

PROCESS AND PARTNERSHIP FOR PRO-POOR POLICY CHANGE

LEARNING LESSONS FROM THE KAMPALA URBAN AGRICULTURE POLICY PROCESS

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KUFSALCC

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The **International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI)** is a non-profit-making and non-governmental organisation working at the crossroads of livestock and poverty, bringing high-quality science and capacity-building to bear on poverty reduction and sustainable development for poor livestock keepers and their communities. A member of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research, ILRI is one of 15 Future Harvest Centres which conduct food and environmental research to help alleviate poverty and increase food security while protecting the natural resource base. (www.ilri.org)

The **Overseas Development Institute (ODI)** is Britain's leading independent think tank on international development and humanitarian issues. ODI's mission is to inspire and inform policy and practice which lead to the reduction of poverty, the alleviation of suffering and the achievement of sustainable livelihoods in developing countries. This is done through high-quality applied research, practical policy advice, and policy-focused dissemination and debate. ODI's **Research and Policy in Development (RAPID)** programme aims to improve the use of research in development policy and practice through improved knowledge about: research/policy links; improved knowledge management and learning systems; improved communication; and improved awareness of the importance of research. (www.odi.org.uk/rapid)

Urban Harvest is an international research initiative of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR). The mission is to contribute to the food security of poor urban families, and to increase the value of agricultural production in urban and peri-urban areas, whilst ensuring the sustainable management of the urban environment. Research contributes to three essential 'themes' of UPA: (i) stakeholder and policy dialogue; (ii) livelihoods and markets; and (iii) urban ecosystem health. The initiative is led by the International Potato Centre (CIP), with several other CGIAR centres contributing. (www.cipotato.org/urbanharvest)

The **Kampala Urban Food Security and Livestock Coordination Committee (KUFSAALCC)** is an alliance of public, research and civil society organisations, concerned to promote availability of safe, healthy food for Kampala. Current member organisations include Kampala City Council, Makerere University, the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, Environmental Alert (a development NGO), the National Agricultural Research Organisation (NARO), and Urban Harvest.

The **Process and Partnership for Pro-Poor Policy Change Project (PPPPPC)**, implemented by ILRI and ODI and funded by DFID, is trying to better understand how pro-poor policies develop, to share lessons and to support organisational change towards more effective ways of influencing pro-poor policy change. (www.pppppc.org)

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List of Acronyms:

AEO	Agricultural Extension Officer
CGIAR	Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research
CIAT	International Centre for Tropical Agriculture
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CIP	International Potato Centre
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DDG	Deputy Director General
DFID	Department for International Development
DFID-LPP	DFID Livestock Production Programme
GWCS	Gender, Welfare and Community Services
HCC	Health Coordination Committee
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
IITA	International Institute of Tropical Agriculture
ILRI	International Livestock Research Institute
KADFA	Kampala District Farmers' Association
KCC	Kampala City Council
KUFSALCC	Kampala Urban Food Security and Livestock Coordination Committee
LC	Local Council
LEO	Law Enforcement Officer
LGA	Local Government Act
MAAIF	Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries
MDPESA	Municipal Development Partnership for Eastern and Southern Africa
MISR	Makerere Institute of Social Research
MoJCA-FPC	Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs – First Parliamentary Counsel
NARO	National Agricultural Research Organisation
NEMA	National Environment Management Authority
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
PAF	Poverty Action Fund
PEAP	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
PHO	Public Health Officer
PMA	Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture
PPPPPC	Process and Partnership for Pro-Poor Policy Change project
RAPID	Research and Policy in Development
RC	Resistance Council
RELMA	Regional Land Management Unit
ROA	RAPID Outcome Assessment
SICDA	Social Improvement, Community Development and Antiquities
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SIDA-SAREC	SIDA Department for Research Cooperation
SIUPA	Strategic Initiative on Urban and Peri-urban Agriculture
UA	Urban agriculture
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
ULRC	Uganda Law Reform Commission
UN	United Nations
UN HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UNAFA	Uganda National Farmers' Association

Executive Summary

Introduction

This working paper presents an analysis of actors, events and influences affecting a policy change on urban agriculture in Kampala. It is an output of the International Livestock Research Institute's (ILRI's) and Overseas Development Institute's (ODI's) 'Process and Partnership for Pro-poor Policy Change' (PPPPC) project, which, through case studies with national and international partners, seeks to identify and institutionalise innovative research and development mechanisms and approaches that lead to pro-poor policy.

Urban agriculture and livestock keeping has always been part of Kampala's economy and an important livelihood strategy for the city's urban poor, especially women. The policy environment has, however, been unfavourable or hostile because of perceived nuisance and public health risks. In May 2005, a set of five ordinances¹ was passed which recognised the right of city residents to grow food and raise livestock. This is a significant achievement for Kampala; urban agriculture is, at best, only tacitly accepted across sub-Saharan Africa and is often banned.

Approach

This study reviewed the policy and institutional changes related to urban agriculture that occurred in Kampala from 1990 to 2006 and examined how and why they came about. It was done in close collaboration with the Kampala Urban Food Security, Agriculture and Livestock Coordinating Committee (KUFSAALCC), a coalition of actors in Kampala, and the Urban Harvest programme of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR), led by the International Potato Centre (CIP).

Analysing policy processes is difficult because of the wide range of factors affecting them. The approach used here combined elements of three established methodologies:

1. Episode studies – tracking back from a policy change to identify and evaluate key influences and events.
2. Case study analysis – tracking forward from activities to assess their impact on policy change.
3. Outcome Mapping – focusing on factors influencing behaviour changes of key actors.

For this case study, the episode study component was central, with the case study and Outcome Mapping components used to cross-check and deepen the analysis. Material was collected through: (i) literature review and commissioning of a timeline of key events; (ii) interviews with key actors in these events and the formal process leading to the new urban agriculture ordinances; (iii) a workshop to map out behaviour changes of key actors and finalise a map of key events and influences; and (iv) follow-up interviews and literature search to cross-check findings.

¹ A law made by a non-sovereign body (i.e. other than the state) such as a city council, also known as a byelaw.

This information was assembled into three overlapping narratives:

1. A timeline of activities that played a role in changing attitudes and behaviour towards urban agriculture (**see Section 3.1**).
2. An analysis of the development of policies affecting urban agriculture in Kampala, including the new ordinances (**see Section 3.2**).
3. A description of behaviour change of key actors related to the policy change (**see Section 3.3**).

These were summarised in a visual representation of the process and influences (**see Section 3.4**) and analysed using a framework emphasising political context and the roles of evidence, linkages and external environment.

Results: Narratives on the policy change process

Timeline of key events

In Kampala, urban agriculture has been increasingly practised since independence, despite prevailing unfavourable laws. Until the early 1990s there were few activities to support urban agriculture or even to document and study it. With support from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Daniel Maxwell, an American student, carried out seminal research in 1988 which demonstrated the role of urban agriculture as an economic strategy of the poor and its impact on food security. During his research, links were made both with Agricultural Extension Officers (AEOs) and with policy makers, although most policy makers remained sceptical about the practice. The Kampala Urban Study of 1994 produced recommendations on urban agriculture for the City Structure Plan but these were not implemented. Through the 1990s, research was carried out by students at Makerere University, increasing the body of evidence, and IDRC established a programme of international research into urban agriculture.

After decentralisation in 1993, the Kampala District AEO, now working under Kampala City Council (KCC) but receiving little support, started to build capacity for urban agriculture work, mainly through collaboration with NGOs. One such NGO, Environmental Alert, had started urban agriculture activities in Kampala to support food security and income generation, combining awareness-building for local politicians with the more practical activities. By 1999, despite many people within KCC still regarding urban agriculture as illegal, there was more open collaboration between KCC, NGOs and researchers.

In 1999, the CGIAR established what was to become their Urban Harvest programme. Along with the initiatives from IDRC and others, this marked more systematic and coordinated international research into urban agriculture. The resulting regional meetings exposed Kampala's technical officers, research community, NGOs and politicians to wider thinking on urban agriculture practice and policy. From 2002, two research programmes were established in Kampala. These brought together the previously informal coalition of local partners into more formal collaboration, involving KCC, Makerere University, Environmental Alert, the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAIF), the National Agricultural Research Organisation (NARO) and others, with Urban Harvest playing a coordinating role. The research projects, which included a wide range of socio-economic and technical research, ran from 2002 to 2005/6, and cemented the coalition of actors more formally through the establishment of a Health Coordination

Committee (HCC) to steer one project. Policy issues became a major focus. A review of local laws by KCC, started in 1999, resulted in new ordinances being drafted, including some on urban agriculture but the process then stalled. Although the proposed ordinances were considered to be unfavourable to urban agriculture and not evidence-based, they were identified as a target to influence.

Meanwhile, other influential events were taking place beyond Kampala. The '*Feeding Cities in the Horn of Africa*' ministerial meeting in Addis Ababa, produced a declaration on the need for appropriate policy changes to support urban food security, including urban food production. During other regional meetings held in 2003, the Kampala team developed a plan for implementing urban agriculture and livestock research, policy and planning in the city, including advocating for supportive legislation. Funding for a consultation process was secured from the UK's Department for International Development (DFID).

In August 2003, under this funding, KCC with the coalition of HCC actors held a series of consultative workshops in Kampala. A wide range of stakeholders were exposed to research evidence together with practical experiences of urban agriculture and they also reviewed the draft ordinances. The consultation resulted in stakeholder recommendations for revision to the drafts, and the HCC was requested to support the revision process.

The member organisations of the HCC were, by now, a recognised and respected team who continued to play a critical role in the process which eventually led to the new ordinances. There was also now high-level political support from the Mayor of Kampala. Following further consultation with key KCC staff, new drafts of five urban agriculture ordinances were passed by the Council in January 2004. It was agreed that the HCC would help KCC pilot and test the new ordinances and also produce a series of guidelines to facilitate their implementation.

In 2004, the HCC became the Kampala Urban Food Security, Agriculture and Livestock Coordinating Committee (KUFSAALCC), able to attract and manage funds. This marked the formalisation of this group which had worked together since the late 1990s. KUFSAALCC developed plans for production, distribution and field testing of guidelines to the ordinances and received DFID funding to support the harmonisation and legal drafting of the agreed ordinances. The Mayor of Kampala finally gave his assent to the new ordinances on 11th May 2005.

Development of policies affecting urban agriculture in Kampala

Urban agriculture has been shaped by influences, including civil war and structural adjustment policies. Even during difficult times, widespread malnutrition was not observed in Kampala as urban agriculture was used as an effective survival strategy. Kampala's complex land tenure system has led to a wide variety of formal and informal forms of access to land for farming. Prior to 1990, policies did not recognize urban agriculture; national agricultural legislation assumed rural production, whilst some specific urban laws had elements broadly interpreted as prohibiting the activity.

In 1993, following decentralisation, Local Councils (LCs) were established made up of five levels of elected councillors. Under this system, Kampala City is a district, made up of five divisions, with the Mayor as its political head. This change had two

key effects. First, politicians in urban areas were more exposed to the issues affecting their voters. In time this started changing attitudes towards urban agriculture. Second, technical officers were relocated from Ministries to KCC. AEOs received little support within KCC for their activities, but continued working, seeking out support and resources from NGOs and reporting on urban agriculture to their superiors. Planning, public health and other KCC officers were also reporting on the issue, emphasising the lack of an effective legal framework. Although the 1994 Urban Structure Plan incorporated recommendations from the Kampala Urban Study that urban agriculture should be allowed within the city, attitudes within KCC remained predominantly negative.

In 1997, the Local Government Act (1997) gave powers to LCs, including KCC, to make new legislation. The changes also enabled committees of senior officers and politicians to establish effective links with technical officers. Urban agriculture was discussed at technical committee level and officers were able to back up their observations with research findings. Also in 1997, the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) was published, including the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA), and these have shaped most new policy in Uganda. Aiming to reduce poverty through “*a profitable, competitive, sustainable and dynamic agricultural and agro-industrial sector*” the PMA nevertheless made no mention of urban agriculture. However, the Poverty Action Fund (PAF) – the budgetary vehicle for funding poverty-related activities - has been increasingly used for agricultural activities in Kampala.

In 1999, KCC started an internal review of city ordinances. The KCC committee overseeing agriculture had already recommended specific legislation to cover urban agriculture. By 2001 six new ordinances dealing with urban agriculture had been drafted. Although many stakeholders regarded these as biased towards control and regulation, KCC was reluctant to revisit a process it felt was complete. However, high-level political support for urban agriculture was increasing. When the HCC obtained funding, KCC agreed to a consultation process, following which revised drafts were produced. Five urban agriculture ordinances were passed by the KCC Executive Committee in January 2004. Following harmonisation to ensure congruency with national law, the ‘Bills for Ordinances’ received the Mayor’s consent in May 2005.

Whilst this process of developing local laws was done in the absence of a national policy on urban agriculture, a process has now been started by the MAAIF to develop such a policy. And whilst there is still no mention in the PMA, the most recent version of the PEAP specifies urban agriculture as an area requiring policy attention.

Behaviour change of key actors

Agricultural Extension Officers: Initially with little support from KCC, the District AEO started working with partners on urban agriculture. Regular interactions also improved difficult relationships with other technical officers. Their raised profile from these activities, and structural changes within KCC, enabled AEOs to play a lead role in the development of the new ordinances. The AEOs developed into a very strong team, playing an advocacy role within KCC to promote urban agriculture.

Fisheries Officers and Veterinary Officers are now also actively and openly carrying out extension activities and taking part in cross-sectoral activities.

Other technical officers: Planning, Public Health and Law Enforcement Officers initially had no interest in urban agriculture, other than when it directly affected their areas of responsibility, when they grappled with the lack of an effective policy framework. Interaction with the AEOs improved understanding of the links between their activities, and they were closely involved in the consultation process leading to the new ordinances, ensuring that they were practical and enforceable.

Elected politicians: Having previously shown little interest, following decentralisation politicians started to become more responsive to the issues facing their constituents, including urban agriculture. The 1997 Local Government Act led to closer linkages between politicians and technical officers. Attitudes towards urban agriculture began to change. Political leadership from a City Minister and eventually the Mayor helped drive the development of new supportive ordinances. Several influences affected these changed attitudes, including exposure through visits, evidence from KCC officers and regional meetings, and lobbying between politicians.

Throughout **urban farmers** have been very consistent in their behaviour. Their continuing with urban agriculture, in spite of the unfavourable policy environment, was a major influence on the behaviour of other actors. Urban farmers have become more organised groups, through bodies such as Kampala District Farmers' Association (KADFA), and their level of confidence increased when they realised politicians had to respond to their needs. Improved support services have led to adoption of some new practices, such as zero-grazing cattle.

Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have increased their urban agriculture activities since the mid 1990s. They have aimed to influence others, for example through close involvement with community leaders and exposure visits for various actors. Since 2000, NGOs have been openly advocating for policy change and actively supporting the participatory process of developing new ordinances.

Research Organisations: Little research on urban agriculture was done in Kampala before Maxwell, but since the early 1990s there has been a gradual increase. More recently research has been done more collaboratively, linking into international initiatives, involving a range of different actors and usually including policy issues. The Kampala example is now used as an example of how research can influence policy.

Central Government: Following the transfer of AEOs to KCC, the behaviour of certain MAAIF staff in continuing to support their activities proved very important. Urban agriculture now has a higher profile within MAAIF, which is reflected in their plan to develop a national policy.

Analysis

Based on all these findings, a visual representation of the process leading to policy change has been developed (see Figures 1 and 2). The findings have also been analysed using the RAPID '*Context-Evidence-Links*' (CEL) framework.

Political context

Urban agriculture in Kampala was driven by economic necessity, shaped by land tenure laws and practiced in an adverse policy environment, demonstrating that legislation alone will be ineffective if it is not based on the reality of people's lives.

Development of the new ordinances was enabled by two key policy shifts. First, decentralisation and devolved law making brought local accountability and meant politicians had to be responsive to voters' needs. Despite the initially negative effect on the activities of AEOs, committee structures allowed evidence from technical officers to feed into the process. Previously little change had occurred, possibly related to lack of resources to implement recommendations. Notably, the change in Kampala occurred despite the lack of a national policy, the normal prerequisite for development of new laws.

Second, the PEAP put poverty reduction at the heart of national and local policy. Practices important for poor people's livelihoods were prioritised and civil society could hold leaders responsible for taking action. Political leadership was a hugely important factor. Initially sceptical, the Mayor played a key role in influencing others; but even more influential was the high-level support that came from the City Minister.

Evidence: Relevance, credibility and communication

Research evidence played a key role in the changed attitude and behaviour towards urban agriculture in Kampala and development of new laws. The evidence was **relevant** mainly owing to involvement of key actors in all stages of the research – from Maxwell's links with both farmers and policy actors, through participatory approaches used during later collaborations. Involvement of technical officers rooted research in real and relevant issues, as did NGOs' experiences from their field activities. Socio-economic evidence gave the answers as to *why* policy should change; technical research informed the *how*.

The involvement of research organisations such as Makerere University and international organisations, together with Maxwell's PhD research, ensured evidence was **credible**. The AEOs and NGOs used this research to complement their own evidence and experiences.

A variety of means were used to **communicate** evidence. KCC technical officers were involved in conducting field work and, from the earliest to most recent research, key people for influencing were targeted through meetings and workshops (locally and regionally). The involvement of KCC and other actors in these collaborative approaches gave 'ownership' of the evidence, increasing its perceived relevance for decision makers. Field visits supported by NGOs were important in communicating evidence, as were the guidelines that KUFSAALCC and Urban Harvest developed.

Linkages

Collaboration in service delivery, research and advocacy has been a key feature of urban agriculture activities. Links between KCC and NGOs in the mid 1990s expanded to include research actors. Collaborative and participatory research and development strengthened these into more formal linkages, culminating in the formation of KUFSAALCC. Strategic thinking and effective networking by key individuals ensured that these linkages developed and functioned effectively. When

more overt advocacy activities were needed, the range of actors involved meant that each could use their own positions and strengths, bypassing institutional constraints.

Some key individuals acted as ‘champions’ in the process. While this was very effective, there are some potential downsides to reliance on such individuals; loss of people who are the main link to an organisation can effectively distance that organisation from the process.

External influences

Support for urban agriculture in Kampala has been influenced by the donor priorities of the time, which are subject to change. The timely and creative injection of donor funds to clear bottlenecks in the change process proved critical.

Lessons and conclusion

Certain lessons can be drawn from this case study and analysis of the policy process in Kampala. It is important, however, to point out the specific nature of this policy process: any lessons should be considered in this context.

- **Decentralisation and national policy processes:** Against a background of mixed experiences from the decentralisation processes, here it seems that devolved decision-making has worked in addressing the needs of the poor. It has also stimulated moves towards a national policy change.
- **Strong political leadership** is a hugely important driver of change. Such people can be influenced to change their minds and finding appropriate strategies to do so can be very important.
- **Participation and consultation** are important and help to ensure the inclusion of appropriate evidence into new policies. Whilst potentially an expensive process, this leads to much better policies.
- **Evidence must be used and communicated appropriately**, which will differ within and between policy processes. In this case, it involved targeting key people for meetings, use of field visits, and the use of effective internal reporting structures, with less reliance on written material.
- **A broad range of evidence**, both socio-economic and technical, helped to answer both the *why* and the *how* questions during the policy change process.
- **Diverse partnerships and networks** can be very valuable. The mix of civil society organisations, local and central government and both national and international research organisations brought a breadth of perspectives and expertise, although this can be hard to manage.
- **‘Champions’** can play a key role, and can come from different ‘levels’. Identification and support of such people, whether at political or technical level, is likely to be a good investment.
- **Multiple strategies** may be needed for lobbying and advocacy. Decision makers may be influenced in different ways and a varied approach to advocacy is likely to be more effective.
- The **timely availability of resources** can be critical to remove blockages. Donors who can use funds in innovative ways to maintain momentum in policy change processes are likely to result in better outcomes.

1 Introduction

1.1 The ‘Process and Partnership for Pro-Poor Policy Change’ Project

This working paper forms part of International Livestock Research Institute’s (ILRI’s) and Overseas Development Institute’s (ODI’s) ‘Process and Partnership for Pro-poor Policy Change’ (PPPPC) project, which seeks to identify and institutionalise innovative research and development mechanisms and approaches that lead to pro-poor policy. The project is a response to the need to understand better the processes and mechanisms that lead to pro-poor decisions at policy level, and aims to provide recommendations to improve the impact of work by ILRI and its partners. Through a series of case studies of policy change processes in East Africa, lessons will be drawn to inform research and development partners about ways of working that are more likely to achieve positive pro-poor policy outcomes.

In collaborating with ODI, ILRI has been able to draw on considerable experience gained through ODI’s Research and Policy in Development (RAPID) programme, to develop new learning methodologies for use in the PPPPC project. RAPID² aims to improve the use of research and evidence in development policy and practice and has four main themes, the first and last of which are particularly relevant to the PPPPC project:

1. The use of evidence in policy identification, development and implementation
2. Improving communication and information systems for development agencies
3. Better knowledge management to enhance impact of development agencies
4. Promotion and capacity building for evidence-based policy.

This paper presents an analysis of the process that culminated in new city ordinances on urban agriculture³ in Kampala. This study was done in partnership with the Kampala Urban Food Security, Agriculture and Livestock Coordinating Committee (KUFSAALCC), an alliance of public, research and civil society organisations which promotes availability of safe, healthy food for Kampala, and with the Urban Harvest programme of the International Potato Centre (CIP). Both organisations have been closely involved in research and development activities in urban agriculture in Kampala.

² See <http://www.odi.org.uk/rapid>

³ In this paper the term ‘urban agriculture’ includes growing crops, rearing livestock, fish farming and forestry.

1.2 Urban agricultural practice in Kampala⁴

Kampala, Uganda's capital and largest city, is made up of almost 200 square kilometres of flat-topped hills and wide, shallow valleys. Its estimated population of 1.2 million inhabitants⁵ is rising by some 3.3% yearly, mainly owing to rural-urban migration (GoU, 2005a).

Urban agriculture has always been part of Kampala's economy. Uganda's recent turbulent history has encouraged self-reliance. During the dictatorial rule of Idi Amin (1971-1979) and the civil war in the 1980s, inhabitants of Kampala and other urban centres increasingly relied on subsistence food production (Maxwell 1994). The city's large peri-urban area provides land suitable for agriculture⁶, and large numbers of rural poor have migrated to the city. Poverty levels⁷ in urban areas are typically lower than in rural areas⁸, but there were still some 15% of Kampala's residents in living below the poverty line in the 1990s (UBOS/ILRI, 2004)⁹. Unemployment levels are also high, at 16.5% open unemployment (22.5% for women) with significant underemployment (GoU, 2005c). Against this background, urban farming remains a good survival option¹⁰.

Today, almost half the land in Kampala is used for agriculture. An estimated 30% of households farm, nearly all of them on plots of smaller than one acre. Over 60% of urban farmers are women. Staple crops predominate (cassava, sweet potatoes, beans, maize, bananas and cocoyams), although leafy vegetables and mushrooms are increasingly being grown. Predominant livestock are chickens (for eggs and meat) and dairy cattle, but pig-keeping and fish-farming are also increasing (Maxwell, 1995; Nasinyama et al., 2005).

The economic, social and ecological importance of urban agriculture in developing countries is now well known. It improves urban food and nutritional security, supports income-generation and employment, and allows productive utilisation of otherwise idle land (IDRC, 2004). In addition it recycles some household and domestic waste, provides a training resource for urban school children, represents a source of tax

⁴ This section draws heavily on Nasinyama et al., (2005) "Effecting Policy Change and Implementation in Urban and Peri-Urban agriculture and Livestock Keeping: The Kampala Experience" Paper presented at the International Conference on Urban and Peri-urban Agriculture in West and Central Africa, 31st Oct – 5th Nov 2005 in Yaoundé, Cameroon.

⁵ Based on the 2002 census, and making up an estimated 280,000 households.

⁶ Contributing to this has been the political expansion of Kampala's boundaries in 1968, combined with natural city growth, which has brought in large areas of farmland and farming communities

⁷ Measured as a 'headcount index' of the percentage of people living below the official poverty line. This line was US\$ 17,314 for Central Region urban areas in 1992 and US\$ 23,150 in 2002 (UBOS/ILRI, 2004 & 2007).

⁸ The most recent aggregate national poverty headcount index is 42% for rural dwellers and 12% for urban dwellers (GoU, 2005b).

⁹ The 1990s represent the period of much of the research and other activities described in this report. The most recent official figures suggest this headcount index is now significantly lower, at 5.5% based on 2002-3 surveys (UBOS/ILRI, 2007). However, it must be remembered that poverty definitions and levels are contested (see GoU, 2002).

¹⁰ One of the main arguments made by proponents of urban agriculture, based on research evidence, is the key role it has historically played, and continues to play, in preventing households in Kampala dropping below the poverty line (Maxwell, 1994 & 1995; IDRC, 2004).

revenue, and contributes to the greening of towns and cities. Until the mid 1990s, however, research evidence was lacking.

In Kampala, as elsewhere, both authorities and the public have concerns regarding perceived public health risk: creation of breeding sites for mosquitoes, harbouring of vermin and transmission of zoonotic diseases¹¹. Fears also exist that the food grown could be contaminated with toxic chemicals, industrial effluents and exhaust emissions. Other concerns include road accidents caused by crops obstructing drivers' visibility or roaming livestock, siltation of drainage channels, pollution from poorly disposed livestock wastes and general nuisance from poorly managed livestock, and the risk that tall, bushy crops could conceal criminals. Planners have generally not considered urban agriculture to be consistent with a modern city environment.

1.3 Urban agriculture policy change in Kampala

In May 2005, the Mayor of Kampala gave his final assent to a set of five ordinances, acknowledging the legal right of residents to grow food and raise livestock within the city limits for individual or commercial purposes.

This policy change in Kampala is a significant achievement. Urban agriculture is, at best, only tacitly accepted across sub-Saharan Africa and is often banned. Whilst it is increasingly recognized that urban agriculture plays an important role in the livelihoods of the poor, it is still often seen as a marginal activity.

This working paper presents a description and analysis of the process that led to new laws on urban agriculture in Kampala and the associated changes in attitude and behaviour of key actors.

1.4 The paper

The paper first describes the methodology developed and used. This was adapted to the requirements of this case, learning lessons from its application in a previous case study on dairy policy in Kenya (Leksmono et al., 2006).

It goes on to review the policy and institutional changes that occurred in the area of urban agriculture in Kampala, from the early 1990s through to the present day, and describes how and why these changes came about. Whilst it follows the development of the actual written policy on urban agriculture, it also uses this as a vehicle to focus on the underlying changes in attitude towards the practice amongst a range of key stakeholders.

These changes are then analysed using the RAPID framework, focusing on political context, role of evidence, linkages between actors and external influences. Finally, conclusions are made about the factors that led to the change in policy – lessons that could be used by others seeking to play a role in pro-poor policy processes.

¹¹ Zoonotic diseases are those capable of being transmitted between animals and humans, including tuberculosis, brucellosis, plague and jiggers.

2 Research Framework and Approach

2.1 An approach for understanding policy processes

Evaluating the impact of research on policy and practice is difficult. An enormous range of different factors - waxing and waning and in different combinations over time - influence most policy processes. Attributing causality to specific factors is problematic as different approaches tend to emphasise different sets of factors. Numerous approaches have attempted to understand and explain policy processes, and in particular the role of evidence. These have moved from 'linear' to more complex models, attempting to capture the more irrational elements in what was previously considered to be a rational self-interest-based process. A comprehensive review of these models and approaches can be found in de Vibe et al (2002) and Crewe and Young (2002).

ODI's RAPID programme has been working to improve the use of research and evidence in development policy and practice for a number of years (ODI, 2004) and is developing an approach which combines elements from three well established methodologies, namely:

Episode studies of specific policy changes: tracking back from policy changes to identify key actors and decisions and assessing the relative importance of different factors, which might have included research-based evidence. This is the approach commonly used by ODI (see <http://www.odi.org.uk/RAPID/Publications>). It tends to emphasise political factors whilst possibly underemphasising the role of research.

Case study analysis of specific research projects: tracking forwards from specific research, development and related activities implemented by specific projects / organisations, to assess their impact. This is an approach used by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) (see <http://www.ifpri.org/impact/iadp02.pdf>). This approach tends to overemphasise the importance of research.

Mapping behaviour changes: identifying changes in behaviour of key actors and analysing what was done or happened to bring about these changes. This component draws heavily on the Outcome Mapping approach developed by IDRC (see http://web.idrc.ca/en/ev-64698-201-1-DO_TOPIC.html).

This combination of approaches was developed into an approach called the Research and Policy in Development Outcome Assessment (RAPID Outcome Assessment or ROA) for the first of the case studies carried out by the PPPPPC project. That case study focused on changes in policy in Kenya's smallholder dairy sector (Leksmono et al., 2006). Following the experiences of this application of the ROA, the approach was adapted slightly for this second case study, strengthening in particular the episode study component and using a workshop to enhance and verify the episode study and case study components.

The ROA approach triangulates information collected, using a combination of approaches to obtain a more balanced assessment of the relative contribution of a project or programme's activities on changes in policy or the policy environment. For this case study, which focused on a clear change in policy, the episode study

component was key in understanding the process leading to the change in the law. But the simultaneous application of behaviour change and case study elements captured wider issues of attitudes and behaviour, together with events more distant from the formal process of the development of the new ordinances.

2.2 Application of the approach in Kampala

A key entry point was collaboration with a coalition of actors in Kampala who have been closely involved in the development of the new ordinances. The KUFSAALCC is an alliance of public, research and civil society organisations, concerned to promote availability of safe, healthy food in Kampala. Current member organisations include Kampala City Council (KCC), Makerere University, the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAIF), Environmental Alert (an NGO), Urban Harvest (the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) international research initiative on urban agriculture) and the National Agricultural Research Organisation (NARO).

KUFSAALCC members have been working for some years to support policy and institutional reform in the field of urban agriculture in Kampala. In collaboration with KCC they have played a key role in the development of new city ordinances. CIP has been involved in urban agriculture research over a number of years throughout the world, including in Kampala, mainly through leading the CGIAR's Urban Harvest programme. CIP is also focused on delivering pro-poor outcomes at policy level and on learning from involvement in such processes. Whilst KUFSAALCC and CIP-Urban Harvest were collaborators in this case study, the research approach used ensured that there was no overemphasis of their own roles in the policy process.

The following approach was used to collect information for the ROA:

1. An initial literature review of documentation supplied by KUFSAALCC and Urban Harvest.
2. Commissioning of a timeline of key events and actors.
3. Close interaction with KUFSAALCC and Urban Harvest to identify key actors for episode study interview and participants at the case study workshop – this list enhanced by findings from the literature review and timeline.
4. Episode study interviews with key actors.
5. A workshop¹² with key actors. The purpose of the workshop was to map behaviour changes of actors in the process, to finalise a map of events and influences, and to start to draw lessons. The specific activities were:
 - a Identification of key actors in the process leading to changes in urban agriculture policy in Kampala.
 - b Description of key behaviour changes in these key actors, and the reasons for this change.
 - c Verification of a timeline of key events and influences in the policy process.

¹² A full description of the workshop programme, activities and outputs can be found on the project website:

<http://www.ppppc.org/content/files/documents/Kampala%20workshop%20report%20final%202028-03-06.pdf>.

- d Discussion of initial lessons learned from this policy process.
6. Follow-up interviews and a literature search to cross-check findings from the preceding stages and deepen the analysis.

The information collected was then assembled into overlapping narratives, each with a slightly different perspective:

1. A description and timeline of activities that played a role in changing attitudes and behaviour towards urban agriculture. This corresponds largely with the case study component of the ROA (see Section 3.1).
2. A description of the development of policies affecting urban agriculture in Kampala, culminating in the passing of the new city ordinances – the episode study component (see Section 3.2).
3. A description of key actors and changes in their behaviour. This corresponds to the Outcome Mapping element of the ROA approach, and is based on workshop outputs, triangulated with findings from episode study and case study interviews (see Section 3.3).

Workshop exercises and interviews were also used to determine which events and influences had been the most important out of all those identified. These key events and the way they link together are depicted in Section 3.4.

The results from all these approaches were analysed using an analytical framework developed by ODI's RAPID programme. This framework looks at the process and influences from the perspectives of political context, role and use of evidence, role of linkages and the effect of external environment. The four components of this *Context-Evidence-Links* (CEL) framework can provide the user with in-depth information regarding policy windows, key policy actors and networks, gaps in the existing evidence, alternative means of communication, and trends and changes in the external environment. Analysing complex issues is difficult, but this tool can be used to ease the process. It presents some of the key questions that the researcher or policy entrepreneur should answer when examining critical factors leading to policy change outcomes.

Appendix 1 contains a full description of the ROA and the approach used for this case study, including lessons learned from the application of the approach.

Appendix 2 gives a full description of the RAPID CEL framework.

3 Results: Narratives on the policy change process

This chapter presents findings from the combination of approaches which resulted in different but related narratives (sections 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3). Whilst each section has a particular focus, the overlapping nature of the narratives inevitably means that some events or influences are described in more than one section; links are made to the section describing them in more detail.

3.1 Key events and activities in the urban agriculture policy change process

This section describes key events in the process leading to the new city ordinances. Some of the information comes from the timeline of events but this was considerably enhanced with the outputs of interviews with key actors, and further enhanced and verified through the case study workshop.

The focus is on research and development activities, undertaken between the early 1990s and 2005, that proved to be of significance for policy change in Kampala. Events and influences in the formal process of development of the new ordinances are mentioned in this section, but are covered in more detail in Section 3.2.

3.1.1 Urban agriculture appears on the agenda (early 1990s)

Throughout the decades since independence, urban agriculture has been increasingly practiced in Kampala, despite prevailing colonial-era laws which were interpreted as banning farming in the city. Notwithstanding this, the formal and informal systems of landholding were mostly based on peasant agriculture (Maxwell 1994). Despite its increasing importance, few activities were carried out to support, document or study the practice, beyond some extension services provided by MAAIF agricultural officers.

In the late 1980s, the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) started supporting research into aspects of urban agriculture. This included a small study carried out in 1988 by an American researcher, Daniel Maxwell. He had been struck by the prevalence of agriculture activities in Kampala. When he tried to discuss the issue with a government planning official, the meeting was terminated because it dealt with an 'illegal activity' – an attitude typical of officialdom at that time (Maxwell, personal communication). Nevertheless, the study went ahead and surveyed 150 households.

The results showed that, far from being a marginal activity, urban agriculture was an important livelihood strategy for households. Some 36% of Kampala households, drawn from all socio-economic groups, were engaged in some sort of agricultural production in the city, with women dominating among the producers. The majority grew food directly for household consumption, though many also sold a significant amount in order to supplement their incomes.

After the research, a meeting was held in 1990, at which the results were presented to a group of academics, NGOs and officials. Responses were rather cool; issues of concern included the image of the city and ill-defined public health risks.

However, the findings were sufficiently interesting for Maxwell to base his PhD thesis on urban agriculture in Kampala. Significantly, given the responses to the earlier research, it was clear to Maxwell that policy issues would be a key component and he made efforts to engage policymakers at the start of the research in 1991. Some officials showed some interest: a senior public health official was interested to hear of any nutritional or health benefits associated with the practice; a senior official from MAAIF was interested in its economic importance. This input from the policymakers helped focus his research on policy-relevant questions. Linkages were also made to the Kampala Urban Study (Van Nostrand, 1994), a contribution to the proposed Kampala Urban Structure Plan, which had been looking at informal sector activities in relation to urban planning.

Maxwell's PhD had three objectives: to understand how agriculture was incorporated into the economic strategies of urban households; to explore formal and informal means of access to urban land for an 'illegal' activity; and to measure the impact of urban farming in terms of food security and nutritional status. This research backed up earlier findings that showed a clear relationship between urban farming and improvements in long-term nutritional status of children and food security, and that this was strongest among low and very low income groups (Maxwell, 1994).

Following presentation of these findings at a conference in Toronto in 1993, IDRC agreed to fund a seminar in Kampala, organised by the Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR) and NARO. Held at the end of 1993, the seminar was attended by local and national politicians, government ministries, KCC officials, researchers and representatives of international agencies, as well as some woman farmers who had taken part in the survey. It focused on urban agricultural practices and related policy issues.

Officials at the meeting were interested in the results but initially suggested that urban agriculture was not desirable and should not be tolerated. Their comments provoked a heated response from the woman farmers. By the end of the meeting, consensus emerged that the legal status of urban agriculture may be unfair and should be reviewed (Maxwell, personal communication). Action on this matter, however, was very slow to follow.

These two IDRC-funded activities proved to be pivotal in many ways. The impacts of this research, in terms of use by policymakers, effects on local institutions and development of local partnerships, have been reviewed by Atukunda (1998) and are outlined in the Analysis section of this report.

Further research activities were carried out in Kampala in the early to mid 1990s (see Table 1). Meanwhile in 1993 in Canada, IDRC established a multi-disciplinary team charged with supporting research on urban agriculture as one of four thrusts of its new

Urban Environment Management Program¹³. This marked the beginning of more systematic research into the subject, a significant amount of which was conducted in Kampala. In 1995 IDRC went on to establish the Cities Feeding People programme.

Table 1: Urban agriculture research in Kampala: late 1980s to 2001

Year	Subject	Researcher(s)	Full title	Research type
1987	Child nutrition in urban Kampala	Riley, I.E.	Nutrition and health survey of Kawempe sub-district.	Report for Save the Children Fund
1990	Child nutrition in urban Kampala	Kakitahi, J. & Zimbe, I.	Nutrition of infants and young children in urban communities in Kampala	Workshop paper
1990	Urban agriculture practices in Kampala	Maxwell, D. & Zziwa, S.	Urban agriculture: A case study of Kampala	IDRC Funded study
1993	Comprehensive study of UA* as an economic strategy, impacts on nutrition, and issues of land access for UA.	Maxwell, D.	Labor, land, food and farming: A household analysis of urban agriculture in Kampala, Uganda	PhD research
1996	Urban agriculture practices in Jinja Town	Byaruhanga, J.	Agricultural practices in urban setting in Walukuba Zone, Jinja Town	MA research
1996	Women farming in Kampala wetlands	Nakijoba, V	Effects of wetland reclamation on women's socio-economic survival: A case study of Kampala District	MA research
1997	Women's economic empowerment in Kampala	Musimenta, P	Urban agriculture and women's socio-economic empowerment: A case study of Kiswa and Luwafu areas in Kampala City	MA research
1997	Peri-urban dairy systems	Tumutegereze, K	Comparative analysis of zero grazing and the fenced dairy production systems in peri-urban areas of Kampala	MSc research
1998	Peri-urban forestry	Mwebesa, M	Marketing of forest products from the Pilot Private Wood Farmers' Component of the Peri-Urban Plantations Project	MSc research
1999	Peri-urban household food security	Turyashemererwa, B	Household food security in peri-urban areas: A study of Matugga Parish, Mpigi District	BSc research
2001	Heavy metal contamination of UA in Kampala	Nabulo, G	An Assessment of Heavy Metal Uptake by Food Crops and Vegetables Grown in Kampala City Area (Uganda)	PhD research
2001	Informal food markets for urban poor in Kampala	Muwanga Musisi, J.	Informal food markets, household food provisioning and consumption patterns among the urban poor: A case study of Nakawa Division, Kampala City	MSc research
2001	Land tenure & urban development in Kampala	Nawangwe, B. et al.	Land tenure and administrative issues in Kampala and their effects on urban development	SIDA commissioned study

*UA – urban agriculture

During the mid-1990s, despite the negative attitudes of many, evidence was mounting to demonstrate that urban farming was associated with better nutrition in children (Kakitahi and Zimbe, 1990) and that women's involvement in urban agriculture played a vital role in household food security. Maxwell's own work appeared in various publications, arguing that "...urban farming could be granted short term legitimacy in its current form, while issues of land-use planning, rezoning and

¹³ This was just after the 1992 Rio Earth Summit when sustainable development, including urban development, was of increased interest.

compensation, and a review of municipal byelaws could be undertaken at a specified time in the future. The evidence on the nutritional and food security status of households that have had some access to land in the city for farming should strengthen the case to be made for such a policy option” (Maxwell, 1994).

3.1.2 Start of collaborative research and development approaches (1993-99)

In 1993, a system of decentralised government was introduced in Uganda. This resulted in a much closer linkage between elected politicians, who now enjoyed new legislative powers, and their constituents. Significant changes also occurred in the way technical officers worked and reported, and in the way politicians interacted with technical officers. This process, its constitutional basis and impact are described in Sections 3.2 and 3.3.

In conducting their day-to-day business, as well as during campaigning, politicians were exposed to the reality of their constituents’ lives, including urban agriculture. Another key effect was the ‘relocation’ of technical officers from ministries, including the MAAIF, to local authorities, in this case KCC. Initially KCC gave agriculture was a low priority: agricultural extension officers (AEOs) were allocated no office space and continued to operate from a Kampala office of the MAAIF, with the support of a Senior Agricultural Officer in the Department of Crop Production and Marketing. Despite these problems, however, dedicated officers continued to work in innovative ways (see Section 3.3).

In 1998, a local NGO, Environmental Alert, started a programme on urban food security in a division of Kampala. Environmental Alert, formed in 1988 as the country emerged from civil war, aimed to fight food insecurity and poverty and promote sustainable development. They used research data (Kakitahi and Zimbe, 1990 & 2000) to help plan their interventions, and collaborated closely with the KCC District AEO, helping to build KCC capacity.

Environmental Alert and KCC delivered on-the-ground development activities together with awareness-raising and lobbying for change. Starting with mass sensitization, they worked with local leaders to form farmers groups and provided training on health, nutrition, sustainable agriculture and credit. They also collaborated with several departments of Makerere University and NARO, helping to raise public awareness and provide extension through radio and other means. Later they organised higher-level awareness-raising workshops.

Around this time other NGOs, including Living Earth and Plan International, collaborated with KCC to provide extension services to Kampala farmers. Although the KCC Agriculture Office still had few staff or resources, this helped to further build its capacity. This picture of KCC engaging with civil society and other actors was repeated many times in the coming years. It was a conscious tactic to initiate and make more effective urban agriculture extension services. Collaboration between actors at this time also extended to research on urban agriculture. In 1999, despite many people within KCC still regarding it an illegal activity, both the Agriculture and

Public Health Departments actively collaborated with Makerere University in research on heavy metal contamination in urban agriculture¹⁴ (Nabulo, 2004).

3.1.3 More systematic, policy-focused and international research efforts in Kampala (2000-2003)

IDRC’s Cities Feeding People research programme continued throughout the 1990s. In 1998 it established the Agropolis Awards programme for postgraduate research on urban agriculture. In 1999, the CGIAR established the Strategic Initiative on Urban and Peri-Urban Agriculture (SIUPA), later renamed Urban Harvest, coordinated by CIP. With other initiatives, including SIDA-SAREC-supported studies on urban agriculture and UK’s Department for International Development (DFID) supported studies on urban livestock, this marked a time of more systematic and coordinated international research. As well as raising the profile of urban agriculture in research, these international initiatives led to a series of international and regional meetings and workshops. These enabled Uganda’s research community, technical officers (at local and national level), NGOs and politicians to interact with their peers from other countries, share their experiences, and become more exposed to wider thinking on practice and policy¹⁵.

Many of the research and non-research activities that followed in Kampala benefited from this raised international profile and better networking and coordination. In 2002, SIUPA established a programme of research, diagnosis and risk assessment activities related to urban agriculture in three African cities – Kampala, Yaoundé and Nairobi; many of the research activities in Kampala were carried out under this programme

At this time, despite growing interest within some sections of KCC, there was still little interest from MAAIF. In 2000, however, a MAAIF officer was assigned to KCC. Because of their overlapping responsibilities for Kampala, the officer started holding formal and informal discussions with the KCC Agricultural Office. Importantly, this officer had already worked closely with the District AEO and, although he was mostly dealing with national crop programmes, he was supportive of urban agriculture. He was also carrying out research on informal food markets within Kampala (Muwanga, 2001).

In 1999, KCC began a process of reviewing all its outdated ordinances. This policy review process, described in Section 3.2, provided the background and target for many research and development activities (see Table 2) that took place in Kampala from 2000 onwards.

Table 2: Collaborative urban agriculture research in Kampala from 2002

Title	Organisations involved
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¹⁴ The KCC officers involved realized the need for clear guidelines and research evidence regarding chemical contamination of food, so that KCC could better formulate policy

¹⁵ As an example, during a visit to CIP-Lima, the Deputy Director General (DDG) of Research at NARO became aware of the range of research that had already been carried out in Kampala and elsewhere, despite the fact that there was no mention of urban agriculture in national agriculture policy or research priorities.

Strengthening Urban Agriculture in Kampala (2002-5)	CIAT (leading), IITA, Urban Harvest, KCC, Makerere University (MISR and Dept. of Agricultural Extension), NARO, Environmental Alert and Plan International Funded by Urban Harvest
Urban Agriculture in Kampala - Health Impact Assessment and Options for Improvement (2003-5) Known as Kampala Health and UA Project	CIP-Urban Harvest, KCC, Makerere University (Faculty of Veterinary Medicine) Funded by CIDA
Characterizing and assessing the benefits and risks of urban and peri-urban livestock production in Kampala (2004-ongoing) Known as Kampala Health & Urban Livestock Project	ILRI, Makerere University (Faculty of Veterinary Medicine), KCC Funded by Urban Harvest and IDRC
Scoping study on urban and peri-urban livestock (2002)	Local consultants Funded by DFID The scoping study looked at five cities in East Africa, including Kampala. Important links were made with the research and development actors in Kamapla, especially at an associated workshop

In 2001, a coalition of research actors, including Makerere Department of Agricultural Extension, IITA-Foodnet (a farmers' network) and NARO together with KCC and two NGOs, started to develop a multi-stakeholder proposal to SIUPA. The proposed research, following up on the work of Maxwell, was to take a more detailed look at urban farming systems, marketing of their products in the city, and technical interventions including some activities in schools. The Strengthening Urban Agriculture in Kampala, Uganda project was approved in May 2002 and had as its overall objective to generate information to assist local authorities, policy makers, NGOs and researchers to promote and make informed decisions and interventions in the sector. This complex project had many subcomponents¹⁶.

As this project was starting, discussions were underway for another collaborative project on health and urban agriculture, involving some of the same coalition of organisations. The Urban Agriculture in Kampala, Uganda - Health Impact Assessment and Options for Improvement project was intended to increase understanding of health benefits and risks associated with urban agriculture, and identify options to enhance benefits and minimise risks. The project was collaboratively implemented by Makerere University Faculty of Veterinary Medicine, KCC, SIUPA (now renamed Urban Harvest), Environmental Alert and ILRI, and funded by CIDA, IDRC and Urban Harvest.

Major linkages developed between these two projects; many of the same organisations were collaborating in both and there were shared activities. A core group of local organisations emerged, including Makerere University, NARO, KCC, Environmental

¹⁶ Different organisations had different emphases and interests: CIAT and IITA in the market research, CIAT and CIP in the farming and livelihood systems, NARO in the livestock and crop systems, Makerere Agricultural Extension Department in the schools component. KCC and the NGOs were interested in all components. For reports on the project's participatory appraisal of urban agriculture and on identifying market opportunities, see CIAT (2003 & 2004). A full description of the outputs from this extensive and complex project will be found in Prain et al (forthcoming).

Alert and CIP. Informal linkages soon developed into firmer associations and few activities were started without one group member involving many of the others.

A key component of the health and urban agriculture project was the establishment of a Health Coordinating Committee (HCC) to steer the research. This committee was made up of representatives of the collaborating organisations. The Chairman was the Professor of Public Health at the Department of Veterinary Public Health, Makerere and members came from KCC, Ministry of Agriculture (MoA), Environmental Alert, NARO and other Makerere University departments. This committee evolved into an independent organisation which ended up playing a major role in the policy change process.

This HCC also brought a senior politician, the City Minister for Gender, Welfare and Community Services (GWCS)¹⁷, into close contact with researchers, technical officers and NGOs. This provided a direct link between research and development and high level political awareness; the Minister was in the KCC Cabinet and so was well placed to influence the Mayor of Kampala (see Section 3.2).

A key finding of the health project was that whilst those involved in urban agriculture perceived some hazards¹⁸, they also perceived clear benefits: better food security and nutrition and improved incomes. The detailed assessments of the nature of risks associated with urban farming and potential means of mitigating them were used later to inform stakeholders and policy makers (Urban Harvest, 2005).

From 2002, in addition to ongoing collaborative research, a number of events took place to directly influence key people concerned with policy on urban agriculture, both in Kampala and more widely.

In April 2002, the Director General of CIP, Urban Harvest's host organization, visited Uganda and met with the Minister of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries and the Deputy Director General (DDG) Research of NARO. A policy brief on urban agriculture produced for this occasion highlighted measures supported by CGIAR and others' research (CIP, 2002).¹⁹ The brief was well received, and the DDG-Research of NARO became a strong advocate of urban agriculture (Lee-Smith, 2005).

¹⁷ In 2001, the KCC Ministry of Gender, Welfare and Community Services (GWCS) became the Ministry of Social Improvement, Community Development and Antiquities (SICDA), but the City Minister remained in position. However, the technical department under this Ministry retained its title of Gender, Welfare and Community Services. For consistency in this report, both the Ministry and technical department are referred to as GWCS prior to 2001, and to SICDA after 2001.

¹⁸ These hazards included those directly affecting health (such as wetland farms contaminated with industrial effluent or domestic waste, or zoonotic diseases associated with livestock keeping), as well as indirect effects on health, such as poor productivity due to inadequate or poor seed material, or practices affecting the "health" of the environment, such as erosion caused by tree-felling or poor soil management.

¹⁹ These measures included (i) allocation of land for the use of urban food production (ii) development and extension of improved technologies to urban farmers, (iii) development of planning guidelines based on an assessment of health impacts and risks in urban farming, and (iv) support to urban and peri-urban food production systems, including marketing and processing, in the interests of increased food security and urban incomes.

In May 2002, the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the UN held a meeting in Addis Ababa, Feeding Cities in the Horn of Africa. Mayors and ministers from the region attended, including the Mayor of Kampala and the City Minister for Social Improvement, Community Development and Antiquities (SICDA)²⁰. Although urban agriculture was discussed, it faced some opposition, including from the Mayor of Kampala. Despite this, the declaration made at the end of the meeting was very clear, calling for appropriate policy changes to support urban food security. It specifically recommended:

- Reviewing existing laws, byelaws and regulations to promote effective production, supply and distribution of food in cities
- Developing multi-sectoral policies, strategies and programmes for urban food security
- Giving greater priority to urban food security in regional, metropolitan and urban planning
- Monitoring environmental health risks related to urban food production, marketing and processing, and taking appropriate actions to reduce them.

Also in May 2002, Environmental Alert, the Regional Land Management Unit (RELMA) and KCC held a workshop on urban agriculture for KCC's policy makers. It was recommended that the existing byelaws should be reviewed. Throughout this period, Environmental Alert continued regularly taking key local and city councillors to visit its activities on food security and improving livelihoods, exposing them to the issues affecting city residents.

By early 2003, it was clear to members of the collaborative research and development team in Kampala that a key problem was lack of an appropriate policy framework to guide, support and regulate urban agriculture activities. The 1999 internal KCC review of outdated ordinances (Section 3.2) had resulted in drafts of new ordinances (the first time that there had been specific ordinances to cover urban agriculture) but no further progress had been made. Environmental Alert considered that the new versions were unfavourable to the city's farmers but had no funding to lobby for better drafts; even if it was available, capacities and mandates of the research and development partners to lobby for change in this area were limiting.

Several more regional meetings concerning urban agriculture took place in 2003. Members of the Kampala team regularly attended such meetings, learning more about wider issues and activities, as well as sharing their own experiences. At this time the Kampala team was strengthened by the inclusion of a senior KCC health officer.

Two meetings were held in Nairobi in March and June 2003. A DFID-sponsored workshop on urban livestock provided an opportunity for the Kampala contingent to develop a vision and strategic plan for implementing urban agriculture research, policy and planning. A plan for a Kampala City Focal Point Office included advocating for effective and supportive legislation through a process of consultation, review, sensitisation and enforcement. The team's concern was that the revised ordinances for urban agriculture in Kampala relied on existing models; they wanted to find opportunities for systematically including what was now known into a new set of ordinances. This plan was strengthened during an IDRC-sponsored regional

²⁰ See footnote 13.

workshop, Health Risks and Benefits of Urban and Peri-urban Agriculture and Livestock in Sub-Saharan Africa, where the active role played by Kampala team members contributed to team and consensus building on policy issues and direction. During a meeting with the coordinator of the DFID Livestock Production Programme (LPP), the team argued that to develop laws and guidelines that both support and regulate urban agriculture, there was a need for engagement with relevant stakeholders – a ‘bottom-up’ approach. As a result, LPP provided funding for divisional and district fora to review the city byelaws so that the vision and plan developed in March could start to be implemented.

In August 2003, a meeting of ministers of local government was held in Harare, organized by the Municipal Development Partnership for Eastern and Southern Africa (MDPESA). The objective of this Conference on Urban and Peri-urban Agriculture: Prospects for food security and growth in Eastern and Southern Africa was to enable ministers responsible for urban development in eastern and southern Africa to share ideas and experiences and develop a policy agenda for action. Although Uganda did not send a representative²¹, ministers of local government from Kenya, Malawi, Swaziland, Tanzania and Zimbabwe agreed on the Harare Declaration on Urban and Peri-urban Agriculture in East and Southern Africa. Amongst other commitments, this declaration committed the governments to “*developing policies and appropriate instruments that will create an enabling environment for integrating [urban and peri-urban agriculture] into our urban economies*” (MDPESA, 2003).

3.1.4 Stakeholder consultation and participatory development of urban agriculture ordinances (2004-2005)

In August 2003, under the DFID-LPP funding (supported by Urban Harvest and Environmental Alert and with matching funding from KCC) the coalition of the HCC, together with the Kampala Focal Point Office, held a series of stakeholder consultative workshops in Kampala. Five divisional fora were held, ahead of a district forum. These workshops were intended to raise stakeholder awareness on the existence and current content of the draft urban agriculture ordinances and to obtain stakeholder input to revise them. Some 60 to 80 participants attended each of these divisional fora, including farmers, local councillors, civil society organisations (CSOs), religious leaders, divisional-level extension workers, other KCC technical officers, representatives from MAAIF, researchers from Makerere and other institutions of higher learning, and the media. For a full description see KUFSALCC & Urban Harvest, 2004.

The divisional fora consisted of presentations made by researchers, KCC officials, CSOs and MAAIF²² and sessions which made recommendations for changes to the

²¹ This was possibly due to political tensions in the region around Zimbabwe’s international status.

²² These presentations included: (i) an overview of UPA in Kampala; (ii) urban agriculture research projects in Kampala and their findings (including livelihoods and production issues, market opportunities, dissemination of technical interventions on UPA, health impact assessment); (iii) the changing legal and planning framework in Kampala; and (iv) the experience of NGOs in UPA in Kampala.

draft ordinances²³, which were then fed into the district forum held in September 2003.

At the district forum, the Mayor was represented by the City Minister for Education, who affirmed the Mayor's keen interest in the issue of appropriate policies to support urban agriculture²⁴. After a keynote address from the City Minister for SICDA, presentations included proposals for a consultative process for development of new ordinances, description of the process of drafting and passing ordinances, evidence from recent research including the balance of health benefits and risks, descriptions of CSO activities and the importance of urban agriculture for poor people's livelihoods, together with practical suggestions as to how the draft ordinances might be revised in line with suggestions from the divisional forums. Working groups looked at the different draft ordinances, before final recommendations were agreed in plenary. These recommendations are described in Section 3.2, together with more details of the process KCC used to arrive at the revised ordinances.

Following a request from the MAAIF Commissioner for Crop Production and Marketing during his closing speech, Urban Harvest agreed to coordinate a team of actors to support the process of revising the draft ordinances in line with the agreed recommendations, and also to produce a parallel series of guidelines.

Immediately after the forum, a group of interested organizations and individuals, led by the newly appointed desk officer for urban agriculture at MAAIF and the District AEO at KCC, began using the outputs of the meeting to rework the draft ordinances into a form that could be reviewed by KCC, the legislative body. The individuals from these organisations, who had initially come together informally as interested partners in research and development activities, and then more formally as the HCC, were now a recognised and respected team. They played a critical role in the process leading to the new ordinances, and beyond.

By now, despite some contentious issues, there was widespread consensus within KCC and central government on the need for a supportive regulatory environment for urban agriculture. The move for change was also helped by the now open support of senior political figures, especially the Mayor. However, because of the contentious issues, the Kampala team recognised that efforts were needed to sensitise not only urban residents but also KCC officers to urban agriculture and the implications of the

²³ Key recommendations from the Divisional workshops included:

- The issue of permits should be carefully thought out, given the widespread, diverse and seasonally changing farming practices. It was felt that permits should only be needed for those involved in commercial farming.
- Penalties should be appropriate to the level of offence, but be modest to reflect people's incomes.
- Awareness-raising on the new Ordinances needed to be organised at all levels.
- Better overall coordination of these and other Ordinances in relation to urban food production issues.
- Livestock practices should be removed from the 'Maintenance of Law and Order' Ordinance (because of the implication that it is an illegal activity) and put into a separate Ordinance.

²⁴ Whilst the HCC had met with the Mayor on previous occasions to update him on urban agriculture issues, this was the first event where it is officially reported that the Mayor was supportive of policy change to promote and regulate urban agriculture. He was subsequently a high-profile advocate of the changes, which undoubtedly helped speed their progress. The likely reasons behind this change in attitude are discussed in Section 3.3.

new laws. In late 2003, the KCC Sectoral Committee on SICDA, supported by Environmental Alert and the KCC Agriculture Office, held two workshops for KCC councillors and technical staff. The Kampala research team provided secretariat services and presented the outputs to other committees of the KCC.

In November 2003, the new drafts of five ordinances were forwarded to the full Council for deliberation. These were duly passed by KCC in January 2004. The Council also endorsed the publication of simplified guidelines, and the piloting and testing of the ordinances in collaboration with researchers.

At the final workshop of the Strengthening Urban Agriculture in Kampala project, held in March 2004, several important decisions and recommendations were made. One was that the outputs of the project be combined with others in a coherent follow-up research and development action plan, including the production of education and policy guidelines based on research findings. Additionally it was requested that the current HCC should expand its mandate to cover broader urban agriculture issues and become the institutional mechanism for moving this plan forward. In the same month, HCC met and transformed itself into the Kampala Urban Food Security, Agriculture and Livestock Coordinating Committee (KUFSALCC), with the intention of formally establishing itself as an organization that could attract and manage funds. The mandate was the vision, strategy and plan that had been written by the team a year before at the DFID-sponsored workshop, and the members were to be the stakeholder institutions and individuals who had been working together on the research projects and ordinance review. KUFSALCC was later registered as an independent non-profit organization in Uganda, marking the formalisation of this group of individuals (representing their organisations) who had worked together since the late 1990s.

Important regional activities on urban agriculture continued throughout and after this period of activity in Kampala. In March 2004, Urban Harvest ran an Anglophone Africa Regional Training Workshop in Nairobi, as part of an IDRC-funded series of regional workshops. This brought together seven city teams comprising policy makers, researchers and implementers from across Africa to develop projects while learning from seven modules on aspects of urban agriculture. The experience of the Kampala ordinance review featured strongly.

During the final stages leading to the passing of the new ordinances (see Section 3.2) the KUFSALCC team continued to play a major role. At the same time, KUFSALCC developed plans for production and distribution of guidelines to the ordinances, in English and Luganda, and field testing them in two pilot zones of Kampala. Plans were also developed for helping KCC with the listing of urban crop, livestock, fish, meat and dairy activities in order to test the approach, and also to support KCC in the process of legal drafting, which includes reconciliation of the ordinances with national legislation. These plans were submitted as proposals to the DFID-LPP, who agreed to fund this work.

In July 2004, the draft guidelines developed by KUFSALCC, were reviewed by KCC's legal advisor, city advocate and the head of SICDA, and given the go-ahead for pre-testing, which took place in July and August 2004. Field work started later that year on the listing of urban agriculture and food enterprises and testing of the guidelines, with feedback from the pilot communities. During this fieldwork, it

became clear that the capacity to implement health and veterinary controls contained in the new ordinances was inadequate.

Following the legal harmonisation process, (see Section 3.2), the Mayor of Kampala finally gave his assent to the new ordinances on 11th May 2005, and they were officially announced at a press conference in June. At the same time, guidelines in English, published by KUF SALCC and Urban Harvest, were also launched and distributed (KUF SALCC/Urban Harvest, 2005a-e).

3.1.5 *Ongoing activities (2006)*

Under the funding from DFID-LPP, KUF SALCC have been conducting an action research project to field-test the revised draft Bills of Ordinances to:

- identify challenges that farmers, marketers and traders might face in observing the ordinances
- assess impact of the guidelines on livelihoods, health and incomes of farming households
- identify operational challenges for effective implementation of the draft ordinances
- test the proposed listing of enterprises for effective control and regulation.

This exercise demonstrated some key challenges to the implementation of the new ordinances, with far-reaching implications for costs of licensing procedures and administering the law²⁵. However, it was evident that urban farmers and the wider public welcomed the introduction of laws to govern urban agriculture. Many had experienced negative effects of unregulated activities, such as complaints from crop farmers about free-roaming livestock and general complaints about animal waste nuisances.

This work generated some significant new inputs into the draft ordinances, including the need to emphasise poultry production, by far the most common livestock enterprise, in the livestock ordinance (which currently focused on cattle and other ruminants), together with the issue of direct sale of milk from farms (when the ordinances focused on use of milk cooling centres). It also became apparent that some aspects of the ordinances could not be piloted because key services did not exist.²⁶

²⁵ Key amongst these challenges were:

- Inaccessibility to enterprises and their owners
- Difficulties over determining whether to list or not to list an enterprise – i.e. what is the threshold for what constitutes farming or not?
- Extreme dynamism in activities – seasonal farming plus the continuous start-up and folding of new enterprises
- Difficulty of getting people to meetings because of timing problems, or severe distrust of KCC
- Extensive sensitisation and education needed before law comes into force, including a ‘grace period’
- Problems over costs of compliance with new laws, and need for access to technical information.

²⁶ These included lack of offices and officers for issuing licences and for determining fee levels, inadequate number of gazetted slaughterhouses and impounding and vaccination facilities, and lack of a catalogue of approved methods, approaches, and standards for complying with the ordinances.

With changing attitudes towards urban agriculture, and with the extensive knowledge that had come from research and development activities, Kampala is currently taking part in the Making the Edible Landscape project, an initiative to integrate farming into urban design and development. Kampala is one of the three participating cities, together with Rosario in Argentina and Colombo in Sri Lanka. In other examples of ongoing activities, Environmental Alert is collaborating with KCC on the Urban Food Security and Nutrition Project, which includes activities supporting urban agriculture. Urban Harvest, KCC, FARM Africa and KUF SALCC are collaborating on projects to promote the growth and use of nutritionally beneficial orange-fleshed sweet potatoes in schools and communities in Kampala. Aspects of urban agriculture are also included in the Kampala Ecological Sanitation Project implemented by KCC, with attempts to use ecological sanitation as an opportunity for sustainable urban agriculture.

3.2 Development of policies affecting urban agriculture in Kampala

This section describes the policy environment surrounding urban agriculture in Kampala, and the actual process of the development of the new ordinances. For the latter it draws mainly on the results of episode study interviews that were conducted with key people in the policy making process but is enhanced and verified with information from the literature review, other interviews and the outputs of the case study workshop. A list of interviewees is given in **Appendix 3**.

These episode study interviews were conducted without any assumptions on possible influences on the process, including those described in the previous section. But as many interviewees mentioned clear and close associations with many of the events described, the chapter also describes links between the formal process of developing the new legislation and the activities and events that influenced the process.

3.2.1 Initial policy environment for urban agriculture (up to early 1990s)

Maxwell (1995) describes how the practice of urban agriculture in Kampala was shaped. During Idi Amin's administration, the declaration of the "economic war of liberation" resulted in a rapid deterioration in the urban economy²⁷. The majority of the urban population had to diversify income sources in order to survive. This was compounded by a rapid rise in rural-to-urban migration with the outbreak of the 1981–86 guerrilla war. Structural adjustment policies, implemented from 1981–84 and again from 1987, added to the pressures by increasing local unemployment, reducing wages and reducing local services. However, despite all these pressures, widespread malnutrition was not observed in Kampala. As one of a number of strategies for access to food, urban semi-subsistence farming expanded considerably.

The expansion of the city boundaries in 1968 incorporated rural farming land into municipal administration; much of this land is still predominantly used for agriculture today. In contrast, in the older parts of the city, urban agriculture practices reflect responses to economic pressures and a movement away from reliance on the wage economy.

The highly complex land tenure system in Kampala has also shaped the way urban agriculture has developed. In the original parts of Kampala, state owned and administered land could be acquired through various leasehold and freehold agreements. Expansion to include land of the old Buganda capital, Mengo, brought in land held under the traditional *mailo* tenure system²⁸. Breakdown in the administrative

²⁷ Jamal and Weeks (1993) report that real wage income dropped by nearly 80 percent between 1972 and 1980, and that by 1988, the cost of food for a household of four was six times the whole monthly minimum wage.

²⁸ *Mailo* land tenure was created by the 1900 Buganda Agreement between the Government of Great Britain and the Kingdom of Buganda. Packages of land were given to the Buganda royal family, chiefs and others, to own in perpetuity.

machinery of local government and ineffective management of public land has further complicated this picture. Whilst Maxwell (1995 & 1996) identified four different major categories of land tenure, these were overlaid by some 20 forms of informal access to land for farming, including 'squatting', land borrowing, purchase and sale of informal land use rights, the illegal subdivision of plots, and various forms of tenancy arrangement.

Whilst wider policies and events have shaped the way urban agriculture developed, specific policies and regulations affected the practice of directly. Prior to 1990, agriculture in urban areas was not recognized in the policy and regulatory environment. Many laws had not changed since colonial times. Maxwell (1995) characterized the policy environment as “a three-decade long series of verbal decrees, unwritten rules and administrative practices”.

Whereas agriculture-related legislation such as the Public Health Act of 1964 (Cap 269), the Animal Diseases Act of 1964 (Cap 218), the Fish and Crocodiles Act of 1964 (Cap 228) did not *per se* prohibit urban crop and livestock production or fisheries, they were broadly interpreted as doing so. This was, perhaps, because any infringements could have greater consequences in urban areas and be more easily seen. National legislation relating to agriculture assumed rural production; urban agriculture was not mentioned.

Other legislation, such as the Town and Country Planning Act of 1964 (Cap 30), were likewise interpreted as prohibiting agriculture although the act did not specifically mention it. However, under the Urban Authority Act 1964 (Cap 27), which gave Kampala the power to make byelaws, there was a city ordinance, the Kampala City (Prohibition of Keeping and Grazing of Animals) Byelaws, 1964 Statutory Instruments No 27-38, which more explicitly prohibited the keeping and grazing of livestock in the city without the permission of the Medical Officer for Health. Council officers or policemen were empowered to impound any stray animal.

This was largely the policy and legal framework which operated in Kampala until the early 1990s.

3.2.2 Decentralisation and devolution of law-making powers (1993-97)

In 1993, the Local Government Decentralisation Programme was implemented. This was in fulfilment of the National Resistance Movement's earlier promise to democratise Ugandan society and to improve social services provision. Resistance Councils (RCs) had been a mechanism for people to make decisions over matters that directly affected them. The decentralization policy aimed to expand those powers, based on belief in the capacity of the local citizens to elect their leaders, choose what is good for them, set their own priorities and seek the realisation of their goals and common good. Decentralisation subsequently became a key pillar of the present constitution, enacted in 1995. The RCs were renamed Local Councils (LCs) in 1996, but the system of five levels of elected councillors remained. The lowest level is Local Council 1 (LC 1) with responsibility for a village, or in the case of Kampala, a zone.

The areas covered at LC 2 to LC 4 levels are correspondingly larger, with LC 4 representing the City Division Councils in Kampala. The council responsible for a whole district, or in the case of Kampala, the whole city, is the LC 5. Head of this council is the LC 5 Chairman, or in Kampala, the Mayor.

While not directly affecting the practice of urban agriculture, this decentralisation process had two key effects. One was the desired outcome that citizens became more closely linked to their elected politicians. The second was that technical officers in various government ministries were ‘relocated’ to be managed under the local government structures. In Kampala District, this meant that agricultural extension officers previously working for the MAAIF now worked for KCC. However, the attitude of many councillors and senior technical officers in KCC was that there was no role for agriculture in the city, and therefore no role for agricultural officers. With no offices initially provided, the different agricultural sections were scattered amongst several KCC departments, often with no effective reporting structure.

Overall, these changes had a significant effect on the attitude and behaviour of people in KCC, both elected politicians and technical officers. These changes and the reasons behind them are described in detail in Section 3.3. The end result, however, was that in the mid-1990s, politicians were becoming much more aware of urban agriculture and its importance to the livelihoods of city residents. At the same time, agricultural officers were continuing to support urban agriculture, albeit under difficult circumstances, and were producing reports on the subject for their superiors.

The issues around urban agriculture were not just affecting agricultural officers. Technical officers in planning and public health departments were concerned about the lack of any effective legislative framework to control the way urban agriculture affected their areas of responsibility. In 1994, the Kampala Urban Structure Plan had been passed. Despite meeting with some hostility (van Nostrand, personal communication), especially in regard to the use of wetlands for urban farming, this plan incorporated the recommendations of the Kampala Urban Study (van Nostrand, 1994), including that land use and zoning regulations should encourage mixed use and reinforce life-work relationships, and that urban agriculture within and adjacent to the city should be protected and enhanced.

In 1997, the Local Government Act (1997) Cap 243 was passed. Sections 39 and 41 gave autonomous decision-making and legislative powers to the districts. KCC was now able both to review existing and make new legislation. The initial decentralisation process had taken place without an effective system to support the process. For the first few years, connections between the technical and political arms of KCC were rather weak; reports mentioning urban agriculture seemed not to result in significant change. However, following the LGA, structures within KCC were changed, with the formation of technical committees of senior technical officers and politicians, and with more effective reporting structures that linked the committees to technical officers in relevant departments. These changes proved to be a significant turning point affecting urban agriculture policy.²⁹

²⁹ For a comprehensive description of the process of local law making in Uganda, see the “Handbook on Making Ordinances and Bye-laws in Uganda”, published by the Uganda Law Reform Commission (ULRC, 2004)

Firstly, KCC was able to look at legislation which affected its operations and, if necessary, start a process of changing it. Secondly, monthly reports sent from divisional technical officers were compiled by district officers into reports that went to the heads of departments, who themselves sat on the relevant technical committee. In the case of agricultural officers, their reports were discussed by the then Committee for Gender, Welfare and Community Services. In their reports, officers included not only their own observations but also quoted evidence from key research in the area, especially Maxwell's work. Overall, the structural changes in 1997 brought much more accountability into the system.

3.2.3 Introduction of a national policy focus on poverty reduction (late 1990s)

In 1997 the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) was published and subsequently revised in 2000 and 2004. This influential policy document has shaped many other policies in Uganda. The PEAP is Uganda's comprehensive development framework, with a goal of eradicating poverty based on fast and sustainable economic growth and structural transformation, good governance and security, increased ability of the poor to raise their incomes, and increased quality of the life of the poor. The current PEAP has five 'pillars'

1. Economic management
2. Enhancing production, competitiveness and incomes
3. Security, conflict resolution and disaster management
4. Good governance
5. Human development.

The Plan for the Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) forms part of the PEAP, and acts as a framework for policy and institutional reforms for development of agricultural livelihoods. It was designed and implemented first in 2000/01, and contributes fundamentally to pillar 2 of the revised PEAP. The PMA aims to contribute to poverty eradication through "*a profitable, competitive, sustainable and dynamic agricultural and agro-industrial sector*" and aims to achieve this through transforming predominantly subsistence agricultural production to market-oriented or commercial agriculture in rural areas. Urban areas are not mentioned.

To support achievement of the PEAP goal, the Poverty Action Fund (PAF) was set up in 1998 as a vehicle for targeting funds into poverty-related activities in line. PAF expenditures constitute about one third of the discretionary budget expenditure, and have been instrumental in introducing mechanisms for promoting budget allocations to sectors with strong poverty-reduction potential. PAF money was available for agricultural extension activities, but this had to be used on the basis of outputs and demonstrated benefits to livelihoods. The use of PAF money for agricultural activities in Kampala has gradually increased, in parallel to the increased recognition within KCC of the role of urban agriculture, and campaigns at national level resulted in the use of funds to support women's involvement.

However, whilst the PEAP has had some influence on the flow of funds for particular activities, there is inconsistency in that the PMA is entirely focused on rural areas.

3.2.4 Outdated ordinances are reviewed and urban agriculture comes on the agenda (1999-2001)

In summary, by the late 1990s, as a result of decentralisation and the LGA, the exposure of politicians to what urban agriculture meant for the livelihoods of their constituents was now backed up by findings and research evidence being discussed by KCC technical committees. This coincided with new powers for KCC to review and make new legislation.

These factors resulted in a key recommendation being made by the KCC Committee for Gender, Welfare and Community Services, that there was a need for legislation that specifically dealt with the issue.³⁰ At that time, (see Section 3.1), many people still did not accept that urban agriculture in Kampala was an important economic activity and livelihood strategy. They felt that such legislation should be a way of controlling agriculture, prohibiting it in some areas, rather than promoting it. However, the decision to recommend specific laws was a significant event: at that time, few cities in the world had such legislation.

In 1999, under the powers given under the LGA, a decision was taken by the KCC Executive Committee to review all outdated ordinances and develop appropriate new ones. The specific reasons for this decision are unclear, but the majority of those interviewed felt it was because existing laws in many areas inhibited KCC from carrying out its proper role, either because no laws existed, or because existing laws were contradictory or outdated. Even where specific legislation existed, levels of licence fees or fines for contravening legislation were too low. The balancing act that KCC had to do from a financial point of view was to promote and support activities that encouraged economic activity in the city (bringing revenue to KCC) against the costs of providing services and setting licence fees and penalties at appropriate levels. The City Advocate's Office was charged with overseeing this review: a consultant was engaged to carry it out and draft new ordinances.

All departments were asked to review existing ordinances and report on legislation adversely affecting their area of responsibility. The Department of Gender, Welfare and Community Services was asked to look at existing legislation that affected urban agriculture and draft appropriate new ordinances. The District AEO led this activity and, with no previous experience in reviewing or drafting policy, she consulted her former colleague at the MAAIF.

This review was an internal process. Whilst technical officers were consulted and would have based their input on their experiences, there was little if any consultation with the community and other stakeholders. Although the guidelines on how district and city councils can make laws, specified in the Local Government Act, include a stage of community consultation (ULRC, 2004), it does not give specific instructions

³⁰ Documentation of the precise time this decision was taken has not been located during this study. A document entitled Kampala City Council's Position dated September 1996 shows KCC's awareness of the importance of UA as generating "employment opportunities, income, nutritional improvement and environmentally friendly land use." The document also recommends looking into laws that affect the operations and functions of the Council, with a view to amending them. However, in interviews with members of the GWCS Committee a committee decision on recommending specific laws on UA was described as having taken place some time prior to 1999.

as to how this should be done. Consultations can be an expensive process to do properly, especially given that this review covered a wide area of legislation.

By 2001, the process of reviewing legislation had been completed, and new ordinances drafted. Known technically at this stage as draft Bills for Ordinance, there were six that dealt specifically with urban agriculture, although keeping of livestock was dealt with under the 'Maintenance of Law and Order' ordinance. The relevant draft ordinances were:

- Kampala City (Urban Agriculture) Ordinance, 2001
- Kampala City (Maintenance of Law and Order) Ordinance, 2001
- Kampala City (Fish Processing and Sale) Ordinance, 2001
- Kampala City (Meat) Ordinance, 2001
- Kampala City (Sale of Milk and Milk Products) Ordinance, 2001
- Kampala City (Registration and Control of Dogs) Ordinance, 2001

In 2001, the consultant who had been engaged to oversee the review died, after which the progress of passage of these draft bills stalled.

3.2.5 Re-review of draft ordinances and community consultation (2002-2003)

As described in Section 3.2, activities to support urban agriculture were continuing throughout this process, and the need for an effective policy framework for support and regulation was becoming clear to all. Whilst there now existed draft bills, many people felt that these were biased towards control and regulation rather than being supportive.

KCC was lobbied by Environmental Alert to review the draft ordinances and to base them more on evidence from research and experiences on the ground. They argued that a consultative process was needed in order to have appropriate laws that balanced the needs of all. The KCC officers who had been working with NGOs and researchers for some years supported this suggestion. Environmental Alert had some limited funds available to support consultation but the City Advocate's office, which was responsible for the development of the new ordinances, was reluctant to restart a process it felt had already been completed.

By now additional pressures were coming from the senior political level, especially from the City Minister for Gender, Welfare and Community Services, who was acting as a powerful force for change in attitude, and who by this time had helped to convince the Mayor of the need for supportive urban agriculture policies.

In mid-2003, the HCC secured funding from DFID for a consultation process (see Section 3.1). Together with the additional funding from Environmental Alert, and with matching funding from KCC³¹, there were now sufficient resources available to support a full community consultation process. With political will and commitment,

³¹ Where external funding is secured for activities which are in line with KCC's priorities and work plans, they are obliged to match this funding so the activity can go ahead.

external pressure from research and development partners and now funding available, the KCC Executive Committee agreed to the stakeholder consultation to obtain recommendations for revision of the existing draft Bills for Ordinances.

The consultation process is described in Section 3.1, and in more detail in KUFSAALCC/Urban Harvest (2004), which lists the key recommendations and proposed steps forward. These included that ordinances should continue to be reviewed and up-dated over time, informed by current research evidence, include environmental controls, and that complementary guidelines should be produced for farmers and traders. The issue of KCC's capacity to implement new ordinances was also flagged up. During this process, the existing draft Bills for Ordinances were subjected to review based on discussion and comments from stakeholders, together with research evidence.

Following the District Forum of September 2003, the renamed KCC Department of Social Improvement, Community Development and Antiquities (SICDA), previously GWCS, appointed members of the HCC to a committee, together with others, and asked them to produce new drafts based on the recommendations. In this process, the HCC brought in technical officers from different departments, including Planning, Public Health, Law Enforcement, Veterinary and Finance, to ensure that all issues and perspectives were considered. Workshops for KCC staff were held in September and October 2003, and draft outputs were also presented to other KCC committees for their input.

Finally in November 2003, the new drafts of five revised ordinances were forwarded to full KCC Council for deliberation, together with the committees' comments. Following certain slight amendments, the full set of ordinances was passed by KCC in January 2004. These were:

- Kampala City Urban Agriculture Ordinance
- Kampala City Livestock and Companion Animal Ordinance
- Kampala City Meat Ordinance
- Kampala City Fish Ordinance
- Kampala City Milk Ordinance.

3.2.6 Final steps for the new ordinances on urban agriculture (2004-2005)

Following the passing of the bills for ordinances by KCC, various additional stages specified in the LGA were followed: technical editing of the drafts was done based on the Council's amendments; the ordinances were submitted to the Ministry of Local Government for a process of 'certification'. Certification ensures that the ordinances comply with the LGA.

Having verified that correct process was followed, the Ministry of Local Government passed the bills back to the State Attorney at the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, Directorate of First Parliamentary Counsel (MoJCA-FPC), for the process of

harmonisation³². An additional role for the State Attorney in this process is to ensure that the laws are ‘user-friendly’, and therefore can be practically and efficiently enforced.

Harmonisation is a necessary but often time-consuming process. In an environment where there is a huge amount of pre-existing legislation, often outdated, bills can be held up for some time in the process. Twenty draft Bills of Ordinance for Kampala City were submitted to the State Attorney in June 2004, five of them being the revised urban agriculture ordinances. After a few months, the State Attorney was invited by the City Advocate and the District Agricultural Officer to a meeting at which they discussed the need to prioritise the five ordinances. Having seen the literature, research and draft guidelines that were already being produced, it was clear that the process for these ordinances could be expedited. As part of this process, further consultation with technical officers was proposed. In addition, technical and legal issues were discussed with the Legal Adviser to the City of Kampala, as it was apparent that there was still no clear consensus among bureaucrats about the wisdom of allowing urban agriculture, despite the ordinances having been passed by KCC. This seemed to be related to a fear of legalizing the informal sector.

In December 2004, the DFID-LPP grant to support the harmonisation process was received, which enabled KUFSAALCC’s close involvement in the process, especially in some of the internal consultations and in explaining technical issues in relation to legal questions. This included a workshop in Jinja in March 2005, organised with the participation of researchers from KUFSAALCC, KCC political leaders and technical and legal officers, and legal officers from the MoJCA-FPC. Guided by the State Attorney, the workshop identified conflicting and redundant clauses and articles in the draft Bills for Ordinances and harmonised them. The outputs from the Jinja workshop were refined to produce final Bills for Ordinances, which were submitted and finally assented to by the Mayor in May 2005.

3.2.7 Current situation (2006)

The Bills for Ordinances need to be gazetted before they become enforceable law. At the time of writing (December 2006), the signed and dated copies of the bills awaited gazetting and publication by the Uganda Printing and Publication Company³³ (KCC, 2006a-e).

This whole process of developing specific local laws on urban agriculture was done in the absence of any national policy on this topic. This is an anomaly. Legislation is normally formulated based on policy, in order to implement that policy. However, in this case, the process of developing the urban agriculture laws in Kampala has been a stimulus for moves to develop a national policy. At the time of writing, a concept note to develop such a policy had been accepted by the Minister of Agriculture. The policy would outline the objectives, strategies and institutional framework for urban agriculture nationally and inform future developments of national and local

³² Local ordinances are subordinate to national policy and Acts of Parliament, and so have to be harmonised with such policy.

³³ Following the national and local elections of February 2006, all expenditures were frozen by the new city administration, so the printing has not yet been completed.

legislation. The official who is leading this process is the desk officer for urban agriculture at the MAAIF in Kampala, and a member of KUF SALCC.

Despite the absence of a mention of urban agriculture in the PMA, the most recent version of the PEAP (2004/5 – 2006/7) specifically mentions this topic as an important area requiring policy attention, stating that “policy and legislation relating to farming in the country’s rapidly-growing urban centres need to be drawn up if the livelihoods of those practising them – often amongst the poorest strata of society – are to be made more secure” (GoU, 2005c).

3.3 Behaviour change of key actors

This section focuses on the changes in attitude and behaviour of key actors that accompanied or in some cases caused the previously described changes. It is based predominantly on outputs of the case study workshop held in Kampala in January 2006³⁴. During the workshop, elements of the Outcome Mapping approach were used to identify the main actors. Working groups then discussed and agreed on the way the behaviour of these actors in respect of urban agriculture had changed at various times, and the reasons behind these changes. The outputs from the workshop have been enhanced in some cases based on interviewees' responses on behaviour changes and influences.

3.3.1 Kampala City Council – Technical officers:

Agricultural and related technical officers

Prior to decentralisation in 1993, AEOs worked under the MAAIF. They were employed to work in Kampala, which the Ministry recognised as a district, but there was tension with the city administration and policy officers, as urban agriculture was considered illegal. Whilst AEOs were trying to support agricultural activities, crops were being destroyed and roaming animals impounded.

Following decentralisation, AEOs now worked for KCC. KCC provide little support for the work of the officers; they were initially not even given offices or a reporting structure. KCC did not regard agriculture as playing any part in the business of the city, and therefore saw no role for agricultural officers. The different disciplinary departments that had been together under the MAAIF got scattered amongst several different KCC departments, none of which initially had any experience of dealing with agricultural issues.

A feature of the behaviour of the AEOs throughout this process was their determination to get on with the job of supporting agricultural activities to the best of their abilities, even in difficult circumstances. The District AEO, having no office, budget or support, turned to a former colleague at the MAAIF office in Kampala, who provided office facilities and moral support.

Working without a significant budget, the AEOs sought ways to collaborate with other agents, especially NGOs and through the formation of farmer groups, to support urban agricultures. This enabled the AEOs to continue their work, to gain experience and expertise and, through collaboration with researchers and by undertaking their own research, obtain evidence to prove the importance of urban agriculture in the city. All this experience and evidence was included in their monthly reports, which fed into decision making processes more effectively after the LGA of 1997.

³⁴ The report is available at <http://www.pppppc.org/Project/CaseStudies/Case-Study-2/Reports-and-documents.asp>

In 1995, AEOs were introduced into divisional offices, where they also faced some tension between themselves and other technical officers because of different attitudes towards urban agriculture. However, through working together and sharing experiences, understanding and recognition of the issues improved. This was enhanced after the 1997 structural changes, which resulted in more regular meetings across disciplines, and the introduction of the PEAP and PAF money, which encouraged a focus on poverty-reducing outputs.

In 2000, AEOs, and in particular the District AEO, became much more vocal in advocating for policy changes to support urban agriculture. This accompanied more structured collaboration between AEOs and NGO and research partners. The District AEO was described as untiring in her efforts to meet with colleagues in other disciplines to explain the issues, and to understand the perspectives of other technical officers. As urban agriculture became more acceptable, a strong internal team developed around the District AEO, working very actively to promote urban agriculture, in marked contrast to the almost clandestine activities AEOs had engaged in during the early to mid 1990s.

Fisheries and Veterinary Officers were also relocated to KCC following decentralisation. Whilst the above description focused on AEOs, the experiences of their fisheries and veterinary colleagues paralleled these. Once they were included in the wider group advocating for change, led by the District AEO, together they were able to present a comprehensive picture of agriculture, livestock and fisheries activities in the city. Now, with the new legal framework, agricultural, fisheries and veterinary officers are actively and openly carrying out extension activities and taking part in many cross-sectoral activities.

Other technical officers

Whilst the AEOs in KCC were key players in this process, so were technical officers in other disciplinary areas.

Planning Officers

In the mid 1990s, Planning Officers were working on the basis of the City Structure Plan for 1994-2004. Though this plan allowed for protection and enhancement of urban agriculture, the Planning Officers interviewed indicated a feeling that agriculture did not have a role in the city's development, in addition to specific issues of concern; for example impact on drainage, and the danger posed to traffic by stray animals and tall crops. However, Planning Officers recognised its economic importance, and saw their colleagues in agriculture and fisheries were starting projects in these areas. The need for effective legislation became increasingly clear.

Planning Officers were closely involved in the consultation and harmonisation process for the urban agriculture ordinances. The City Structure Plan for 1994-2004 was extended for two years. It is now under review and will probably include plans for urban agriculture, although it seems likely that only small-scale activities will be allowed. However, one significant activity is the piloting of approaches for integrated long-term planning, through the Making the Edible Landscape project.

Public Health Officers

Agricultural practices were initially considered to be of relatively minor importance to Public Health Officers (PHOs). Like other officers, being exposed to the reality of urban agriculture in Kampala demonstrated how widespread the practice was, but throughout much of the 1990s officers only considered negative aspects, mostly when they received a complaint.

Officers became increasingly exposed to KCC-supported urban agriculture activities from the late 1990s. The combination of their own observations and exposure to evidence showing nutritional benefits caused many to develop a more positive view. The Divisional PHO for Central Division was assigned to the consultation process and played an important role throughout the review and harmonisation process.

An interesting observation from one PHO is that their training and the mode of work tends to narrow their thinking only to consider risks associated with activities, not the benefits – for example the nutritional benefits from improved access to affordable food. Multi-sectoral collaboration within KCC helped develop more positive thinking. Now PHOs address a particular problem in collaboration with, for example, an agricultural officer.

Law Enforcement Officers

Law Enforcement Officers' (LEOs) role in relation to urban agriculture is to deal with reported breaching of laws. As described in Section 3.2, in the early 1990s it was far from clear what the existing legislation actually meant. This caused problems for the LEOs, ranging from lack of laws to inappropriate penalties. Like other officers, they were exposed to the reality of the practice and raised issues relating to enforcement in their monthly reports. LEOs were involved in the consultation and drafting of the new ordinances, raising issues of implementation and ensuring that penalties were appropriate and reasonable. The primary role of these officers remains law enforcement but, having had input into the new laws, the LEOs are more positive about urban agriculture and their role to prevent nuisance.

3.3.2 Kampala City Council – Elected politicians

Another set of key actors identified at the workshop were the city's elected leaders. Under the decentralised system, local leaders are elected at several levels through a rather complex voting system. As with politicians anywhere, they are supposed to represent their constituents and to help them deal with any problems.

Before decentralisation, local politicians were described as having little or no interest in urban agriculture. Despite the fact that many of them were themselves urban farmers, agriculture was considered a rural activity and not relevant in the city.

Following the decentralisation process, local politicians at all levels started to become more responsive to the issues facing their constituents. Some were exposed to the research findings of Maxwell and others. It was clear that in order to be re-elected, they would have to take due account of the importance of activities such as urban agriculture. A story is related of a previous candidate for RC5 Chairman – the equivalent of the Mayor at the time, who had upset informal traders in the city, and who failed to be elected due to the organised efforts of the traders at the time of the

elections (Maxwell – personal communication). This may help to explain the good attendance and interest at the seminar in 1993 which presented Maxwell’s research findings (Section 3.1).

As politicians were exposed both to the reality of urban agriculture and the increasing evidence of its economic and food-security importance, attitudes started to change. There was also recognition of the need for different departments within KCC to work together more effectively in addressing the complex issues surrounding the subject.

During the election campaigns of 1996-7 many councillors appealed to urban farming voters through using AEOs to distribute seed and even livestock. However, as councillors elected to run a city, they were also responding to the conventional wisdom on planning, development and public health within a city. This led to the paradoxical situation of their apparently supporting urban agriculture whilst being resistant to any change in legislation, other than to strengthen its control.

With the law making powers that came with the LGA, politicians started to demand information from their technical officers in order to develop their programmes. The attitude and behaviour change towards urban agriculture of senior politicians within KCC was very significant. The high-level political support for the new ordinances was a major influence, and yet represented a significant change from previous attitudes. Following his election in 1997, the Mayor asked for curriculum vitae from those elected to the City Council, in order to appoint his ministers on the basis of their experience and capability. The person appointed to be City Minister for Gender, Welfare and Community Services had a background in sociology, and she was able to understand and interpret the information provided by technical officers in her department, including AEOs. This information was combined with her own reading of Maxwell’s and other research, together with her awareness of the political importance of addressing urban agriculture issues.

The Minister attended several regional and international meetings which put Kampala’s experience in the context of other cities. At the Feeding Cities in the Horn of Africa meeting in Addis Ababa, which was attended by the Mayor as well as the Minister, the Mayor is described as being still very sceptical of the need for policy change supportive of urban agriculture (Lee-Smith, 2006). Over the next twelve months there was a clear change; the proposals and process of community consultation on the new ordinances received the Mayor’s enthusiastic support. It is not clear what caused this change³⁵ but this period coincided with continued field visits to urban agriculture activities organised by Environmental Alert and it is reasonable to assume that the City Minister for SICDA was herself a major influence during her discussions with the Mayor.

With a national focus on reducing unemployment, politicians in Kampala are now promoting the opportunities offered by urban agriculture. Most are now at the forefront of its advocacy, and many are themselves practitioners.

³⁵ The field work for this case study coincided with the campaign for Uganda’s 2006 elections, at which the Mayor was a presidential candidate. It therefore proved impossible to interview the Mayor at this time.

3.3.3 Urban farmers and community

In many ways, the behaviour of farmers in Kampala has changed very little since 1990; their consistency in continuing with agricultural activities in spite of the unfavourable policy environment was often cited as a major influence on the behaviour of other actors. Back then, however, few farmers were organised into groups or demanded services such as extension, and they were also largely ignorant of city laws. They lacked confidence and were harassed by law enforcement officers.

In 1994, with the formation of the Uganda National Farmers' Association (UNAFSA), farmers became more organised. Gradually from the mid 1990s, farmers became more confident. They realised politicians had to respond to their needs and farmer groups began to demand services from AEOs and approach NGOs for support. In 1997, the creation of the Kampala branch of UNAFSA led to more open advocacy by the city's farmers.

In 2000, the UNAFSA Kampala branch turned into the autonomous Kampala District Farmers' Association (KADFA). With better organisation, the higher profile of urban agriculture, and the start of the process of revising ordinances, farmers' confidence continued to increase and harassment reduced.

Currently, with the passing of new ordinances, and with many new supportive activities in Kampala, farmers are far more integrated with other activities in the city. With better linkages to support and extension services (although there are still difficulties due to limited staff) some agricultural practices are starting to change, such as an increase in zero-grazing of cattle.

3.3.4 Non-Governmental Organisations and Civil Society Organisations

In the early 1990s, relatively few NGOs were actively involved in agriculture-related activities within Kampala, despite the importance of food security. In the mid to late 1990s, with an increased focus on livelihoods, NGOs' activities in Kampala almost inevitably started to include support for agriculture. At this time, there was also an increase in the amount of donor funds being channelled through NGOs rather than government. As well as Environmental Alert, organisations such as Living Earth and Plan International promoted farming approaches more suitable for urban environments.

Around 2000, agriculture was widely recognised amongst NGOs in Kampala as a specific livelihood activity, with the associated development of more specific support programmes. Many NGOs initiated advocacy, as they found their service-delivery and livelihoods supporting activities in a number of fields, including agriculture in Kampala were being constrained by adverse policy issues. In addition to involving local leaders in their activities, Environmental Alert also organised meetings with technical officers and field visits to agricultural activities for city councillors, including the Mayor. In 2002, they started advocating hard for the then draft ordinances on urban agriculture to be reviewed and be made more supportive. They also funded and organised national workshops on the subject.

Now, NGOs in Uganda effectively feed into national policy processes, such as the PEAP, via the Uganda National NGO Forum. However, at more local policy levels, processes seem to be based on efforts of individual NGOs; for urban agriculture in Kampala Environmental Alert played this role.

3.3.5 Research Organisations

In the early 1990s, research organizations were carrying out little research into urban agriculture. Some research was done at Master's degree level, much of this by technical agricultural officers. The seminal research done by Maxwell increased the profile of urban agriculture in Kampala and provided a foundation for additional research. However, throughout the 1990s, little changed in terms of the behaviour of research organizations. Despite some donors, notably IDRC, starting to support research, this was still fragmented and not very high-profile: NARO had no activities in this area, and Makerere University only a few.

Internationally, however, urban agriculture was gradually moving up the research agenda. Systematic research programmes, including IDRC's Cities Feeding People and the CGIAR's SIUPA programme began. The collaborative approach to the component of this work in Kampala involved Makerere University and KCC technical officers. The comparative international dimension was also raising the important issue of the policy context, and research programmes increasingly considered this dimension. By 2001, larger-scale collaborative research was being done in Kampala. The approaches used had greater farmer involvement and focused on farmers' own innovations. As well as the social research, more technical areas were being covered, which brought in additional university departments, including Makerere's Department of Veterinary Public Health.

At this time, key figures in international research organizations were helping to build coalitions not only for effective collaborative research, but also by increasing capacity (and funding) to work towards policy change outcomes. The collaborative nature of these research approaches and the policy focus culminated in Kampala in the formation of KUFSAALCC.

In Kampala today, collaborative, multi-disciplinary research approaches involving partnerships between local government, NGOs, national and international research organizations are the norm. Similar approaches are happening elsewhere, but many are looking to the Kampala model.

3.3.6 Central government

In the early 1990s, before decentralisation, central government was responsible for providing agricultural support and services through its Ministries. There were no agricultural staff in the city council, but extension officers were working in the peri-urban parts of Kampala. Urban agriculture was not a concept recognized by central government, and policies and legislation did not mention it.

In 1993, following decentralisation, central government departments were no longer responsible for the delivery of services at local level. However, the behaviour of

certain MAAIF staff in continuing to actively support the AEOs (who were now working for KCC) proved to be very important in allowing those activities to continue.

Throughout this time, central government remained responsible for formulating national policies and legislation. Whilst individuals from MAAIF were closely involved in the process leading to the development of the new ordinances in Kampala³⁶, this happened in the absence of any national policy.

By 2006, following the process in Kampala, MAAIF started a process of developing a national policy on urban agriculture. And the latest version of the PEAP specifically mentions the need to engage with urban agriculture issues.

³⁶ When asked to review existing laws and advise on developing revised ordinances, the AEOs from KCC asked for, and received, support from their previous colleague at MAAIF.

3.4 Key influences and events leading to policy change

The research team's initial analysis of the Kampala urban agriculture policy process and the key events associated with it were based on a literature review, the commissioned timeline and interviews. At the workshop, descriptions of the process, events and influences were presented and participants asked to verify and enhance this description.

Having agreed on the description, workshop participants were then asked to identify the most important events and influences in the process³⁷. This exercise and the ensuing discussion led to a depiction of the process, and some further information on the events and influences that were considered as highly important.

Based on these, and further interviews and literature review, Figures 1 and 2 depict a representation of the process leading to the policy change, highlighting those events and influences that participants had identified as the most crucial. These influences and their role in the process are discussed in more detail in the following Analysis chapter.

³⁷ A full description of the process used at the workshop can be found in the workshop report: <http://www.ppppc.org/Project/CaseStudies/Case-Study-2/Reports-and-documents.asp>

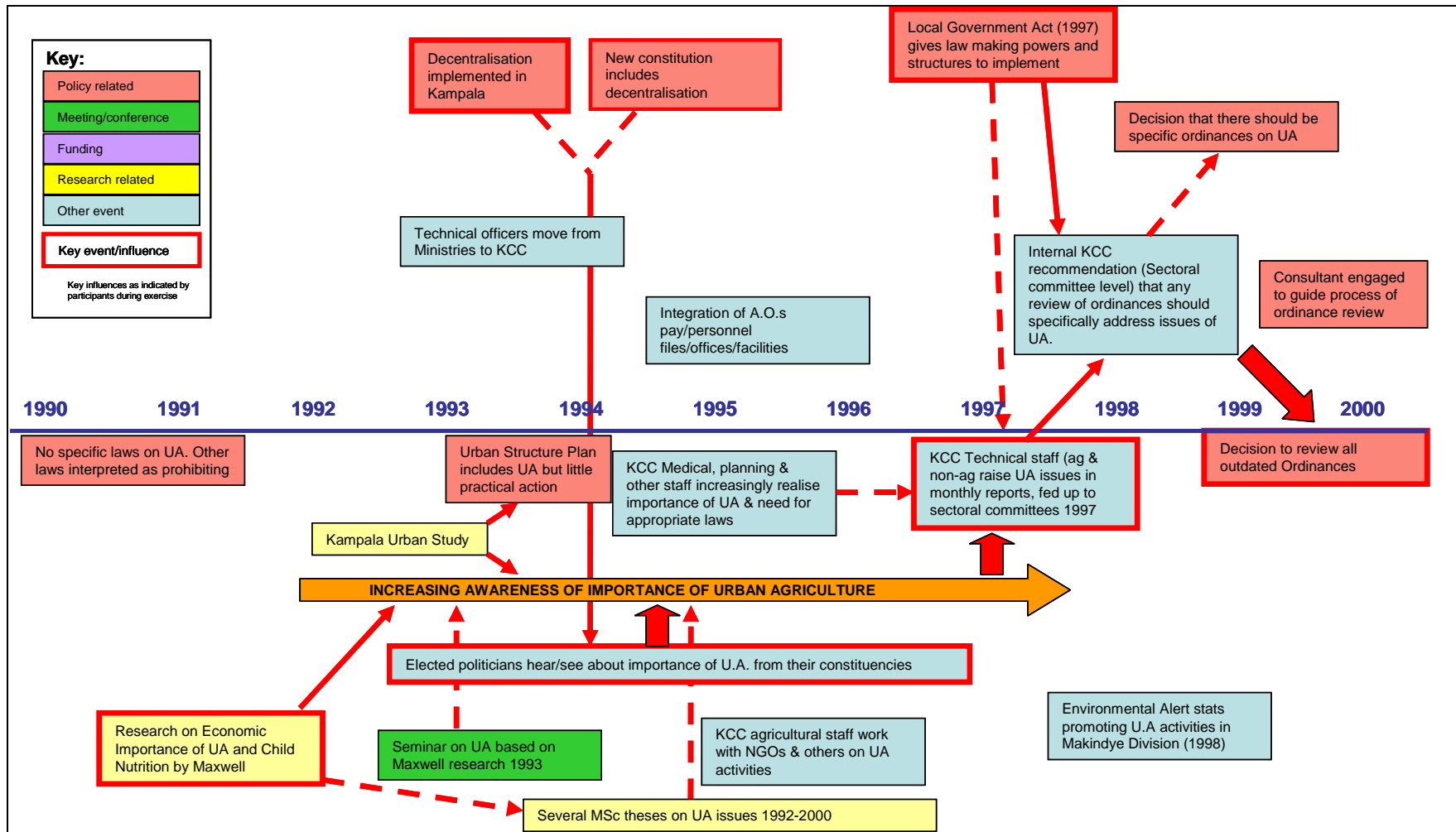


Figure 1: Timeline of events and influences - Part 1: 1990-2000

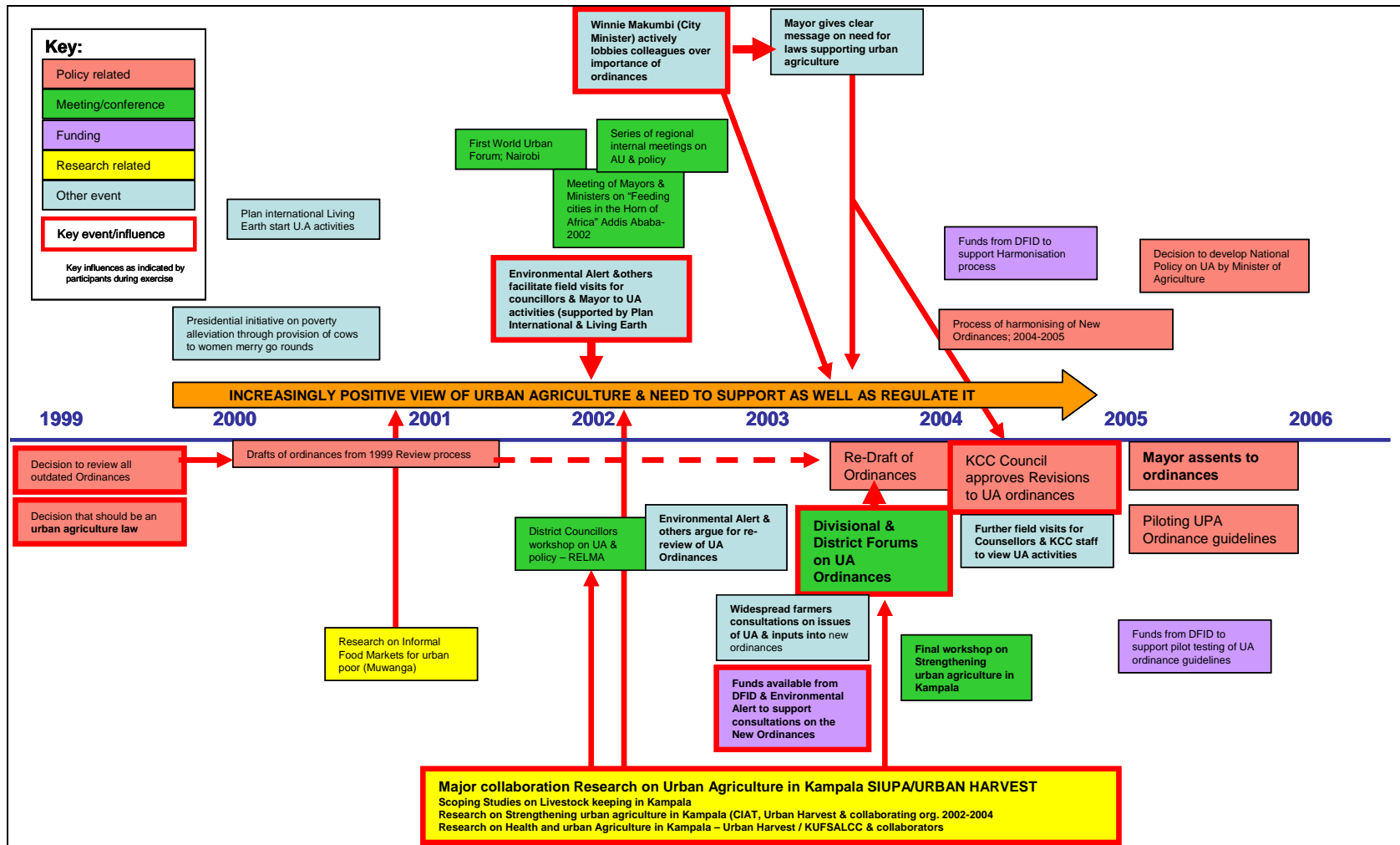


Figure 2: Timeline of events and influences - Part 2: 1999-2006

4 Analysis:

The previous sections have presented the wide range of results produced by the three different methodological approaches. This chapter analyses these results, using the 'Context-Evidence-Links' (CEL) framework described in Chapter 2.

4.1 The policy context: politics and institutions surrounding the development of the urban agriculture ordinances

4.1.1 Background political context

Almost without exception, informants identified decentralisation and the associated LGA, and the national policy focus on poverty reduction, based on the PEAP, as being crucial in the process leading to the more supportive urban agriculture policy.

Prior to these events, Section 3.2 described how wider political and economic changes had shaped the practice of urban agriculture in Kampala. Agriculture was practiced because it was an appropriate livelihood strategy for poor people in times of political unrest and economic hardship. The practice of agriculture in the city continued in more settled times since 1990, despite a policy and legislative environment that was unfavourable. The necessity to improve households' food security outweighed any attempts to use the rather inappropriate laws to discourage the practice. This is a clear example of how policies and legislation by themselves will fail to achieve their purpose when they are not based in the reality of people's lives, especially when the laws themselves are confused and inconsistent.

The complex laws relating to land tenure, outlined in Section 3.2, also shaped the practice of agriculture in the city. Maxwell (1993, 1995 & 1996) shows how the variety of means of gaining informal access to land encouraged productive use of even small plots for agriculture. He argues that attempts to revise laws on land tenure should be sensitive to the effect that these may have on activities important to people's livelihoods. Even back in the early 1990s, Maxwell was arguing for appropriate policy changes to support such activities.

4.1.2 Decentralisation and devolved law making

Decentralisation had both positive and negative effects. The change in attitude and behaviour of political leaders has been described, and clearly seems to have been largely in response to their exposure to the realities of their constituents' lives and the need to respond to their problems. During her interview, the City Minister for SICDA described the politicians' perspective: people want to see a politician change their lives and so politicians' actions need to show how they are doing this.

The effect of decentralisation on the government officers assigned to KCC was, at least initially, negative. In the case of the AEOs this was because KCC saw no role for such officers in an urban environment. However, the AEOs developed a good

understanding of the role of agriculture in the city and the problems facing farmers. Once there was more political recognition and effective linkages between technical and political ‘wings’ of KCC following the 1997 LGA, the technical officers were able to link with political leaders in a way that led to effective policy change. This is likely to have been more difficult under a more centralised system. As it was, the structures in place meant that the key technical officer close to activities on the ground, the District AEO, was only ‘separated’ from the elected City Minister by one person, her Head of Department, who very effectively linked the two.

Whilst the wider impact of devolved political systems on poverty reduction may be variable (see for example Johnson (2001), in the case of urban agriculture in Kampala, it seems to have brought more local accountability and an increased responsiveness to people’s needs. The decentralisation process was clearly consistent with the ideology of the NRM – it was a process that was believed in by government (rather than forced upon them from outside) and had been used effectively in the form of RCs during the armed struggles of the 1980s. But devolved government in Kampala may work rather differently than in rural areas – people are physically closer to their politicians, have access to the media and can more easily present their concerns to politicians.

However, even with decentralised decision-making, implementing change still requires commitment and resources. As early as 1994, the Kampala Urban Structure Plan had recommended land use changes to accommodate forestry and agriculture. The lack of progress with implementing these recommendations is likely to be in part due to lack of resources. The timely availability of funds to facilitate passage of the draft ordinances shows the importance of resources in achieving policy change.³⁸

In Uganda, national policy has lagged behind local changes in attitude and behaviour towards urban agriculture. When it was clearly in the interests of local political leaders to work for change, they did so and had reasonably effective frameworks and mechanisms for achieving this. This is in marked contrast to the national policy, and the politicians and central government officers responsible for shaping this. In the wider context of their national concerns, perhaps especially relating to rural poverty, urban agriculture didn’t feature high enough to result in change. It has been the change in Kampala that has stimulated moves to change national policy.

4.1.3 A poverty focus in national policy

Wider national policy on poverty has also been influential in the process leading to the new urban agriculture laws; launch of the PEAP put poverty reduction at the heart of national and local policy. This was accompanied by a process of public awareness on the PEAP and its related strategy the PMA. Two of the PEAP ‘pillars’ were clearly relevant to urban agriculture: improving production and incomes, and ‘human development’ including nutrition. Residents could hold leaders responsible for taking action on such important aspects of their livelihoods. And those involved in service delivery, whether government officers or NGOs, could also clearly link their activities on urban agriculture with the national policy.

³⁸ It is also relevant to note that one of the reasons that some people were resistant to the rapid passage of the new ordinances was that they wanted key other issues beyond urban agriculture to be addressed – issues that had been moving slower or stalled partly because of lack of resources.

4.1.4 Political leadership

Finally, in most respondents' opinions, a major influence on the successful development of the new laws was strong and committed political leadership. Although initially not a supporter of urban agriculture, the role the Mayor later played was important in influencing others. Probably even more influential was the constant high-level political support that came from the City Minister for SICDA. As well as giving a clear political lead, this undoubtedly streamlined and prioritised internal procedures that led to the relatively rapid passage of these new ordinances, and in turn influenced senior colleagues.

4.2 The role of evidence in the process leading to the new ordinances

Evidence has played a key role in the changes in attitude and behaviour towards agriculture in Kampala, and the parallel development of the new laws. From the early research in the early 1990s, to the evidence gained by NGOs and officers working on the ground, and eventually the wide-ranging collaborative research since 2000 (both internationally and in Kampala) it is clear that the evidence has been very effective both in stimulating interest and in adding weight to on-the-ground experiences. Here, the role of evidence is analysed in relation to its relevance, its credibility and the way it was communicated.

4.2.1 Relevance of evidence

In his research in the early 1990s, Maxwell took steps to ensure that his research concerned not only the issues affecting farming in Kampala but also started to address specific policy-related issues. Whilst policy-relevance is now an important consideration for development research, this approach was not typical at that time. Perhaps the reason Maxwell's work has been so influential in Kampala is that, beyond its value as socio-economic research, it got to the real issues behind agriculture in the city – the economic scale of the activity, its importance for food security and incomes, and its impact on child nutrition. These were all policy-relevant issues.

Much of the research conducted during the 1990s was done by technical officers who were themselves pursuing degrees. Building on Maxwell's research, the subjects were also based on the officers' own knowledge and experience³⁹, which ensured its relevance.

Adding to this was experience from NGOs working to support urban agriculture. Environmental Alert's work in Makindye Division built on earlier research and their own previous interventions, and was based on participatory and consultative approaches. This produced its own highly relevant evidence, based on practical experience.

³⁹ See for example Muwanga's work on informal food markets (Muwanga, 2001)

The bigger initiatives for collaborative research, from 2002 onwards, added further to the relevance of the evidence. The multi-disciplinary nature of the research – both in terms of subject area and in the type of organisations involved - resulted in highly relevant evidence feeding into the policy process. By this time, attitudes had already started to change, but efforts to change to more supportive policies were still being resisted because of concerns about public health and environmental considerations. The health-related urban agriculture projects started to address these more technical concerns, and brought in additional specialists from the veterinary public health field.

The diverse range of organisations involved in the research – KCC, NGOs and research organisations – together with the participatory approaches used in the research, also enhanced the relevance of the evidence. The research had strong links to the reality of urban farmers’ lives and addressed their problems; the involvement of KCC helped to ensure it also addressed the concerns of the technical officers responsible for promoting and regulating the practice. The key role played by SIUPA/Urban Harvest introduced an international dimension, relating the Kampala experience to that of others, further adding to the relevance of the evidence.

Overall, the research done from 1990 through to 2005 built up a comprehensive and highly relevant body of evidence that could be used to support policy change. The earlier socio-economic research set the scene in terms of answering the *why* questions, providing empirical evidence to back up what was increasingly becoming apparent. But whilst the importance of urban agriculture was becoming clearer, technical officers, amongst others, still had important questions to be addressed: How could it be practised without endangering public health? What is the real risk posed by contamination and pollutants to food grown in an urban environment? The technical evidence which provided the answers would have been irrelevant if it had not already been shown *why* urban agriculture was important. Similarly, without the technical evidence, arguing for policy change would have been very difficult whilst public health concerns remained.

4.2.2 Credibility of evidence

Credibility of evidence is important. Those who are opposed or unconvinced of the need for change will question the legitimacy of the evidence. A wide range of organisations and individuals contributed to the increasing body of evidence on urban agriculture. AEOs pointed out that, although some of the research added little to what they were regularly reporting, it was valuable to be able to back up their field reports with empirical evidence quoted from a Makerere University department, for example. The later collaborative research not only brought respected international research institutions into the arena, but also focused on a partnership of specialist research departments across a number of organisations, each with credibility in their own field.

Makerere’s involvement, initially through the Institute for Social Research and Department for Agricultural Extension and later through the Department of Veterinary Public Health, brought both credibility and local experience. The close involvement of KCC in the research also added to the credibility. As a main ‘target’ for influencing, the involvement of their own officers in the design and

implementation of research added to the credibility of the evidence considered by KCC politicians.

4.2.3 Communication of evidence

A variety of means was used to communicate evidence during the process of changing attitudes, behaviour and, eventually, policy in Kampala.

From the outset, most of the research has been done in collaboration with extension staff – initially from the MAAIF and later KCC. This close involvement meant that information coming from research spread rapidly amongst extension staff; elements from the research was included in their monthly reports. Findings therefore repeatedly found their way into the internal communications of KCC.

The way Maxwell communicated the results of his research has also been significant. His initial contact with policy makers, before the research started, meant that the relevant people requested his findings and were familiar with the research when the results came. The dissemination meeting, described in Section 3.1, proved to be a very important and effective means of communicating research findings. As well as the large audience present, the involvement of women farmers in the meeting added considerable weight to the findings, at a time when the issue was still extremely controversial.

This proactive and early consideration for communication was an important feature of Maxwell's research and in a large part seems responsible for its considerable impact. The majority of people who were interviewed for this study mentioned Maxwell's research as being influential, even though few of them had actually read the published research at the time. The emphasis on local communication through a variety of means proved very effective⁴⁰, although the actual change process that the findings stimulated took a long time.

Most of the recent collaborative research done in Kampala followed the same pattern in terms of communication as Maxwell's research. Once again, the collaborative nature of the research ensured that findings were shared between partners. The use of the HCC as a 'steering committee' for the Health and Urban Agriculture project also resulted in linkages between relevant organisations, and communication channels into these organisations. This included KCC, which was both a partner in most of this collaborative research, and a target for change.

A key means of communicating the current research findings has been through meetings. Meetings have taken place both in Kampala and regionally. Local meetings have served the purpose both of communicating findings to a wide range of stakeholders as well as bringing together different stakeholders for discussions of the issues. This was most strategically done during the community consultation process in 2003. Historical and recent research findings were presented in the context of moves to make proposed laws appropriate and evidence-based. Specific meetings for KCC

⁴⁰ This was not however at the expense of peer-reviewed publications, which were also numerous.

technical officers also used the evidence to help address concerns they had, resulting in ordinances that were widely accepted.

The regional and international meetings have served a slightly different purpose. They were used to communicate findings on urban agriculture from different cities, showing how many of the issues were common and how evidence and experiences from one city may be used in others. Kampala's experience in changing its laws has already been presented in a number of regional meetings.

Some specifically targeted meetings have been used in Kampala. Urban Harvest took the opportunity of the visit to Uganda of the Director General of CIP, to meet with the Minister of Agriculture and Deputy Director of NARO. As well as briefing them on CIP's activities, a specific policy brief was prepared, outlining current research knowledge and making recommendations on urban agriculture.

The use of written materials in Kampala has been quite limited. Formal research reports have been written and distributed to a range of interested stakeholders but often these have not been turned into more 'user-friendly' versions. An exception was the brief prepared by CIP/Urban Harvest, which was apparently well-received. Perhaps wider use of such materials should have been considered.

The printed guidelines to the new ordinances were produced as a result of stakeholders' comments on the need to have user-friendly materials if the new laws were to be effective. Whilst these were meant to be used by urban farmers, and were distributed as part of piloting the draft ordinances, it seems that they also played a role in convincing key people that revised laws could work. They were simply structured, concise and printed in colour, and perhaps took the place of policy briefs.

There was little strategic use of the media to disseminate research findings. There are examples of where the media picked up on urban agriculture as a topical and important story, often in response to a speech made by the Minister or Mayor.

One highly effective means of communication used in Kampala was the use of field visits for local and city officials and politicians. Environmental Alert used this approach from the outset. Many respondents stressed the value of these visits. The 'seeing is believing' approach helped to raise awareness of the reality of urban agriculture amongst local leaders, and provided support for further activities. Later in the process, the visits served to illustrate what the research was showing, and also to demonstrate the value of interventions to support livelihoods. Notably, soon after a field visit organised for the Mayor, he became a strong advocate of urban agriculture. In order to target a wider range of people, videos were taken during some visits and were later shown to senior politicians and technical officers, and were also used as a resource in regional meetings.

4.3 Linkages: Collaboration and partnership to achieve policy change

Linkages between key players have been a major feature of this policy change process, with highly collaborative approaches used throughout the process.

4.3.1 Collaboration in service delivery

Following decentralisation, AEOs had a challenging time within KCC. However, through the efforts of certain key individuals, mutually beneficial linkages were made between NGO activities and the work of AEOs: NGOs and could collaborate with experienced local government technical staff; AEOs could access external funding and were exposed to new approaches. The close collaboration that emerged between the District AEO and the manager of Environmental Alert's urban agriculture programme provided the foundation for many subsequent partnerships. This early work was in service delivery, with few research components, but nevertheless provided important evidence.

Collaboration in service delivery has developed and continues to this day. Most urban agriculture activities in Kampala link KCC, which has prime responsibility for service delivery, with NGOs who bring additional capacity, often additional funds and usually innovative approaches.

4.3.2 Collaborative research

Researchers undertaking urban agriculture fieldwork have routinely collaborated with extension officers in Kampala, who themselves often undertook research as components of degree courses. The proactive efforts of the District AEO and others helped develop these activities into much stronger partnerships. Environmental Alert was part of these early research partnerships, often working closely with Makerere University and NARO.

When external funding opportunities enabled the more recent collaborative research projects, these pre-existing partnerships proved important. The regional and local meetings led to strong and diverse partnerships emerging: invariably these included researchers from different disciplines along with local government and NGO partners, and frequently central government too. Such collaboration helped to make the research appropriate and relevant, and drew on the experience of practitioners as well as the expertise of researchers.

This collaboration did not happen by accident; it was orchestrated by some key individuals. The Regional Coordinator for Urban Harvest recognised the opportunities offered by the partners in Kampala. She guided the research priorities and practice, linked them to sources of funding for additional activities, and facilitated sharing of information with members of the Kampala team attending regional meetings. She did this in a way that strengthened local capacity and leadership, preventing the international research organisations from dominating. A key role has also been played by the Head of the Makerere University Department of Veterinary Public Health. Initially acting as an expert in veterinary public health, he is now an important local coordinator of urban agriculture research and development activities in Kampala, and serves as Chairman of KUFSAALCC. Housing the KUFSAALCC's information/resource unit within Makerere University has established a strong connection with the university and brings in other departments, as appropriate, for additional research.

These collaborative research approaches have helped strengthen capacity of local organisations. Atukunda (1998) described the benefits from IDRC's early support, not only in terms of researchers' exposure to new fields and approaches but emphasised the strong links made between researchers and local government.

There are, however, some 'missing partners'. The role of NARO has been very minor, limited to involvement of two individuals⁴¹. Unfortunately, the DDG Research at NARO, who had become a keen advocate of urban agriculture, died in 2005. Since then no senior managers seem to have bought-in to the need for NARO to play a role. Similarly, despite attempts to involve them, the National Environment Management Authority (NEMA) has yet to play a significant role. Given the significant environmental issues around urban agriculture this could prove problematic.

4.3.3 Collaboration for advocacy

A major strength of these collaborative and participatory approaches has been in the subsequent advocacy activities. The link between the District AEO and NGOs and researchers meant that evidence and experiences were directly fed into the formal reporting structure reaching politicians. Technical officers from many fields were able to make the case for policy changes, based on both their own experiences and those of their NGO partners, and on research evidence. Research organisations also played a role in advocating for change based on their collaborative work in different cities. This was most effective at regional level, where they were able to bring together senior politicians to get agreement on the need for policy changes.

Both internal advocacy for change, and the activities of publicly funded research organisations, are subject to protocol and procedure. NGO partners, notably Environmental Alert, were largely free of such limitations and so played a lead role in advocating for policy change: influencing local leaders, politicians and technical officers through field visits; actively advocating for policy change after 2000, based on what they saw as unfavourable draft laws. Whilst this could have been done separately from their other partners, it would have been much less effective. Working closely with KCC and research partners, Environmental Alert became an extremely credible and authoritative voice for change. The NGO provided a powerful alternative channel through which technical officers and researchers could use their experiences and evidence to work for change.

4.3.4 Individuals within partnerships and the role of 'champions'

The linkages that have formed throughout this story of policy change have relied heavily on a few individuals from key organisations, who acted as 'champions' in the policy change.

⁴¹ In addition to the previous Deputy Director (Research), one NARO researcher has been involved in the coalition, both formally and informally. However this has been more to do with her former involvement in urban agriculture research than for her institutional position within NARO, and formal NARO involvement in ongoing urban agriculture activities remains limited.

The District AEO, worked tirelessly through difficult circumstances to get urban agriculture on the agenda, when others might have given up. She acted as a hub around which a formidable team developed, externally through the links with NGOs and researchers, and internally; the Agriculture Department went from being largely ignored to become one of the most dynamic departments in KCC. The enthusiasm and dynamism of the District AEO was increasingly supplemented by that of her team of AEOs, especially as the environment they worked in became more favourable.

The District AEO also knew how to operate within KCC to influence others. Procedurally this should have been limited to technical officers, but a strong relationship was forged with the Minister for SICDA, who became a champion for change in her own right. The Minister operated at senior political level, not only to argue for the importance of urban agriculture and of the need for policy review, but also to directly influence her political colleagues. The Minister most likely played a major part in the Mayor's change of attitude; the Mayor also, arguably, played a role by appointing experienced and competent people to ministerial posts and respecting their opinions. Once there was political support from the Mayor and a senior Minister, procedural delays or opposition to change were much easier to overcome.

Another key individual was the Regional Coordinator for Urban Harvest. With a strong background in urban agriculture research, and perhaps a frustration at the lack of change elsewhere, she found in Kampala a team who could really achieve something. But it still took considerable effort and experience to transform this team into a sustainable, independent group. With her knowledge of the international research system and of donors, she also played a major role in enabling access to funding at critical times, and helping convince donors to use funds in innovative ways.

Other individuals have also played key roles. The Senior Agricultural Officer and Desk Officer on Urban and Peri-urban Agriculture at MAAIF in Kampala, provided support and a 'home' for the unwanted AEOs following decentralisation, and continued to play a supportive role to their activities, including important input to policy reviews. The manager of Environmental Alert's urban agriculture programme effectively combined advocacy with development and worked tirelessly to bring this important livelihood issue to everybody's attention. The Professor of Veterinary Public Health at Makerere, now Chairman of KUFSAALCC, remains actively involved in research and development activities and continues to proclaim the importance of urban agriculture, not just within Kampala, but regionally and internationally.

Finally, it is important not to forget Maxwell. He chose a difficult and controversial subject for his research, carried it out in an innovative and policy-oriented manner, and disseminated the findings locally in order to influence change. This went way beyond the requirement for his PhD. The new laws on urban agriculture in Kampala are, in no small way, the result of his pioneering work.

There is a downside in terms of sustainability, however, to over-reliance on individuals. Whilst a very strong team formed, and continues through KUFSAALCC, it is as much a team of individuals from organisations as it is of organisations themselves. Whilst individual relationships helped to forge the partnerships, the danger is that when an individual leaves, the role of that organisation is lost. At the

workshop, it was stressed that strong individuals from organisations need also to work within their organisation to engender institutional ownership. The partnership also needs to make plans for when an individual leaves. In the case of the untimely death of the DDG NARO, the developing role of that organisation in the process was undoubtedly pushed back. And following recent elections which brought in new politicians in Kampala, it remains to be seen whether the strong political leadership on developing urban agriculture continues.

4.3.5 The XX-factor – the role of women in the change process?

It won't have escaped readers' attention that as well as urban agriculture being a very important activity for resource-poor women, many of the key players in the process leading to the new ordinances were women. Whilst all the champions in the process were highly motivated, capable people, it has been suggested that the women's role was especially important. Undoubtedly, effective relationships developed between the women involved. They indicated that they learned a lot from each other: how to be persistent, consistent and act in a mutually supportive way. They were also able to relate closely to women's issue at farmer level.

4.4 The role of external influences on the development of the urban agriculture ordinances

Whilst the development of the new laws can really be seen as a home-grown process, certain influences on this policy process can be described as 'external'. These influences include the role played by international agencies and donors.

4.4.1 International agency priorities

The early research on urban agriculture in Kampala was done at a time when there was little activity in this sector. IDRC's support enabled Maxwell and others research to go ahead, and for their findings to be considered in a wider global context. Without IDRC playing this catalytic role, it would have been difficult for the situation in Kampala to progress. Conversely, the agencies now have a good example of the way they can effectively support pro-poor change.

At that time, the major international agencies concerned with urban development, including UN Habitat, were sceptical of the role of agriculture in urban environments. It was difficult to get urban agriculture debated during major meetings on urban development, a situation which persists today to an extent. If the few agencies which now focus on this area cease their support, challenging such negative attitudes will be even more difficult.

4.4.2 Donor funding influences

The use of donor funding at critical times has been noted previously. Even with research and development activities funded, the policy change process has many hurdles, some time-consuming and expensive. For example, the draft Bills of

Ordinance were developed, but the consultation necessary to make them more appropriate could only take place when DFID funding was secured. A similar important hurdle was overcome when additional DFID funding was used to support the harmonisation process. This, arguably, goes beyond the mandate of the funding body, yet without the availability of funds at that critical time, the change in policy would have been at least severely delayed. In order for research and development activities to achieve desired outcomes, such innovative use of funds is sometimes needed.

5 Lessons

5.1 Lessons on achieving policy change:

Although lessons can be drawn from this case study, it is important to point out the specific nature of this policy process. Compared to the findings of the first case study in this project on national dairy policy in Kenya (Leksmono et al, 2006), it is clear that local policy making processes differ from national ones. Some of these differences lead to lessons in themselves, for example, the role of decentralisation. Nevertheless it is important to consider these lessons in the context of where and when they were drawn and the type and range of actors involved. They cannot be considered as simple ‘guidelines’ to follow for policy influence.

The final session of the case study workshop was devoted to drawing lessons from the findings and discussions. The lessons below draw on that discussion, but have also used broader findings and subsequent analysis from the case study.

5.1.1 Decentralisation and national policy processes:

This case study illustrates that devolved decision-making can be effective in addressing the needs of the poor. The closeness of the politicians to their constituents and the necessity to respond to their needs was a major factor. A lesson for those seeking to influence policy is that local policy processes may be easier to engage with. Once change has occurred at that level, it can reach the national agenda and can be a springboard for a wider change. This is certainly true for urban agriculture in Uganda, which is now specifically mentioned in the latest version of the PEAP.

5.1.2 Importance of political leadership:

High level political leadership is a major influence for change or conversely, in its absence, a block. The role of the Mayor and City Minister for SICDA were crucial and influencing such people is important in the change process. This can be achieved in a number of ways, but a combined approach seems best. Political leaders can be exposed both to the realities on the ground (through field visits and briefings) as well as to wider thinking and experiences (through regional meetings). Also, the value of having a high-level ally (the Minister) is clear from this case study, and seeking ways to reach and influence such people should be considered early on.

The appointment of highly educated and well informed ministers can lead to effective processes; evidence on particular issues can then be fed into the proper process of policy development.

5.1.3 Participation and consultation work:

This process involved participatory research and development activities throughout. From Maxwell's original research through to recent collaborative R & D activities, participation both at grass-roots and policy-maker levels has been a feature. Whilst political and other factors will undoubtedly have played a role, the participatory nature of these activities could partially explain why change has occurred in Kampala when it hasn't elsewhere.

This participatory approach contrasted with the initial review of ordinances, which had lacked community consultation. The importance of community consultation in order to achieve appropriate policies was recognised by all actors. The lesson is that such consultation should be planned and budgeted for early in the process; although potentially expensive, it leads to much better policies.

5.1.4 Evidence needs to be used in appropriate ways:

There has been a considerable role for evidence in this process, both empirical research-based and from the experiences of NGOs and technical officers. But such evidence is useless unless strategically communicated.

The exposure of politicians to the realities on the ground had to be backed up with empirical evidence of the scale and importance of the practice, and with evidence and experiences to suggest practical ways of engaging. Use of strategic communication involving field visits and targeted meetings proved particularly effective in this case. It may also involve the use of appropriate written briefs, though this featured less here. A further lesson is the significant time that it takes for attitudes, behaviours and eventually policy to change.

5.1.5 Range of evidence:

The broad range of evidence that was influential in this process is also notable. In such livelihoods-related areas, socio-economic evidence can answer questions about *why* something needs to change. Once the issue of change is on the agenda and politically important, technical evidence can come into play to address *how* to go about change in a way that effectively balances livelihoods impacts with ways of addressing technical concerns.

The continuous flow of socio-economic and technical research outputs, both early in the process and more recently, have also ensured that following the initial impulse for change, momentum has been maintained, thus minimising the inertia often encountered in policy processes.

5.1.6 Value of diverse partnerships and networks:

The partnerships involved in this policy change process have been extraordinarily effective. A particular feature is the scope of the partnership that evolved into KUFSAALCC. The mix of CSOs, local and central government, and national and

international research organisations brought a breadth of perspectives and expertise. The success of this partnership is due in no small part to the efforts of a number of individuals involved. Although KUF SALCC is not necessarily a model for replication, the clear lesson is that diverse partnerships bring in diverse capacities. These lead to holistic solutions based on empirical and experiential evidence. Such partnerships may be hard to manage – and indeed hard to form - without good understanding between the organisations. For KUF SALCC, it worked because of the individual relationships involved. The wider lesson is that investment to make such diverse partnerships work effectively can result in real change.

5.1.7 The important role of ‘champions’:

Whilst it is not a particularly useful lesson to say that ‘champions’ can prove crucial, there are lessons about how potential champions can be supported and made more effective. The champions in this process have been at a variety of levels. It suggests that such people often exist in organisations, waiting for the opportunity to act. In this case, the strengths of particular strong and committed individuals in key positions were recognised by others, and they were supported in their activities within their respective organisations. Champions within organisations can help change the behaviour within that organisation through their leadership. A strategy of identifying such people, at both political or technical level, and supporting them is likely to be a good investment.

5.1.8 Multiple strategies for lobbying and advocacy:

Decision makers can be reached in a number of ways. In Kampala, the combination of traditional presentation of research findings, field visits to development and research activities, lobbying through internal reports, exposure to international experiences, together with more straightforward open advocacy activities, added together to achieve influence greater than the sum of its parts. Different people are likely to be influenced in different ways. A varied approach to advocacy, as long as individual efforts are not diluted, is likely to be an effective strategy.

5.1.9 Timely availability of resources:

Many of the activities mentioned required considerable funding and the allocation of funds to competing areas is always going to be an issue. However, where progress is being made, and certain hurdles are faced, the lesson from Kampala is that the timely injection of funds to overcome those hurdles can ‘make or break’ wider outcomes and maintain momentum in policy change processes. This requires understanding of how donor systems operate. Equally it needs donors who are willing to use funds in innovative ways. This process contrasts with the lack of changes following the Kampala Urban Structure Plan in 1994. Even with devolved decision making and implementation, no change will occur without resources and commitment by key people.

5.2 Concluding comments:

Of course the ‘proof’ of how good this policy change process has really been will only be clear when the policy and new laws are being implemented, and the impact on poor people’s livelihoods are assessed. Nevertheless, this case study was looking at the policy change process itself, and in that respect, the development of the urban agriculture laws in Kampala seems to be an extraordinary example of collaborative development and research activities feeding into an effective devolved decision-making process, resulting in appropriate evidence-based laws.

There seem to be several pieces of a jigsaw that have come together to result in this policy change, the absence of any one of which may well have resulted in very different outcomes. The role of Maxwell’s initial research, complemented by others, has been huge, and shows the length of time it may take to result in real change. The role of dedicated workers in the field, both technical government officers and NGO workers, has also been crucial. And the collaborative development activities which fed into the early-stages of the policy change process themselves stimulated the consultative and research-based activities, which ultimately led to the development of the new laws themselves. Throughout the process, certain key people ‘championed’ the need for change, often in difficult or controversial circumstances. And all of this arguably only happened because of the political environment which brought legislative powers close to the people whose livelihoods depended on the practice of urban agriculture.

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Appendix 1: The RAPID Outcome Assessment: application in the Kampala urban agriculture policy change case study

The Research and Policy in Development (RAPID) Outcome Assessment – the ROA - was designed as a learning methodology to assess the contribution of a project's actions and research on a particular change in policy or the policy environment. It is a flexible, visual tool that can be used to map changes in the project and its environment, and it can be used in conjunction with other evaluation tools and methods to evaluate a particular project or programme. Whilst initially designed to focus on a project, it can be applied more generally to policy change processes.

The key steps of the ROA were originally designed as follows:

1. Describe the policy environment at the beginning and the end of the timescale.
2. Identify the key policy actors or agents of change, including 'boundary partners'.
3. Describe the behaviour of the key actors that are conducive to change in the policy environment, and their behaviours at the beginning of the timescale.
4. Map the key changes in behaviour for each key actor through the timescale.
5. Map the key changes in the internal environment of a project (if the case study is focusing on such a project) including organisational changes, outputs and changes in behaviour during the same period.
6. Map the external influences including the actions of strategic partners and other exogenous factors during the same period.
7. Determine the level of impact/influence of the external influences and of the project on the changes in behaviour of the key actors.
8. Refine the conclusions with in-depth interviews and assess the real contribution of the different influences to the change in policy environment.
9. Write report.

The intention was that these steps could be covered in a workshop with key stakeholders to produce a table similar to Figure 3, below. However the approach can be adapted for use in different circumstances, emphasising particular aspects and changing the balance between interview-derived and workshop-derived outputs. The ROA was first used for the case study on changes in dairy marketing policy in Kenya, and was adapted from the originally proposed approach owing to the balance of workshop participants (see Leksmono et al., 2006).

For this second case study into the process leading to the new Kampala City ordinances on urban agriculture, the approach was again adapted, but in a different way. As it was exploring a largely formal process of ordinance development within KCC, although apparently influenced from outside, the 'episode study' component of the investigation was emphasised, and triangulated with the 'case study' elements, both of these elements being derived mainly through interviews and literature review. The behaviour change component was captured during the case study workshop.

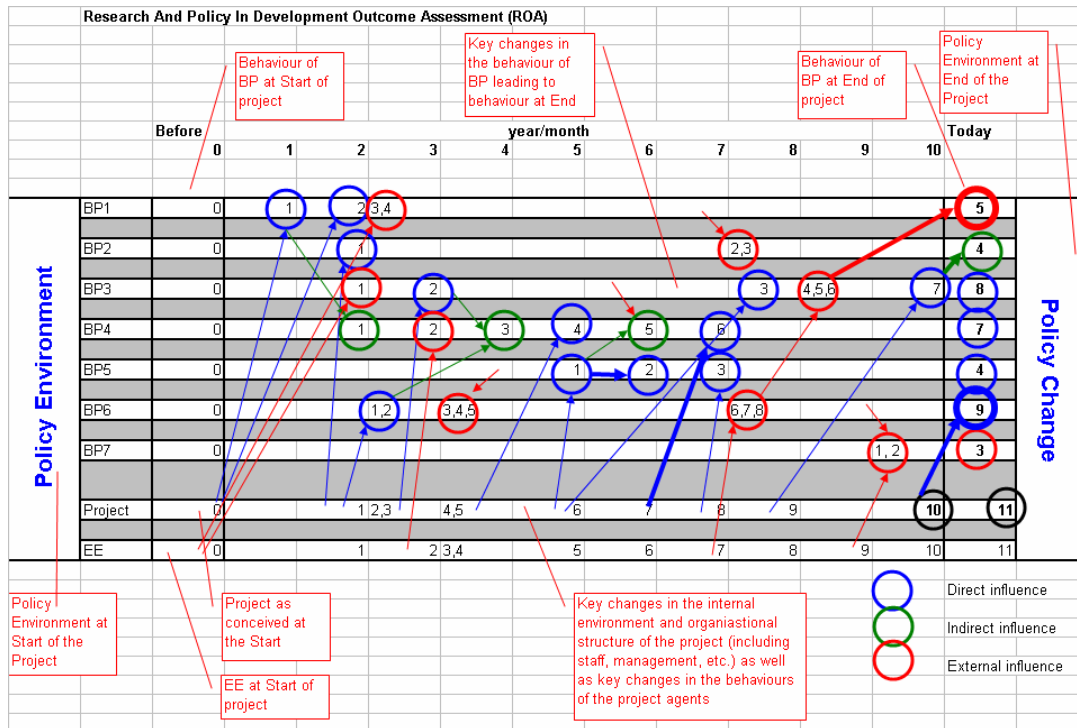


Figure 3: Example of RAPID Outcome Assessment (ROA) output

The actual process for the case study was:

1. Literature review and commissioning of a timeline of events and activities, from a consultant who was close to, but ‘outside’ the formal policy change process.
2. Interviews with key actors identified through step 1 – mainly ‘outside’ the formal Ordinance development process, but including some ‘inside’ – focusing on events and perceived influences and taking a forward-looking ‘case study’ approach.
3. ‘Episode study’ interviews with key people involved in the ‘formal’ Ordinance development process – predominantly within KCC or government ministries, including elected politicians – and taking a backward-looking approach.
4. Creation of a tentative timeline of events and influences based on the outputs of steps 2 and 3 above.
5. A workshop⁴³ which involved:
 - a. Mapping of key actor behaviour changes:
 - i. Identification of key actors in the policy change process.
 - ii. Description of their behaviour at the end of the process, and at the beginning of the timescale identified in step 4 above.

⁴³ A full description of the workshop programme, activities and outputs can be found on the project website: <http://www.ppppc.org/content/files/documents/Kampala%20workshop%20report%20final%202028-03-06.pdf>.

- iii. Description of key behaviour changes of these actors, the time these changes occurred, and what influenced the changes.
 - b. Verification and enhancement of the timeline of events and influences from step 4 above, drawing on the outputs of the behaviour change exercises, and including a ranking exercise to identify key influences.
 - c. Preliminary drawing of lessons from the policy process.
6. Refinement of the outputs through further interviews and literature review, focusing on filling gaps and on exploration of identified key influences/events.
7. Report writing.

The final depiction of the policy change process was therefore not based on the originally conceived ROA diagram, but on a timeline of key events and influences, with linkages explained largely by the behaviour change outputs from the workshop.

Key points and lessons from applying this variation of the ROA:

- There was very little disagreement over the important events and influences derived from the ‘case study’ and ‘episode study’ components. However, the relative importance of certain events and influences were obviously very much influenced by the position and activities of the relevant actor.
- The ‘case study’ elements, being forward-looking, tended not to emphasise (or in some cases totally miss) events and influences that had occurred prior to that actor’s first involvement in the process.
- In contrast, the episode study interviews, while starting at the ‘present’ succeeded in producing a description of events and influences that stretched back well before some of the apparently ‘key’ events from the ‘case study’ component. Whilst linkages were made with events already identified through the ‘case study’ component, new ‘branches’ of influence were also identified.
- Nevertheless, the ‘case study’ component gave a very rich description of the details of processes and activities of a range of actors, which largely explained *how* influences on the policy change process had occurred. This detail was largely missing from the ‘episode study’ component, with interviewees describing *what* had influenced the process, rather than *how* these influences had occurred.
- The combination of these two approaches did produce a fairly non-contested rich representation of events stretching back for over 15 years.
- The workshop-derived description of key actors’ behaviour changes and influences on them then added to the explanations of influences and events, with behaviour changes themselves being key influences in some cases.
- The overall application of the approach in Kampala was very positive, with all three elements of the approach being useful. It is certainly the case that the description and understanding of the policy process would have been a lot less rich if any element had been missing.

Appendix 2: The RAPID *Context-Evidence-Links* Framework

What influences research to policy uptake?

Often, the link between research and policy, or evidence and practice, is viewed as a linear process, whereby a set of research findings or lessons shift from the ‘research sphere’ over to the ‘policy sphere’, and then has some impact on policymakers’ decisions and practical programmes. Reality tends to be much more dynamic and complex, with two-way processes between research, policy and practice, shaped by multiple relations and reservoirs of knowledge.

The traditional question ‘How can research be transported from the research to the policy sphere?’ has been replaced by a more complex question: ‘Why are some of the ideas that circulate in the research/policy networks picked up and acted on, while others are ignored and disappear?’.

ODI’s theoretical, case study and practical work has identified a wide range of inter-related factors, which determine whether research-based and other forms of evidence are likely to be adopted by policymakers and practitioners. These factors can broadly be divided into three overlapping areas: the political context; the evidence; and the links between policy and research communities, within a fourth set of factors: the external context. The interplay of these four areas is laid out in Figure 4: The RAPID Framework. The framework should be seen as a generic, perhaps ideal, model. In some cases there will not be much overlap between the different spheres; in others the overlap may be considerable.

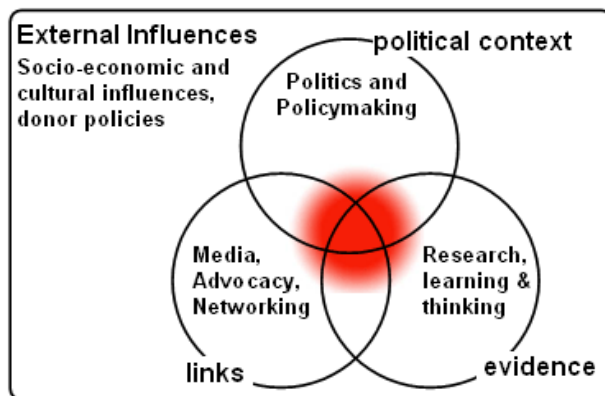


Figure 4: The RAPID Context-Evidence-Links framework

1. Political context: politics and institutions

Research-policy links are dramatically shaped by the political context. The policy process and the production of research are in themselves political processes from start to finish. Key influencing factors include: the extent of civil and political freedoms in a country; political contestation, institutional pressures and vested interests; and the attitudes and incentives among officials, their room for manoeuvre, local history, and

power relations. In some cases the political strategies and power relations are obvious, and are tied to specific institutional pressures. Ideas circulating may be discarded by the majority of staff in an organisation if those ideas elicit disapproval from the leadership.

2. Evidence: credibility and communication

Our findings and experience suggest that the quality of the research is important for policy uptake. Policy influence is affected by topical relevance and, as importantly, the operational usefulness of an idea; it helps if a new approach has been piloted and the document can clearly demonstrate the value of a new option. A critical issue affecting uptake is whether research has provided a solution to a problem. The other key set of issues here concern communication. The sources and conveyors of evidence, the way new messages are packaged (especially if they are couched in familiar terms) and targeted can all make a big difference. For example, marketing is based on the insight that people's reaction to a new product or idea is often determined by the packaging rather than the content in and of itself. The key message is that communication is a very demanding process and it is best to take an interactive approach. Continuous interaction leads to greater chances of successful communication than a simple or linear approach.

3. Links: influence and legitimacy

Third, our work emphasises the importance of links; of communities, networks and intermediaries (for example, the media and campaigning groups) in affecting policy change. Some of the current literature focuses explicitly on various types of networks, such as policy communities, epistemic communities, and advocacy coalitions. While systematic understanding remains limited, issues of trust, legitimacy, openness and the formalisation of networks have emerged as important. Existing theory stresses the role of translators and communicators. It seems that there is often an under-appreciation of the extent and ways that intermediary organisations and networks impact on formal policy guidance documents, which in turn influence officials.

4. External influences

Finally, a synthesis of the RAPID experience emphasises the impact of external forces and donors actions on research-policy interactions. While many questions remain, key issues here include the impact of international politics and processes, as well as the impact of general donor policies and specific research-funding instruments. Broad incentives, such as EU Accession or the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) process, can have a substantial impact on the demand for research by policymakers. Trends towards democratisation and liberalisation and donor support for civil society are also having an impact. Much of the research on development issues is undertaken in the North, raising concerns of relevance and beneficiaries' access to the findings. A substantial amount of research in the poorest countries is funded by international donors, which also raises a range of issues around ownership, whose priorities, use of external consultants and perceived legitimacy. As policy processes become increasingly global, this arena will increase in importance.

For a synthesis of the main conclusions of recent ODI work in this area, see the RAPID Briefing Paper using the following website address:

http://www.odi.org.uk/RAPID/Publications/Documents/rapid_bp1_web.pdf.

Appendix 3: List of people interviewed

NAME:	JOB TITLE/POSITION	INTERVIEW DATE(S)
Prof. George Nasinyama	Head of Dept. of Public Health and Preventive Medicine, Makerere University Faculty of Veterinary Medicine	Various occasions
Ms. Margaret Ssemwanga Azuba	District AEO & Extension Coordinator – KCC	2 nd September 2005 & 9 th January 2006
Mr. John Musisi Muwanga	Desk Officer on urban Agriculture – MAAIF	2 nd September 2005 and 5 th January 2006
Ms. Maria Kaweesa	Urban Food Security Programme Officer – Environmental Alert	5 th September 2005 & 13 th January 2006
Mr. Abdelrahman Lubowa	CIP-Urban Harvest research officer & KUFSAALCC coordinator	Various occasions
Mr. Vincent Katungi	City Law Enforcement Officer – KCC	6 th January 2006
Ms. Gertrude Atukunda	Socio-economist – NARO	9 th January 2006
Mr. Placid Nyamutale	District Fisheries Officer – KCC	9 th January 2006
Mr. Fred Kibombo	Representative District Veterinary Officer – KCC	9 th January 2006
Ms. Prossy	Finance Director – KCC	10 th January 2006
Mr. Mark Ssinabulya	State Attorney – MoFCA-FPC	11 th January 2006
Mr. L.K. Yiga	Previously Director of Crop Production – MAAIF	11 th January 2006
Ms. Florence Sanyo	Divisional AEO (Makindye Division) – KCC	11 th January 2006
Ms. Lovincer Mukasa	Director of Social Improvement, Community Development and Antiquities – KCC	12 th January 2006
Mr. Francis Kakuru	Deputy City Advocate – KCC	12 th January 2006
Ms. Winnie Makumbi	Minister for Social Improvement, Community Development and Antiquities – KCC	12 th January 2006
Mr. John Lule	Divisional Health Inspector (Central Division) – KCC	13 th January 2006
Mr. Joffre Katabazi	Divisional Planning Officer (Nakawe Division) – KCC	13 th January 2006
Dr. Daniel G. Maxwell	Deputy Regional Director (East Africa) for Care International	27 th January 2006
Dr. Diana Lee-Smith	Previously Regional Coordinator CIP-Urban Harvest	Various occasions

Appendix 4: Workshop participants list

The case study workshop “Learning Lessons from the Kampala Urban Agriculture Policy Process” was held on 31st January at the Hotel Equatoria, Kampala. A full description of the workshop programme, activities and outputs can be found on the project website:

<http://www.pppppc.org/content/files/documents/Kampala%20workshop%20report%20final%2028-03-06.pdf>

NAME	ORGANISATION
Facilitators:	
Nick Hooton	ILRI
Dannie Romney	ILRI
Mary Njenga	CIP-Urban Harvest (Nairobi)
Peter Kingori	CIP-Urban Harvest (Nairobi)
Participants:	
Abdelrahman Lubowa	Urban Harvest (Kampala)
Lilian B. Adriko	KCC Legal Office
Gertrude Atukunda	NARO
Margaret Semwanga Azuba	KCC
Tonya Crawford	KCC
Moses Isabirye	NARO-KARI
Vincent Katungi	KCC
Maria Kaweesa	Environmental Alert
Sarah Kimeze	Urban Harvest (Kampala)
Fred Kibombo	KCC/DVO
Edith Kyeswa	KCC
John U. Lule	KCC (Central Division)
Moses Makoha	Urban Harvest/KUFSALCC (Kampala)
Dan Mivule	Kampala District Farmers Association
John Musisi Muwanga	MAAIF
George Nasinyama	Makerere University/KUFSALCC
Janat Nakangu	KCC
Georgina Nakubulwa	KCC
Placid Nyamutale	KCC
Isabel F. Omal	Ministry of Justice
Florence Sanyo	KCC (Makindye Division)
Stella N. Sengendo	CIP Kampala
L.K. Yiga	MAAIF