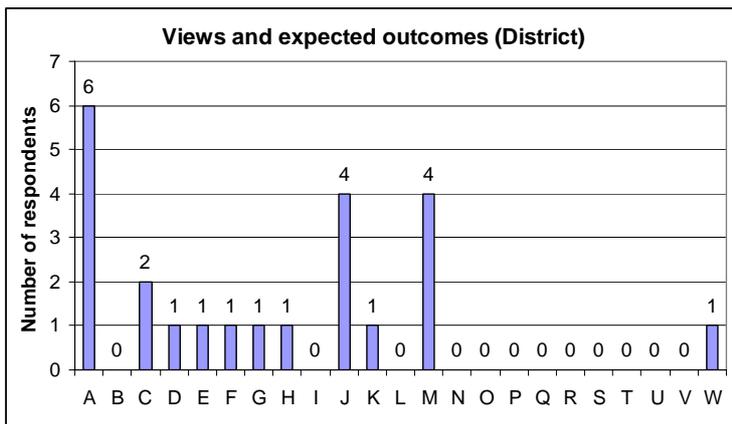


They listed physical and other improvements of the areas similar to those mentioned by residents and local leaders, but they also brought up that this process will make the residents more involved in the development of their communities, which will lead to sustained development. Environmental improvements and reduced poverty were also tabled. Three respondents put forward that these are pilot areas and more will follow; the process will lead to fewer slums in Kampala.

Also among the Division Councillors, all respondents are positive about the CDS process and find it important. One respondent mentioned that there was a risk that people would be displaced, but otherwise positive outcomes like a better environment and improved houses, sanitation and infrastructure were mentioned. One respondent mentioned that this process will lead to that Lake Victoria's ecology will be saved. These are similar expectations as the residents and local leaders have.

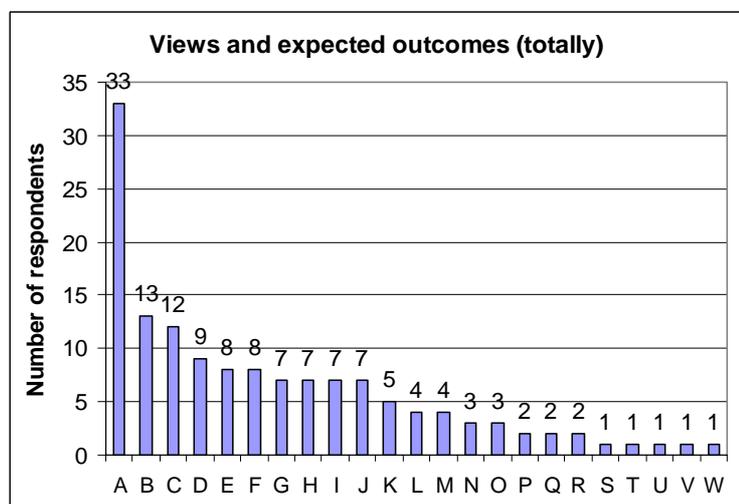


All respondents at the District find the CDS process important, although one mentioned that the current residents will probably leave the areas. The District respondents stressed that these are pilot areas and that the process leads to changed attitudes among all stakeholders. CDS entails a new way of planning and thinking, changing Council from being a provider to being an enabler who enables development to take place, and thus confide more in the abilities of the residents themselves. The process will also lead to upgraded areas with better houses, improved roads, improved sanitation and fewer diseases as a consequence. As with the residents, the respondents did not mention solid waste management, but otherwise the expected outcomes correspond well with the problems that were identified at the onset of the process; see 6.5.2.



The process will also lead to upgraded areas with better houses, improved roads, improved sanitation and fewer diseases as a consequence. As with the residents, the respondents did not mention solid waste management, but otherwise the expected outcomes correspond well with the problems that were identified at the onset of the process; see 6.5.2.

In the next diagram, the views and expected outcomes in all respondent groups have been aggregated. Shown like this, it becomes apparent that most respondents are happy about the process and expect positive results from it. Seven respondents did however mention that they expect people to be displaced, which is a high enough figure.

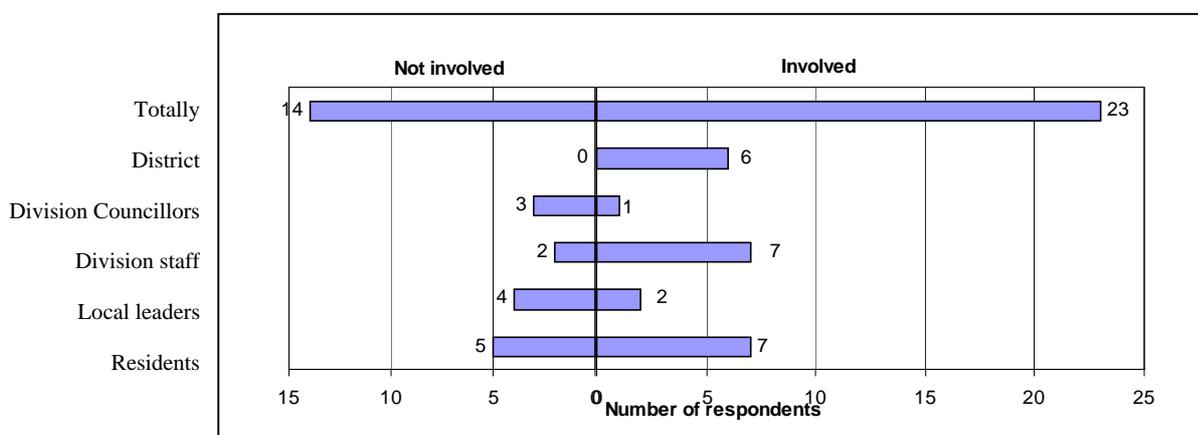


The respondents were also asked what they thought the communities considered of the CDS process. The answers are shown in the table below. A majority thinks that the residents are positive about it, particularly among the Division and the District respondents. The respondents among the residents and local leaders have a more varied perception. Among the residents, one respondent meant that there are different understandings among the residents, and another thought that people agree with the process if they can stay, but they disagree with it if it will displace them. One of the residents also said that people think it is good, but only if they are compensated well. Among the local leaders and the Division staff, some respondents said that the residents had been hesitant at first, but that they are happy about it now. One of the Division Councillors and District staff respectively said that the residents think that the CDS process is good, but some are afraid of being displaced. One of the Division Councillors said that he did not know what the residents think.

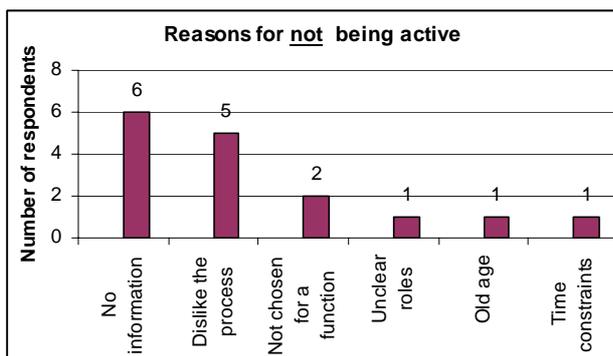
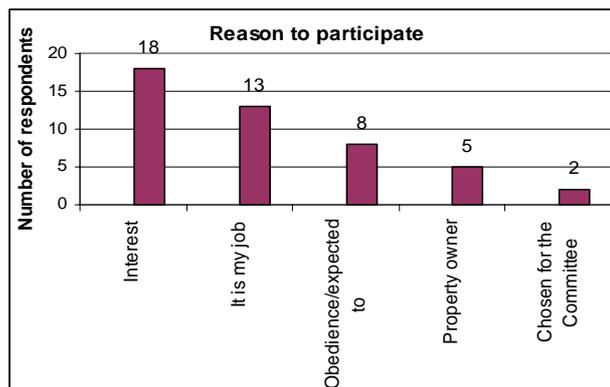
What do the residents think about the CDS process according to the respondents? (number of respondents)			
<u>Respondent group</u>	<u>Generally good</u>	<u>Generally bad</u>	<u>Other comments</u>
Residents	7	3	2
Local leaders	5	1	
Division staff	9		
Division Councillors	2		2
District staff and Councillor	5		1
Totally	28	4	5

6.6.2 Active involvement among the participants

All respondent groups were fairly agreed on that the attendance at the meetings that have been held in the communities was good and that the participants were active. There were differing views in all respondent groups as to if some groups in the communities are more active than others in the process, but most respondents agreed that all groups in society are represented. Some respondents among the residents and local leaders felt that they had not been active in the CDS process as such, even if they had attended a few meetings. At the local and Division level, many also said that they *had* been involved and contributed to the process, but not so much at the time the interviews were conducted. The process was described as being stagnant at the moment. The respondents at the District did however consider themselves as heavily involved and actively participating also currently. Present own involvement among the respondents is visualised below.



The reasons why the respondents participate in the process are shown in the next diagram; some respondents mentioned several reasons to participate. The main motive to participate is interest in the process, and those who own property in the areas concerned are particularly interested as they will be directly affected if their area is upgraded. The Council employees and politicians often mentioned that they participate because it is their professional duty or that it is part of their responsibilities. A common cause for residents and local leaders to participate is that the leaders ask them to, so they take part to be obedient and responsible.



The respondents who are *not* active also listed different reasons for this; and also here some stated more than one reason. For the residents, the main reason is that they are not happy about the process and do not want to participate in it for that reason, while the main issue for the other groups is that there is no information or no activities going on.

The respondents have very differing ideas about when the process started and ended – many in the Divisions, Parishes, Zones and among the residents feel that the process has now seized and they wonder what their input was good for. Also, in the interviews it was apparent that the respondents talked about the past and about the future, but seldom about today and what is happening now. The CDS process does not seem to be continuously ongoing, at least not at all levels. The fact that I was doing interviews was for many seen as the CDS process was now getting a “new start”.

6.6.3 Key issues for a successful participatory process

The most important issues for the CDS process according to the interviews are listed below.

Respondent group	Issues
Residents	Information Implementation Participation Sensitisation Mobilisation Funds/dependency of donors Consideration of how the residents will be affected Compensation
Local leaders	Information Implementation Participation Sensitisation Mobilisation Consideration of how the residents will be affected Compensation Support from politicians

Division staff	Information Implementation Participation, primarily by the community Sensitisation of the community Mobilisation of the community Funds Support from politicians and District staff Capable technical staff at Council
Division Councillors	Information Implementation Participation of the community Sensitisation of the community Mobilisation Support from politicians and Council staff
District staff and Councillor	Information Implementation Participation of the community Sensitisation of the community Funds/dependency of donors Support and commitment from all participants Regional cooperation Acknowledging the process' wide-ranging approach Changes in attitudes and behaviour

As can be noted from the table above, there are many similarities between the different respondent groups. All groups find that information, implementation, participation and sensitisation are important. *Information and sensitisation* are closely related, and it is apparent from the interviews that there is a lot of frustration about the lack of information and that the CDS process and the slum upgrading project are not properly understood by the communities or the staff and politicians at Council. The respondents that were negative about the CDS process meant that the only information they got was on the meetings, while the positive respondents said that there are many sources of information, also outside the meetings. The shortage of information creates a good breeding ground for guesses and rumours. In a study carried out in India, it was found that the most important factors determining how involved people felt that they were in a project, were how often they met and how much information they got (Clayton et al 1997). The importance of information should thus not be underestimated.

The CDS process exists on so many different levels and the nature of it differs accordingly. There are regional meetings with top officials from the three countries concerned, UN-Habitat, donors and other organisations. But there is also the work on the ground with slum upgrading and physical improvements of the living conditions for the residents in these areas. This makes information flow difficult. For the Division staff and politicians, as well as residents and local leaders, this process is about slum upgrading, while the District staff and politicians also see the regional aspect as an important part of the CDS process. While many things might have happened on the larger scale, not much has happened on the ground and that is not easily understood by those who have the more local view of the process and what it is about. Thus a lot of frustration is created.

That the CDS is *implemented* is imperative if it is to be deemed as credible by the participants, particularly the participants at Division and local level. Currently several, if not most, of these respondents feel that they have put in at least some time and effort, and they want to see that it was worth it. The importance of implementation is also noted by Sida in their assessment report of 2003:

The need to move from participatory planning to implementation of activities – be they more pro-poor policies and enabling frameworks or more physical interventions – has to be stressed (Sida 2003a p.7).

Sustainability can not be achieved unless the citizens perceive they are getting services back from their input into the process (Sida 2003a p.8).

Participation is a key word in the CDS process, by all stakeholders to the process including the donors. The respondents from all groups seemed to agree on that it is easy to participate and that all groups were represented; that efforts are made to make sure people can come to meetings and state their views. Participation outside the meetings that have been held seems less straightforward. Meaningful participation also entails that the participants have real influence over the process. Individuals among the residents and local leaders had very different ideas about how much influence they have in the process and if their concerns are taken seriously. The most negative respondents also reject the process totally and thus their concerns are no longer heard. The other groups in this study did however feel that they could influence the process. The Division Councillors are not sure how much the residents and local leaders influence it.

Mobilisation was mentioned by most groups as important for the CDS process. This is an ongoing activity that above all the Division staff is heavily involved in, and a prerequisite for making people participate, at least in the initial phases.

For residents and local leaders, it is important to consider *how the residents will be affected* by the slum upgrading project. They feel that maybe this is not adequately looked into or taken into account, as the City Council is so eager to develop these areas. Many suspect that this development will lead to their displacement and they are concerned that they will have to leave the area without getting any *compensation*. Compensation is deemed as very important - if there is sufficient compensation, even the most negative respondents seem willing to accept and even support the process. Relocation of residents was also mentioned as a possible effect of the CDS process by some respondents in the other groups that were interviewed.

All respondents that explicitly or implicitly talked about what had happened in Namuwongo, talked about it as a project that did not turn out the way it was expected to, as the residents there decided to sell their plots instead of staying in the area. Only the District Councillor sees it as development and that the residents chose the outcome themselves. For the residents that were interviewed, however, the perception is that the inhabitants of Namuwongo were more or less forced to leave.

That *support* for the CDS process is needed was mentioned by all groups but the residents. The respondents also meant that there is such support, particularly from the politicians.

Other issues that were mentioned in the interviews are lack of *funds*, which makes the process *dependent on donors*. Among the Division staff, *capable technical staff* was mentioned as important as well.

The District staff and Councillor mentioned some key issues that the other groups did not, which also shows the different perceptions of what the CDS process is all about. They stressed that *all participants must be committed* to the process, the *regional cooperation* aspect, the *inclusive nature* of the process and that *changes in attitudes and behaviour* by all stakeholders are needed for the CDS process to succeed.

6.6.4 Commitment to participation

As has been mentioned under 6.6.2 above, there are different rationales for participating among the different respondent groups. Many participate out of interest and because they feel it is their area of responsibility, but there are also some that participate just to be good and obedient residents. The staff and politicians at the Divisions and the District are generally very committed to the process and its participatory approach. The Division Councillors felt that the Divisions should head the process instead of the District - they were eager to be more involved.

The notion that politicians support the CDS process because they want votes was mentioned by respondents among the local leaders, the Division staff and the District staff. The ones that put this forward were all positive about the process, which is expected, as this notion implies that both the politicians and the electorate have a positive view of the process. It also shows that some feel that the politicians are not involved out of genuine interest in development and participation.

Most of the residents only participate in the meetings that are summoned; only three of them said that they are also involved in mobilisation and sensitisation. Five of the six local leaders in this study have been involved in mobilisation for the meetings and sensitisation as well. The other respondent groups are involved in the process also outside the meetings, albeit to various degrees.

Commitment to participation is to a large extent depending on what the participants think about the CDS process; the ones who disagree with it stopped attending meetings and other activities instead of continuing to participate and try to change it. The ones who are happy with it continue to participate. All concerns and ideas are thus not forwarded and the process becomes somewhat distorted. Most negative respondents did however say that they would be willing to participate and contribute to the process in the future if they were sure it would benefit the residents and there is sufficient compensation for the ones that will be displaced.

Issues that hamper commitment to participation among the different respondent groups are listed in the table below.

Respondent group	Issues that impede commitment to participation
Residents	Disagree with the CDS process No allowances, food or drink at meetings Everything is already decided from the top anyway Lack of information
Local leaders	Disagree with the CDS process No allowances for mobilisation Lack of information
Division staff	Lack of information
Division Councillors	Lack of information
District staff and Councillor	-

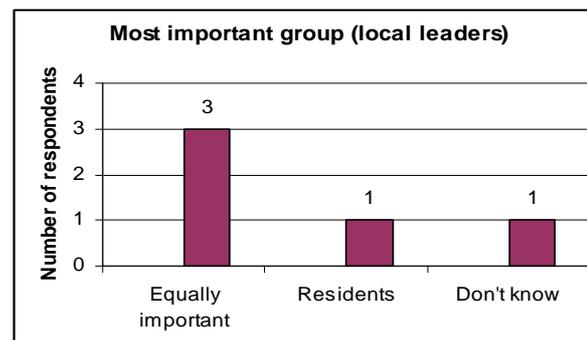
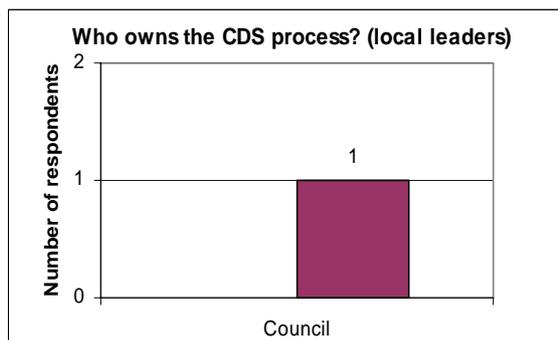
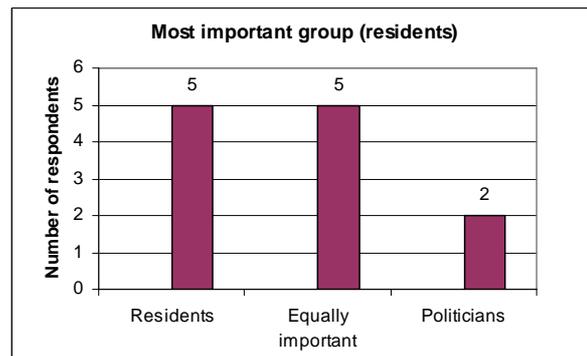
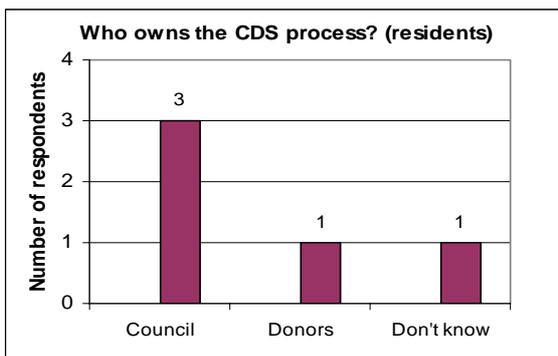
Lack of information hampers participation in all respondent groups but the District staff and Councillor, who are the ones with the information. They do however also acknowledge that information deficit is a problem for participation. Another issue that hampers commitment to participation is that some residents feel that *everything is already decided from the top* and they cannot influence the process much. There is obviously no use participating if the participatory process is feint.

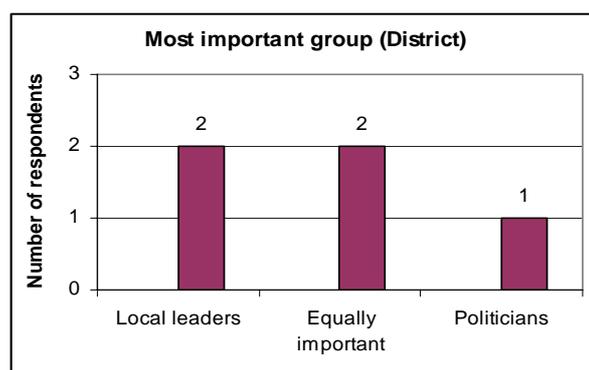
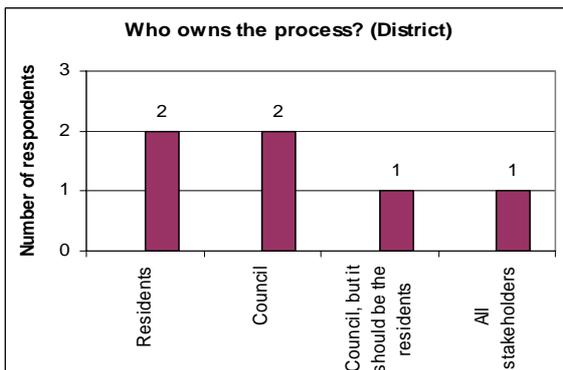
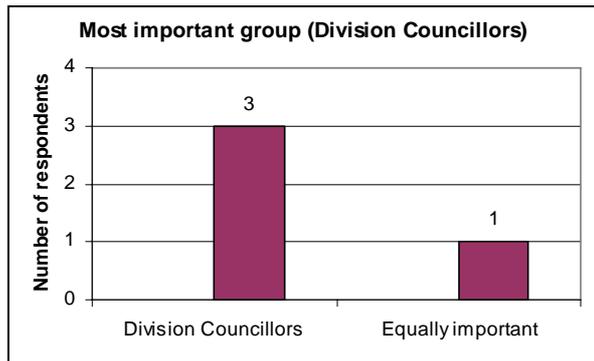
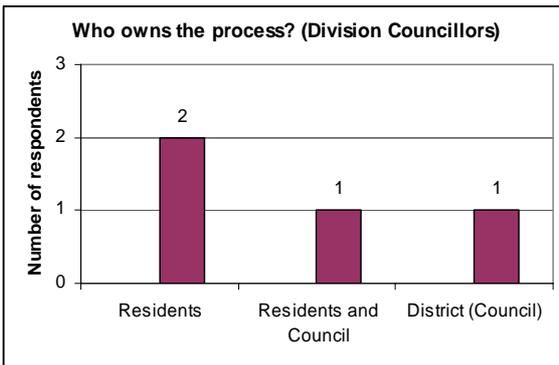
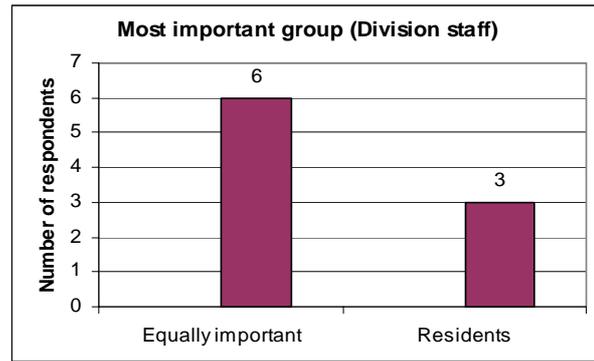
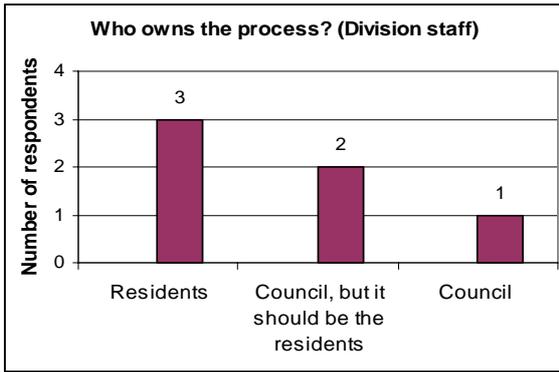
Lack of commitment to participation is also evident in comments stating that participation to some extent hinges on if there are *allowances, food and drink* associated with it, which was mentioned by a few respondents among the residents and local leaders. Also among the Division staff, it was mentioned that it was easier to make people attend meetings if there were food and drink. If this is needed to make people participate, their commitment to influencing the process and their community may not be so strong.

Commitment to participation is also about how the City Council views the participation by the residents and local leaders and their contribution to the process. The responses in the interviews suggest that all groups, all levels in the hierarchy, are deemed as important for the success of the CDS process, but the residents take the upper hand - see discussion under 6.6.5 below. Efforts are made to make people participate and most respondents in all groups also meant that it *is* easy to participate. The Division staff said that the participation by the residents and local leaders are crucial for the sustainability of the process, and their views are taken seriously. The Division Councillors thought that it is important that the residents and local leaders are involved and they are listened to, but they do not influence the process much. The District respondents view the residents and local leaders as very powerful and imperative for the CDS process. Both the Divisions and the District thus feel that they are committed to participation.

6.6.5 Sense of ownership

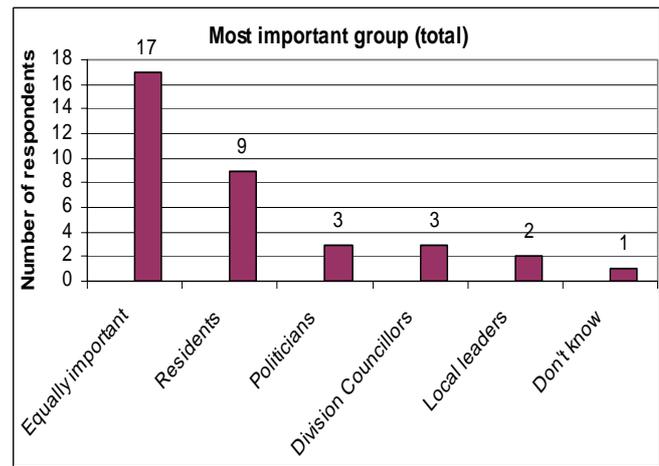
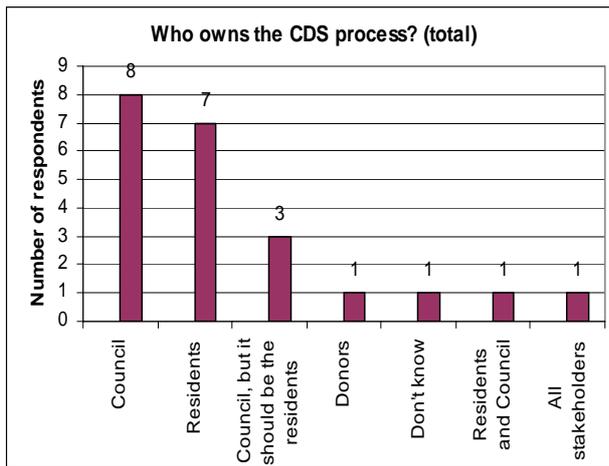
The officials and politicians at the Divisions and the District feel that they personally have an important role to play in the CDS process. The same cannot be noted for the local leaders or the residents, who most of them feel that they have a small say. Most residents and local leaders in this study suggested that Council owns the process. Comments about lack of allowances that makes the local leaders lose their interest in mobilising the community, as discussed under 6.6.4 above, makes the lack of sense of ownership very clear. When asked explicitly about who owns the process and what group is most important for the success of the CDS process, the answers between the different respondent groups were distributed as shown in the diagrams below. All respondents did not answer all questions.





As can be noted from the diagrams above, the residents and local leaders lean towards that Council owns the CDS process, while the other groups think that ownership is divided between Council and the residents. The picture is a bit different when the respondents list the most important groups for the success of the CDS process. The residents and local leaders do feel that they are important, but the other stakeholders are important as well. That is a common notion also among the other respondent groups. Three out of four Division Councillors consider themselves as most important, and they also stressed that they thought the CDS process would gain from being decentralised to the Divisions instead of being headed by the District.

When the above diagrams are aggregated, it is evident that ownership is referred to Council or the residents, and that most respondents feel that all stakeholders have an important role to play, while residents and Council politicians may take the upper hand.



7. Discussion

As has been mentioned in the “Methodology” section of this paper, there are many risks associated with doing interviews. The limited number of respondents and the selection of who to be involved in this study could mean that the responses are unrepresentative and possibly too much in favour of the CDS process. Another major risk is that the respondents try to give answers that they think are favourable for the interviewer because of the inequality inherent in the interviewing situation. Such self-censorship and modification of answers could be noted at some occasions in this study, but it is also worth noting that the responses, particularly among the residents and local leaders, differed and far from all gave a positive view of the CDS process. It thus seems as if the respondents for the most part have felt that they could answer openly and truthfully.

Sida’s assessment 2003 of the CDS process showed that it has essentially achieved its goals, but the involved cities found that the implementation was too slow (Sida 2003a). This is in line with what has come up during the interviews that were conducted for this paper, where implementation was mentioned as one of the key issues for a successful participatory process. However, there is some inconsistency regarding *who* is supposed to do the implementation of the actual slum upgrading. The view among the interviewees in Kampala is that UN-Habitat and Sida should fund the implementation, because they have the money and they feel that this was implicitly promised. One of the respondents said that Sida had stated: “identify the gaps, and we will fill them”. Sida and UN-Habitat, on the other hand, argue that the implementation of the programme has to be done by the cities themselves, as ownership also requires commitment, and commitment entails allocation of resources (Sida 2003d).

... Swedish view that the partner countries have the main responsibility for their own development, and that Sida’s task is to assist in the creation of preconditions for development (Sida 2003d p.1)

So far the local resources that have been committed to the CDS process have been mostly in kind, mainly time. The CDS investment plan in Kampala has put forward that local funds will be sourced for the implementation of the action plans from the private sector, government and the local authority. The bulk of the funds needed will however be sourced externally (UN-Habitat 2003a). According to UMP, also the process as such should rely on local resources and funds if it is to be sustainable (ITDG-EA 2002).

Who owns this programme? It started from the top, trickled down to the residents, who gave their input, and then the process to some extent moved back to the top officials again. The residents have not been part of the process from the beginning and thus feel that the process is not theirs. Their only involvement has been the identification of problem areas and prioritisation in their respective dwellings. Clayton et al (1997) mean that a process should be in the hands of the people affected by it, which is not really the case with the CDS process in Kampala. As Sida have also stated (2003d), recipients can never own a process that is initially driven by donors. In this case, the CDS process stems from UN-Habitat and Sida, but it fitted well with locally driven development programmes that were already there.

Residents and local leaders see themselves as important actors, which is crucial for the bottom-up approach and local ownership, two central concepts of the CDS process. Good attendance and active participation in meetings that have been convened are good indicators of big interest among the residents in these areas. The other respondent groups also meant that participation by residents and local leaders is very important. The personnel and politicians at the Divisions and District included in this study also feel that they are key stakeholders in the CDS process and that their participation goes without saying. There is strong political support. These notions show commitment and a sense of ownership, crucial aspects of making the CDS process sustainable.

In the Sida pre-study of 2001, three issues were pointed out as priority areas: water, sanitation and waste management (Sida 2001c). Kampala City Council identified at the onset of the process solid and liquid waste management, sanitation, housing, infrastructure, public awareness on waste, traffic congestion, overcrowding, increased squatter settlements, lack of money and shortage of land as issues that needed to be addressed in the slum areas. The residents put forward the shortage of safe drinking water, lack of toilets, solid waste management, drainages, housing, poverty, lack of services, health problems, lack of schools, lack of a community health centre, poor roads and lack of plans as issues they wanted to be attended to. The priorities are hence basically the same, although Kampala City Council and the residents added housing, infrastructure/transport, poverty and services to the list. These issues have a great impact both directly and indirectly on the poverty and environmental situation in these areas, according to Satterthwaite (2003). Chambers (1997) means that if participatory approaches are used, residents in the areas concerned often have very different priorities than higher organisational levels or donors. In this case, this is not shown to be true - assuming that the process and methods used have been participatory.

Poverty and environment are interlinked, and many of the environmental health problems facing the urban poor are worsened by the fact that they often have little influence over their situation. Increasing participation of these groups in planning is thus crucial. It is also important to understand the priorities the urban poor have to make and their changing needs over time. A good environmental situation often has a low priority due to other pressing needs. The difference in susceptibility towards environmental hazards among different individuals (according to age, sex, gender, social status etc) within the community can also affect the priorities (Satterthwaite 2003).

Satterthwaite (2003) concludes that there are internationally several good examples of innovation on how to address environmental issues linked to poverty reduction. These initiatives need national and local frameworks that allow them to prosper, and international agencies that support them. The relationship between the poor and the agencies that have the money and/or the power has to be good and transparent for the success of such innovations. If these prerequisites are met, a lot can be done with few funds. The decentralisation policies of Uganda are frameworks with the potential of bringing up such innovations.

The working groups and committees that were formed to spearhead the CDS process in the respective cities were “truly representative of diverse group of stakeholders” according to UN-Habitat (UN-Habitat 2003a p.19). This study shows that the CDS steering committees at the District and the Divisions comprise of people with different professions, which would support that statement. The steering committees do however only consist of people from the same organisational level, i.e. Division staff *or* Division Councillors *or* District staff. There is no mix between these organisational levels, and residents, local leaders and other stakeholders are not involved in these committees.

If the process is to be local and involve all stakeholders, it is important that the residents and local leaders are taken on board and that they fully understand what the CDS process is about. For the local leaders, this is important also because they are expected to be credible and enthusiastic mobilising agents in their communities. There is now a lot of fear and that does not help the process. The ones that dislike the process will not go to any meeting or other activity, so other means have to be used to reach them with information and hear their views. A key issue for participation is that the residents feel that the process will benefit them, and that they feel that their concerns are taken seriously, which is not the case at the moment. It should be stressed however that most residents and local leaders in this study have a positive view of the CDS process, and the ones that do not also said that they would support it if they were sure it would benefit the residents and the residents are adequately compensated. This would imply that there are great chances of gaining greater support for the process among these groups if it is properly understood.

Information, a key issue identified by the respondents, is also necessary for the process to stay dynamic. The lack of information and the slow implementation pace affects the willingness to participate and it breaks down the commitment to and credibility for the process. This is a big problem that causes a lot of frustration at the local and Divisional levels. The Division staff has to answer to the local leaders and residents, where many are questioning the process and if their participation was in vain. One respondent expressed this frustration by saying “we will be seen as liars if it doesn’t take place”; meaning if there will be no implementation.

The international aspect of the CDS process is only mentioned by the District staff and politician and not by any other group in this study. For the other respondent groups, the CDS process is about upgrading of particular slum areas. This affects the understanding and information between the different stakeholders, as they all talk about the same process but to some extent mean different things. That the CDS process is about “upgrading the residents to upgrade themselves, which is different from earlier slum upgrading programmes”, as the District CDS Coordinator put it, has also not gone through to the ones concerned.

Hesitancy about the CDS process and lack of commitment to participation among the residents and the local leaders refer to a great extent to the fear of being displaced - a fear that stems from the upgrading of Namuwongo. Bad earlier experiences of development processes is one reason for not participating, as has been mentioned earlier. Even though the residents in this study have not been directly affected by the Namuwongo upgrading, it is still part of their experience and affects how actively involved they are.

Namuwongo is mentioned in positive words by the District Councillor that was interviewed, but the other respondents that also mentioned Namuwongo talked about it as a failure. The residents and local leaders even talked about it as an abuse against the residents staying in that area. This implies a difference in perception about what development is; development is seen as either development of the area or development for the people staying in that area. According to Chambers (1997), the objective of development is well-being for all, and well-being is the experience of good quality of life. One aspect of well-being is secure rights of property and access for the poor. It can thus be questioned whether upgrading of an area that the residents have to leave can actually be referred to as development. Satterthwaite (2003) argues that lack of secure tenure is an important factor of poverty; the risk of being displaced thus makes the residents in these areas poorer.

One of the respondents said that “the CDS process does not exist in isolation”, which is something to remember when doing an analysis like this one. There are several projects, processes and programmes going on and several of them aims at improving the living standards for the people in the slum areas. There are also political, social and cultural processes that influence the outcome of a process like this.

The officials and politicians at Kampala City Council, as well as UN-Habitat and Sida, all stress the importance of participation by particularly the residents in the areas concerned, and they say they are committed to it. However, the residents’ participation has so far been limited to consultations about what is needed to improve in their respective areas. Cornwall (2002) means that this is not enough if the aim is to empower people, see section 5.4 above. It was already decided that the CDS process was going to be carried out and the pilot slums were picked by the Divisions when the residents first heard about it. The question was now how to make them convinced and willing to participate in the consultation exercise (Kampala City Council 2002). The residents have in this case been consulted, but they are not so much participants in the whole wide-ranging process. The question comes back to Cornwall’s (2002 p.73) “Who participates, in what, how and on what basis?”

8. Conclusion

The objective of this study is to examine the role of participation in development processes through four important aspects: how *actively involved* the participants are, the *key issues* for a successful participatory process according to the participants, the *commitment to participation* and the *sense of ownership*. Some conclusions can be drawn from the interviews:

- The residents and local leaders are involved primarily when they are invited to meetings, but they are active during these meetings and the attendance is high. The respondents at the Divisions and the District are actively involved also outside these meetings and particularly the Division Councillors would like to be more involved than they are. The participants are involved out of interest and sense of responsibility. Lack of information and dissatisfaction with the process impede participation.
- Information, implementation, participation and sensitisation are deemed as essential for a successful participatory process by all respondent groups. Information is very central; it affects the willingness to participate and the understanding of the process. Information is needed to explain why there is yet very little implementation, which is another central aspect. Lack of implementation is destructive for this and future participatory development processes as people become reluctant to participate when they do not become remunerated for their efforts.
- The District staff and Councillors are the only ones involved in the regional cooperation. This entails a difference in the perception about the CDS process compared to the other groups in this study, which further complicates information sharing.

- Residents and local leaders are concerned that the City Council is more interested in upgrading the areas than caring for the inhabitants of these areas. Many are sure that they will be displaced, even among the ones that are positive about the process, so compensation for their losses becomes very important. The insecurity that is inherent in this situation implies that the residents are actually poorer now than they were before they heard about the plans to upgrade their areas. The risk - and sometimes expectation - that people will be displaced was mentioned also among City Council officials and politicians. But the upgrading of an area that the residents have to leave cannot be referred to as development, if development is defined as well-being for all.
- Commitment to participation is among the residents and local leaders to a large extent depending on their views of the process, and how much they feel they can influence it. Positive respondents are also committed to participate. Some participate only to be obedient. Some do not participate if there are no allowances, food or drink. Respondents in varying groups said that the politicians only participate to get votes, and not because they are committed to the process per se.
- The participation by the residents and local leaders is deemed as essential among all groups, and they are viewed as powerful - mainly because they can stop the process by refusing to participate. They are also the ones who listed priority areas and they can be catalysts by demanding for the process. However, they are not really seen as the primary drivers and owners of the process, neither by themselves nor the other groups.
- The CDS process is viewed as a City Council process, and the District is steering it. The other groups are seen as important actors and all play their role, but the District still owns it. Donors contribute merely with funding.

Hence, the process is owned locally insofar as Kampala City Council owns it, but it is not owned by the residents, who should own it as they are the ones affected by it. However, if there is true ownership at the City Council, the technical staff and the politicians should be able to push this process to implementation. Involvement and commitment also points at this direction. These are very important issues, but the importance of involving and informing the residents can nevertheless not be stressed enough if the process is to be sustainable. The residents have so far been consulted, but they are not participating in the process as such. The CDS process is thus not all participatory.

The relatively few respondents and the limited time that has been allocated for the field research implies that the results from this study cannot be considered as fully comprehensive. Many issues are also not highlighted and there are several weaknesses and possible pitfalls with doing interviews. The study does however highlight some interesting issues that could be looked into further, e.g. the differences in perception, commitment and views of key issues for participation.

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Questionnaire

Most questions were the same for all respondent groups. In some instances however, the questions differed. Questions asked to the District Councillor are marked **DC**, questions asked to District staff are marked **DS**, questions asked to Division Councillors, Division staff and local leaders are marked **DIV/LL**, and questions asked to residents are marked **RES**. Questions asked to all groups are not marked. Not all questions were asked to all respondents in each group.

Name
Gender
Age
Occupation/Position
Role in the CDS process

1. How well known is the CDS process in Kampala, among inhabitants, local leaders, Council staff and politicians?
 - a. What do people know about the process?
 - b. What do people think about the process?
2. Are you involved in the CDS process? **DC, DS, DIV/LL**
 - a. If yes - why did you decide to participate?
 - b. If no - why not?
3. How did you become involved in this process?
4. Why did you decide to be involved in this process? **RES**
5. What is your role in this process? **DC, DS, DIV/LL**
6. Do you play an active role in the CDS process?
 - a. If yes - in what way?
 - b. If no - why not?
7. How much time have you so far allocated to the CDS process? Totally? Per month/week? **DC, DIV/LL**
8. What activities in the process have you participated in (workshops, meetings, seminars etc - with local and central groups)? How many?
9. Do you play an active part in these activities?
 - a. If yes - how?
 - b. If no - why not?
10. Do you feel that you have so far contributed to the CDS process?
 - a. If yes - how?
 - b. If no - why not?
11. What is your current involvement in this process?
12. How do you see your future involvement in this process?
13. Do you feel that politicians and civil servants at Council support the process? **RES**
 - a. If yes - in what way is the process supported?
 - b. If no - why do you feel that the process is not supported?
14. Do the politicians at District level support the process? **DC, DS, DIV/LL**
 - a. If yes - in what way is the process supported?
 - b. If no - why is it not supported?
15. Is the staff at the District supporting the process? **DC, DIV/LL**
 - a. If yes - in what way is the process supported?
 - b. If no - why do you feel that the process is not supported?
16. Do you feel that the process is supported among politicians and residents in the areas that are involved in the process? **DC, DS**
 - a. If yes - in what way?
 - b. If no - why do you think this is the case?
17. Are other stakeholders supportive of the process? Who? (NGO's, the business community, industrialists, donors etc) **DC, DS**
18. Are the politicians at different levels at Council involved in the process? How? **DC, DS, DIV/LL**
19. Is the Council staff involved in the process? How? **DS**
20. Is the staff at the District involved in the process? How? **DIV/LL**
21. What is the role of the politicians in this process? **DC, DS, DIV/LL**
22. What is the role of the Council staff in this process? **DC, DS**
23. What is the role of Division staff/local leaders in this process? **DIV/LL**
24. Is the process run in a way that makes it easy for everybody to participate?
 - a. If yes - develop how this is done

- b. If no - how could it be made better? What are the problems? (Time, other duties, distance, information etc)
25. How is the information about the process spread to the residents, the Division staff and politicians and other participants? Is it enough?
 26. Who is more interested in the process: the residents, local leaders, politicians or Council staff? At what level? Why? **DC, DS, DIV/LL**
 27. How well do the participants among the residents represent the inhabitants of the areas concerned, in respect of gender, age groups, social groups etc?
 28. The ones that are actively involved in the process, how well do they represent the social, gender and age distribution of the concerned areas? **DC, DIV/LL, RES**
 29. In your view, how much do the residents influence the CDS process?
 30. How much do you, as a Councillor/Council staff/local leader, influence the CDS process? **DC, DS, DIV/LL**
 31. How important has the participation of the residents been for the CDS process? **DIV/LL**
 32. Are the residents being seriously listened to in this process?
 33. Are the local leaders seen as important actors in this process? **DC, DS, DIV/LL**
 34. Do you feel that the views and ideas expressed by the residents are being incorporated in the CDS process and documents? **DIV/LL, RES**
 35. Of all the different levels in Council and among the residents, what group is most important for a successful CDS process in your view? Or are they all equally important but with different roles? Why?
 36. Are the residents in the targeted areas interested in this process? **DC, DS, DIV/LL**
 37. Are certain individuals or groups in the targeted areas more active than others in the process? Who? Why? **DS, DIV/LL, RES**
 38. How many meetings and other activities have been held so far? **DIV/LL**
 39. How many meetings and other activities have you attended so far? **RES**
 40. How is the attendance among the residents? **DIV/LL, RES**
 41. How is the activity level among the participants? **DIV/LL, RES**
 42. In your view, how important is the CDS process for the development of Kampala and the targeted areas?
 43. Have there been any changes in Kampala or in any of the areas concerned since the onset of the process?
 - a. If yes - in what way? (New projects, more transparency, empowerment etc)
 - b. If no - did you expect any changes to take place? What did you in that case expect?
 44. What do you think will be the outcome of the CDS process? **DC, DIV/LL, RES**
 45. What are the strengths and weaknesses of this process?
 46. Who would you say owns this process?
 47. Do you have anything you would like to add?

Appendix 2

Recent developments in the CDS process in Kampala

David Nilsson, responsible for the CDS process at Sida Stockholm, was interviewed on the 12th of January 2005 about recent developments in the CDS process in Kampala:

- Not much has happened since the interviews were conducted as far as he knows - there have not been any official reports from Kampala or UN-Habitat since then.
- The Phase II workshop was postponed a few months.
- Towards the end of 2004, Sida decided to finance some pilot activities regarding waste management, but other funds for implementation are not yet settled. Sida would like more donors to be involved in the implementation of activities identified in the process, but so far other donors have not been that forthcoming.
- There are too little personnel at UN-Habitat in Nairobi to be able to cope with all the programmes they have. During 2004, Sida employed three persons to work with the Lake Victoria programme at the UN-Habitat offices, to improve this situation.
- Sida has developed a new strategy for the support to the Lake Victoria region.