



Graduate School of Development Studies

Friends Or Foes?

**Local Government - NGO Partnerships in Uganda:
A Case of Kabarole District**

A Research Paper presented by:

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(UGANDA)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTERS OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Specialisation:

**Public Policy and Management
(PPM)**

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The Hague, The Netherlands

November, 2009

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Dedication

To Hilda, Racheal, Emmanuel Andama, Alfred and Anna Adiburu

For your inspirations

Acknowledgement

I acknowledge Dr. Sylvia Bergh and Dr. Kees Biekart for the support, guidance and encouragement throughout the research process and for helping in clarifying my thoughts and giving a sense of direction. Thanks to Mercy Mungai and Natasha Mazari for accepting to be my discussants and giving a critical look at my paper before and after the research seminars. Your inputs were so invaluable. I am truly grateful. Thanks to Des Gasper for being a mentor. To the PPM Faculty, Programme Administrator and Participants I say thanks for the great team work that saw us through the course.

I acknowledge Hivos for funding this study under the Hivos–ISS Knowledge Building Programme. Thanks to Remko Berkhout, Yvette Evers and Larissa Bardosa da Costa. Many thanks to the Staff of Kabarole Research and Resource Centre, SNV Uganda in Fort Portal especially Godfrey Wabwire and Staff of Kabarole district local government for your support during the field study. Thanks to the International Institute of Social Studies of the Erasmus University, Rotterdam for all the support during my study period at the ISS and thanks to NUFFIC for the scholarship.

Lastly but not least, thanks to my circle of friends at ISS who have been there for me and given me all the support I needed at a time like this. Thanks to my Dutch friends, Wim Kuiper and family, Fred Kouwenberg, Wim Schoevers and Joop Vagelaar for being a family to me while in Netherlands.

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List of Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CAO	Chief Administrative Officer
CAP	Chapter
CBMIS	Community Based Monitoring and Information System
CDO	Community Development Officer
CPF	Community Process Facilitator
CS	Civil Society
CSI	Civil Society Index
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DDP	District Development Plan
DED	German Development Services
DLG	District Local Government
EU	European Union
FID	Farmer Institutional Development
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HIVOS	Humanist Institute for Development Cooperation
HLG	Higher Local Government
HPPG	Harmonised Participatory Planning Guide
IGG	Inspector General of Government
ISS	International Institute of Social Studies
KRC	Kabarole Research and Resource Centre
LC	Local Council
LG	Local Government
LGDP	Local Government Development Programme
LGEP	Local Governance Empowerment Programme
LLC	Lower Local Council
LLG	Lower Local Government
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NAADS	National Agricultural Advisory Delivery Service
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non – Governmental Organisation
NPA	National Planning Authority
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
PEAP	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
PPA	Project Priority Areas
PPEM	Partnership for Public Expenditure Monitoring
PRMT	Poverty Resource Monitoring and Tracking
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategic Paper
QuAM	Quality Assurance Mechanism
RACC	Rwenzori Anti Corruption Coalition
RACOPF	Rwenzori Association of Community Process Facilitators
SCC	Sub-County Chief
SLG	Subcounty Local Government
SNV	Netherlands Development Organisation
SWOT	Strength Weakness Opportunity and Threat
TPC	Technical Planning Committee
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations International Children’s Education Fund

Abstract

This paper explores Local Governments - Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) partnerships in decentralised system of governance. It analyses the influence of the institutional frameworks that govern the local government – NGO relationships and their influence on partnerships and nature of relationships that exists between them. The paper examines the interests that drive the LGs and NGOs into partnership and the factors that are critical in determining the nature of their relationships. The paper uses the theories of Co-production and Co-governance to analyse the findings of the study. As the findings of the study reveal, when local governments and NGOs partner, they start relationships. These relationships seem to be characterised by harmony in cases of co-production and conflict in case of co-governance. Most studies on partnerships focus on bilateral partnerships but this study focuses on multiple-stakeholders partnerships. The study adopts an exploratory research method. Key informant interviews were conducted with officials from Kabarole district local government and two NGOs. Apart from the interviews documents were reviewed. The findings reveal that institutional frameworks are critical in determining the nature of relationship that can exist between LGs and NGOs, the interests that drive LGs and NGOs to partner seem to a large extent differ and the nature of their relationships are mainly determined by factors such as accountability mechanisms, information sharing, leadership and personal relationships, extent of involvement, legitimacy and influence of external actors. The analysis and conclusions are based on a field study conducted in Kabarole district, Western Uganda.

Relevance to Development Studies

Most discussions on decentralisation mainly focus on systems and structures of local governments, their efficiency and effectiveness but little attention is given to the interactions that take place between these structures and the people in the centre of these processes. This study is relevant to development studies in the sense that it focuses on the functioning of institutions and systems as being determined by interactions between people in them and beneficiaries of the services provided by these institutions. It takes the debate beyond issues that have received most attention like financial autonomy, administrative competence and technical capacity of local governments and analyses relationships factors that are critical in determining the working of partnerships between local governments and other local development stakeholders like the NGOs.

Keywords

Co-production, Co-governance, Decentralisation, Partnership and Uganda

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a background to this study, stating the problem which the study seeks to analyse, location of the study, and justification for the study. The research objectives, questions, methodology and the limitations of the study are presented in this chapter.

1.2 Background to the study

Governments in the developing countries are under pressure from donors and communities to increase efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery. At the same time, they are faced with decreasing financial resources. To address this, governments have undertaken public sector reforms among which include partnerships with the non-state actors to deliver services to their citizenry. Brinkerhoff states; 'faced with limited resources, governments in developing and transitioning countries are struggling to find the resources to provide basic [...] services'. He further argues, 'increasingly, governments are turning to the private and nonprofit sectors as partners' (Brinkerhoff, 2002:51). This is further echoed by Gomez who states, '[the] inability of the public and private sectors to provide adequate [services] has led to the involvement of other sectors, including civil society' in service delivery (Gomez, 2004:42). Smillie argues, '[...] NGOs often have been encouraged by governments to complement and to supplement the efforts of governments [to deliver services to its communities...]' (Smillie, 1995:174).

Until the 1990s, service delivery in Uganda was centrally planned and managed by the central government with the involvement of some faith based organisations in the provision of basic social services like education, health services and emergency relief aid in times of natural disasters.

The Uganda local government statute number 15 of 1992 transferred some decision making powers for planning and fiscal matters to the local governments with the official aim of making service delivery more efficient, effective and democratic (Kahigiriza 1996:1). Decentralisation was instituted with the purpose (at least officially) to make development activities more responsive to local needs, mobilise local resources, and promote local cooperation, accountability and good governance. Decentralisation in Uganda is entrenched in the 1995 constitution and made operational by the Local Government Act of 1997. Basheka (2008) argues that decentralisation has been promoted as a critique of the central planning system that is largely ineffective and favours the participation of the other non-state actors in the development processes.

The promotion of local cooperation and local resource mobilisation entails local government's partnership with the other development stakeholders. Krishna argues that 'the utility of both local governments and community-based organisations can be considerably enhanced when these agencies work in partnership with one another. Different roles will be played by local governments and community organisations in different types of partnership arrangements' (Krishna, 2003:361). With decentralisation, the role of NGOs increased as they became more involved in direct service delivery, advocacy work, capacity building of communities and institutions both public and private, and promotion of accountable and good governance. Namara (2009:15) identifies some key roles played by the NGOs in the development processes in Uganda to include, 'broadening ownership of poverty reduction plans and processes', defending interests of the

poor, increase the effectiveness of poverty reduction interventions and holding governments accountable for their actions and inactions.

Teamey (2008:16) argues that in order to have a successful collaboration between governments and NGOs, there is need for ‘...trust, shared values, perceived comparative advantages and multiple support networks’. The relationship between local governments and NGOs in Uganda can hardly be described as being one of mutual trust but rather a mix of cooperation and conflict. This affects the manner in which partnerships operate in service delivery in the local governments. Berardo in describing the situation of collaboration between government and NGOs in Brazil states; ‘...political differences among NGOs and between NGOs and government create a climate of distrust that undermines successful collaboration’ (Berardo, 1999: 244). This situation in Brazil is not very different from what happens in Uganda as we will see in this paper.

The situation of mistrust is aggravated by the inadequacy or absence of accountability mechanisms between local governments and NGOs who consider each other at least officially as “partners” in local development. Hilhorst et al (2005) argues, there is a need for mechanisms for accountability and forums for dialogue for commitments in partnerships. The local government – NGOs relationships are often marked by accusations and counter accusations on corruption. In assessing the attempt to develop a Civil Society Index (CSI), Biekart notes that central to the theme in the debate on civil society strength are issues such as accountability, participation, legitimacy, and transparency (Biekart, 2008: 1177). These issues of accountability, participation, legitimacy and transparency are critical in the relationships between local governments and NGOs. Woods argues; ‘the aim [of accountability] is to ensure that political actions are predictable, non-arbitrary and procedurally fair, that decision makers are answerable for their decisions, and that rules and limits on the exercise of power are enforced. For all these reasons, accountability within public institutions, whether national or international, is a desirable thing’ (Woods, 84:2001). As will be discussed later in the paper, accountability plays a key role in determining the quality of LG – NGOs relationship.

An effective partnership requires the appropriate institutional framework and an agreement on goals and means of achieving these goals. Whereas there may be agreed goals in a partnership arrangements, the question of who makes the rules of the “game” and the basis of their powers and how this affects the performance of partnership between the local governments and NGOs needs to be analysed. The findings of the study point to LGs and NGOs as friends and foes at the same time.

1.3 Background to Kabarole District¹

Kabarole district is located in western Uganda (Rwenzori Sub-Region)². It is bordered by Kasese district to the South, Kamwenge to the South East, Kyenjojo to the East, Bundibugyo to the North West and Kibaale to the North East.

During the Colonial rule of the British in Uganda (1894 – 1962), Kabarole was the headquarters of the, then Toro Kingdom, the present day Rwenzori Sub-region. Sir Gerald Portal in 1892 built a tactical fort where the current day district headquarters is located thus giving the town the name Fort Portal.

¹ The background to the Kabarole District is based on information from the Uganda Districts Information Handbook 2007 – 2008 and Kabarole DDP

² See appendix 12 for the map showing the location of Kabarole district

At the time of independence, Kabarole district was part of the Toro kingdom. Following the abolition of the kingdoms in 1967, the kingdom became a district; this was later broken up into five districts and presently there are negotiations to carve out more districts out of Kabarole District in the name of bringing services closer to the people. However, it could be argued that the creation of new district can serve as an avenue for political patronage and breaking up large districts that have been a strong hold for opposition and serves to weaken them. Taking into account the conflicts that have followed creation of new districts and increased administrative costs, the argument for bringing services nearer to the people can become questionable.

The present-day Kabarole District consists of three counties of Bunyangabu, Burahya and the Fort Portal municipality. Thirteen rural subcounties and three urban divisions; within these, there are 64 parishes, 582 villages and a population of 356,914³ people.

1.4 Justification for the study

Governments and NGOs at almost all levels are increasingly becoming constrained in the delivery or support of services due to mainly limited resources especially financial. To overcome this, they have turned to different forms of collaborations with each other to achieve development goals. In Uganda, with the rapid increase in the number of districts⁴ may lead to the increase in the administrative costs and reducing the funds available for service delivery in the local governments. This may increase the opportunity for LG – NGOs partner.

This study adds to the discussions on partnerships by focusing on the factors that determine the nature of working relationships between local governments and NGOs and how the institutional frameworks influence partnerships.

Most studies and literature on partnerships tend to focus on bilateral partnerships and mainly the donor – recipient relationships but this study analysed both the multi-stakeholder processes and the dynamics of dealing with multiple stakeholders and institutions involved in decentralised service delivery.

As Krishna states; ‘For too long [...], discussions of decentralisation and of community-based development have proceeded separately from each other. The decentralisation agenda has been concerned mostly with exploring the question: what do effective local governments look like? And it has focused almost exclusively on structural factors—such as financial autonomy and administrative competence—that relate to the technical capacity of local governments. Relatively less attention has been given to the parallel question: How do effective local governments interact with their constituents?’(Krishna, 2003:369). This study focus on the issues of interactions between local governments, their partners, the people they serve and the politics of partnerships.

1.5 Research Objectives

This study seeks to analyse the relationships that exists between local governments and NGOs engaged in decentralised services delivery in Uganda and to assess the factors that facilitate or constrain these relationships in Kabarole district.

³ Source: The Uganda Bureau of statistics (2005)

⁴ See appendix 10 for the map of Uganda showing districts

1.6 Main Research Question

Why do Local Governments and NGOs partner in a decentralised system of governance and what factors determine the nature of these relationships?

Sub-questions

1. How do the institutional frameworks in Uganda facilitate or constrain relationships between local governments and NGOs?
2. What are the interests that drive local governments and NGOs into partnership with each other so as to co-produce and co-govern in Kabarole district?
3. What factors determine the nature of relationships in partnerships that exists between Kabarole district local government and NGOs?

1.7 Research Methodology

This study is exploratory and seeks to analyse the nature of relationships that exist between local governments and NGOs in Kabarole district and the factors that influence the nature of these relationships and their implications for partnerships. It mainly involved data collection through in-depth interviews with key informants.

The analysis in this paper is based on twenty two interviews⁵ using an interview guide⁶ and document reviews of reports, development plans, Memorandum of Understandings (MOUs) and academic literatures from journals and books. Interviews were conducted with staff of two NGOs and Kabarole local government officials.

The respondents were purposively sampled based on the perceived knowledge they have on the issues being studied as a result of their involvement in implementing programmes and projects in partnerships. Some snow-balling sampling method was also used to identify more key informants.

Most of the respondents have been working for the respective NGOs or local governments for a period between three and ten years. This is important for the study because data generated are not just influenced by recent events or occurrences but interactions over time.

Two NGOs were purposively selected for the study. Kabarole Research and Resource Centre (KRC) was selected because it is a local NGO and a Humanist Institute for Development Cooperation (Hivos) partner. Hivos through the Knowledge Building Programme supports KRC in the field of research and development in addition to support to other programmes in agricultural production, marketing and microfinance programmes. This helped in analysing the influence of external actors, especially donors.

The Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV) on the other hand was selected due to the type of NGO it is. It operates at national and international level and its main areas of intervention are in capacity building at the meso level and its interventions are demand driven.

SNV Uganda is an International NGO, a part of the SNV International, a Netherlands Development Organisation. It is stated that 'SNV is dedicated to a society where all people enjoy the freedom to pursue their own sustainable development. We contribute to this by strengthening the capacity of local organisations' (SNV Uganda, 2007:2). SNV aims at poverty

⁵ See appendix 2 in the appendices for the list of persons interviewed

⁶ See appendix 1 for the interview guide

reduction and improvement of the livelihoods of the communities through building the capacities of local organisations. They signed a MoU with Kabarole district local government in Water and Sanitation, Primary Education and Productivity and Incomes sectors.

KRC on one hand mainly implements programmes and projects at the grass roots communities (subcounty, parish and village levels). On other hand, SNV largely deals with the district local governments. This helped to assess the perceptions about the factors that influence the working relationships between Kabarole district local government, local NGOs and international NGOs and those involved at the grass root and district level operations.

Kabarole District Local government in 2007 signed a MoU with SNV Uganda for the period starting 1st January, 2008 to 31st December, 2010. The MoU covered three sectors of Water and Sanitation, Primary Education and Productivity and Incomes. The MoU was signed on the understanding that Kabarole District Local Government wishes to deliver public services and SNV Uganda is willing to carry out capacity development.

Kabarole Research and Resource Center (KRC) is a local research based NGO operating in the Rwenzori sub-region. It was established in 1996 as a research oriented organisation. It initially started as a Kabarole district NGO. It expanded its operations to cover all the five districts in the Rwenzori sub-region. KRCs other programme areas include human rights and governance, sustainable production programme, micro-finance. Currently they are developing a Regional Think Tank.

The three subcounties of Kibiito, Kisomoro and Bukuku were selected on the basis of the fact that KRC is implementing the Local Governance Empowerment Programme (LGEP) in them. This gives a practical case of partnerships and the relationship factors that come with it. Two other subcounties (Mugusu and Buheesi) were selected though they were not implementing the LGEP so as to get a view that is not only influenced by the LGEP but also interactions with the other NGOs.

While collecting data from the field, the researcher attended two of what is called 'issues – based' weekly meetings at KRC where staff discuss key development related issues they encountered in the course of the past week. Many of the issues discussed touched on the focus of this study, that is, partnerships. The researcher also attended a two days training for Community Process Facilitators (CPFs) aimed at creating a harmonised understanding of the CPF concept among the CPFs and the NGOs who are involving them in the NGO work. They reviewed the performance of the CPFs and came up with ways of creating the Rwenzori Association of Community Process Facilitators (RACOPF).

The CPFs are community volunteers who are the main link between the community members, the NGOs and local governments, especially subcounty local governments. The researcher also held informal discussions with local government and NGOs official which generated some additional information to the interviews.

Content and text analysis method was used to make meaning of the data generated through the above described methods.

At the end of the fieldwork, the researcher organised a feedback seminar to disseminate preliminary findings from the field study. A total of thirty one participants attended the seminar and commented on some of the findings as well as gave additional information.

1.8 The Research Limitations

The study is limited in the sense that it is a case specific study and the findings are not meant to be representative of all the Local Government-NGOs partnerships in Uganda as a whole and Kabarole district in particular due to the research method that was adopted that cannot allow generalization of the findings. The factors that influence and regulate the relationships may vary

between the different local governments and NGOs. However, some of the findings may apply or be shared by other local governments and NGOs.

Some of the limitations stem from practical challenges in accessing some key informants, especially those from the local governments. Some of them constantly kept changing and cancelling appointments for interviews, often at short notice. This was coupled with difficulty in accessing some documents and reports. The challenge with the local government officials could have been due to some of the events within the period of the field work where two NGOs, KRC and Rwenzori Anti Corruption Coalition (RACC) in their reports were critical of Kabarole district local government pertaining to issues related to the manner in which they were managing public funds meant for delivering services.

After the researcher shared his challenges of meeting the local government officials with an NGO official, and requested to know how NGOs have been dealing with the local government (LG) officials, he said; ‘If you have not tasted disappointments, try the local governments. If you want to get those people, just go there without making an appointment and deal with them there and then. You are better off dealing with the subcounty rather than district officials... Did you tell them that you are from KRC? We have been on [the local governments] over expenditures so they may be thinking you are following them over corruption issues. That is why they are cancelling appointments at short notice’. The researcher was seen by the local government officials as someone from the NGO while the NGOs viewed him as one from the local government. However, this was overcome by assuring the respondents that he was a neutral researcher.

Within the same period of the field study, the Inspector General of Government (IGG) published a list of the most corrupt districts in Uganda and Kabarole district came out as the most corrupt local government in Uganda. Initially, these factors could have made the officials to look at the study with suspicion as it was about LG – NGOs partnerships in decentralised service delivery and with sub-themes that dealt with issues of interests, accountability, legitimacy and leadership which may have been sensitive issues at the time. However, with time some of the officials opened up and were available for interviews but more towards the end of the fieldwork period and many did not want the interview sessions recorded for what some referred to as “security reasons”.

1.9 Structure of the Research Paper

This paper contains six chapters. Chapter one gives a background to the study. Chapter two presents the definitions of the key concepts and a brief discussion of the theoretical and analytical framework. In chapter three, the institutional frameworks for local government – NGO relationship in Uganda is presented and discussed. In chapter four, the findings on the key partnership factors and their influence on local governments and NGOs relationships with the theoretical implications of the findings are presented and discussed. The last chapter presents brief conclusions and recommendations from the study.

Chapter 2

CONCEPTS, THEORETICAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORKS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the operational definitions of the key concepts in this paper are given and the theoretical as well as the analytical frameworks.

2.2 Definition of key concepts

Partnership and Cooperation

Despite the definitional challenges of what is and what is not a partnership with its related debates, in this study the concept *partnership* is used to describe the programmes, projects or activities that Local Governments and NGOs agree to carry out in collaboration with each other or by allowing space for the other to implement their activities especially in the case of the local government allowing the NGOs to operate in their areas of jurisdiction to achieve development goals. They may implement development activities with each party contributing resource to the achievement these goals or each partner implements activity using their own resources but aimed at achieving a “common” goal. Teisman and Klijn on their part argue; ‘[the] partnership concept may be linked to the trend toward network forms of governance, in which public actors take their interdependencies with other actors into account and try to solve governance problems through cooperation rather than through central steering and control’ (Teisman and Klijn: 2002:198). This study is not focusing on one particular type of partnership. Awortwi observes, ‘...Partnership covers a variety of arrangements, from formal, legal relationships to informal co-operation with a variety of forms of social co-ordination including networks...’ (Awortwi, 2003:43). Types of partnership are co-production and co-governance and nature of partnerships include cooperation and conflict. The terms partnership and cooperation will be used interchangeably.

Co-production

For this study, the definitions provided by Ostrom, Joshi and Moore will be used. Ostrom defines *co-production* as ‘...the process through which inputs used to produce a good or service is contributed by individuals who are not in the same organization’ (Ostrom, 1997:85) and Joshi and Moore define co-production as ‘...the provision of public services (broadly defined, to include regulation) through a regular long-term relationship between state agencies and organised groups of citizens, where both make substantial resource contributions’ (Joshi and Moore, 2004:31). It is within this confine that co-production is used in this study. As findings reveal, there is likely cooperation in co-production.

Co-governance

Brandsen and Pestoff state; ‘*Co-governance* refers to an arrangement, in which the third sector participates in the planning and delivery of public services’ (Brandsen and Pestoff: 2006:497). Within this, the third party is involved in issues of promoting accountability. This definition of

co-governance is what is used in this paper. It seems there is more conflict is likely in co-governance.

Accountability

Accountability is conceived to be answerability by the local government and NGOs to each other and to the communities they serve for their actions or inactions pertaining to the roles and responsibilities as stated in partnership agreements, be it formal or informal agreements. Edwards and Hulme state; '[w]ithout effective performance assessment and strong, multiple accountability mechanisms, no NGO [or Local government] is likely to be able to find its way through the increasingly complex maze constituted by the world of development assistance [...]' (Edwards and Hulme, 1995:224). However as will be discussed under the factors that influence the LG-NGO relationships, it is not only effective performance assessment and the multiple accountability mechanisms that count but other factors like information sharing, leadership, legitimacy, extent of involvement and influence of external actors do count.

Leadership

Leadership in this study is defined to mean a process where an individual influences the actions of other people within an organisation to achieve a common goal. Leaders in this study refer to persons who are in position of authority within their organisations and can make decisions for and on behalf of the organisation. These include leaders of the local governments, and those who head the NGOs.

Legitimacy

Legitimacy is conceived to be the social and legal acceptance of the parties in or outside a partnership arrangement and considered to be having the authority and acceptance of the community within which they operate. Unless each partner considers the other as a legitimate player in local development, the motivation to partner may be lost. The view of the Local governments and NGOs of the legitimacy of each other is assumed to affect the way they relate and account to each other.

Power

The concept of power is used to refer to the ability of an entity to determine its course of action with minimal interference from another third party and the ability to influence the actions of the others. Michael states that 'NGO powers allow local NGOs to assert their own agendas and influence, even when they are in conflict with the priorities or norms of other groups'. She further notes that '[when] it comes to relationships between NGOs and states in Africa, it is most often the state which holds the balance of power in its favour' (Michael, 2004:20). This power of the states over NGOs in Africa can be seen through the registration processes and regulations of NGOs by states in Africa and at times the extent to which the states are able to determine the agenda for the NGOs. This is also the case for LGs and NGOs.

Decentralisation

According to Nsibambi (2000), decentralisation is a system of governance that is characterised by the transfer of powers (political, fiscal and managerial) from the centre to local governments giving them more autonomy to manage their local affairs within the framework of a unitary state.

Decentralised system of governance is analysed to assess how power and autonomy is used to facilitate or constrain partnerships and how NGOs operate in relation to local governments in implementing development initiatives, for example under the Local Government Development Programme (LGDP) and its requirement for local governments to partner with NGOs in development planning and implementation.

Local Governments

Local governments are conceptualised to mean the lower units of government other than the central government. The definition of a local government as stated in the Ugandan laws is used. The Local Government Act (CAP 243) Section 3 sub-section 1 and 2a and 2b respectively state that '[t]he system of local government shall be based on the district as a unit under which there shall be lower local governments and administrative units. The local governments in a district rural area shall be the district council; the subcounty councils. The local governments in a city shall be the city council; the city division councils' (Uganda Law Reform Commission, 2008:21). The members of the councils are elected to office using universal adult suffrage, where every registered adult, aged eighteen years and above is eligible to stand for an elective position and to vote. On average, a local government council has ten to twenty members, depending on the number of subcounties for district council and parishes for a subcounty council and representatives of the special interest groups like women, youth and people with disabilities.

Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs)

Though there is no one agreed definition of Non-Governmental Organisations in this study, the definition of NGOs as contained in the Uganda National NGO Policy is used. It defines an NGO as '[any legally constituted private, voluntary grouping of individuals or associations involved in community empowerment, advocacy, development, research or relief work which is clearly neither part of Government nor clearly part of the 'for profit' commercial sector' (Office of the Prime Minister, 2008:8).

The Uganda National NGO Policy makes the following distinctions between national, regional, international and community based organisations. It defines them as follows; 'National Non-Governmental Organization: An NGO that is controlled by Ugandans and registered exclusively within Uganda with authority to operate within or across two or more districts in Uganda' [such as KRC] and 'International Non-Governmental Organization (INGO): An NGO having its original incorporation in one or more countries other than the Partner States forming the East African Community, but operating in Uganda under a certificate of registration'[for example, SNV and Hivos], (Office of the Prime Minister, 2008:8). In this paper, the term NGO is at times used to refer to Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), Community Based Organisations (CBOs) and the Third Sector.

Institutional framework

Institutional framework here refers to the Ugandan Laws, regulations, guidelines and decentralised system of governance that provide the framework for services delivery in Uganda. The laws that are referred to include the Uganda Constitution (1995), The Local Government Act (1997), The Nongovernmental Organisations Registration Act (1998), The Nongovernmental Organisations Regulations (2008) and the National Nongovernmental Organisations Policy (2008). The institutional framework is analysed to ascertain whether it facilitates or constrains local governments' and NGOs' operations and relationships.

External Actor

The term external actor refers to the central government and donors. It should be noted that it is a complex phenomena, in that, government, be it central or local and NGOs be it a donor or a recipient at one point may be external or internal depending on the context and issues being discussed.

2.3 The Theoretical Framework

Introduction

The concept of co-production was initially developed in the 1970s in America during a workshop on political theory and policy analysis as a group of scholars in Indiana University ‘...struggled with the dominant theories of urban governance underlying policy recommendations of massive centralization. [It so happened that]...consolidation of all governments serving metropolitan areas was proposed in many urban areas [in the United States of America]’ (Ostrom, 1996:98). This concept gained a lot of currency in the 1970s and 1980s. Krishna argues; ‘Working together, both local governments and community organisations can achieve what neither agency can achieve on its own. CBOs can provide mobilisation capacity that enables area residents to act collectively in support of local governments’ programmes. They can help LGs and their constituent populations to connect more effectively with each other. And LGs can provide technical support and linkages with diverse sources of programmatic support. Most importantly, they can provide institutional scaffolding for undertaking development efforts over a wider scale. These efforts will be better grounded—drawing more support and resources from the public—when LGs are linked organically and continuously with the populations they serve’ (Krishna, 2003:369). This argument links well with the arguments for co-production and co-governance.

Co-production and Co-governance

Mitlin argues for co-production as a mechanism where ‘[...]state and citizens working together – as a grassroots strategy to secure political influence and access resources and services’ (Mitlin, 2008:339). Other scholars like Ostrom (1997), Joshi and Moore (2004), Brandsen and Pestoff (2006), Bovaird (2007), had earlier written about the concept of co-production. Ackerman (2004) introduced the concept of co-governance as a means of holding local governments accountable to the people they serve. This study applies the concepts of *co-production* and *co-governance* to the Local Government – NGOs partnerships in Kabarole district. This provides the theoretical basis for the analysis of the findings from the field study and two examples of local government – NGOs partnerships in Kabarole district.

According to Mitlin, co-production ‘[...] is viewed as a strategy used by citizens and the state to extend access to basic services with relatively little consideration given to its wider political ramifications’ (Mitlin, 2008:339). However, she rightly observes that ‘...co-production is used increasingly by grassroots organizations and federations as part of an explicit political strategy’ (Mitlin, 2008:339). This seems to be the case as is presented and discussed in the findings of this study. Local NGOs have used the processes in co-production and co-governance to influence the decisions and opinions of the local and national political leaders.

There are two broad categories of co-production. One where service providers are independent and can be substituted for each other and another where there is interdependence between the service providers. Therefore, if they are easily substituted, the efficient and effective provider delivers the services and where they are not easily substituted but rather interdependent,

they can play complimentary roles in the delivery of services. Mitlin argue; '[...]if they (service providers) are interdependent (complementary), then some minimum input from one is required for any output to be obtained, and the most efficient (and sometimes only) outcomes will be when both participate in the production (service delivery systems) process' (Mitlin, 2008:345). She further states that; 'in this context [of co-production], appropriate institutional arrangements are critical' (Mitlin, 2008:345). It is in this context that the institutional framework for delivering services in Uganda is analysed to assess the role it plays in determining the nature of relationship between the local government and NGOs in Kabarole district.

It is argued by Mitlin; '...there has been some recognition of the implications for co-production in citizen involvement and participation. [...]It is] recognized that state power is necessarily limited when dealing with situations where it is reliant on changes in human behaviour... Bureaucracies, rather than being cast in the role of all-knowing, all-able institutions, are recognized as being institutions that coexist with others, also with a degree of power, with boundary issues that need to be managed' (Mitlin, 2008:345). Therefore, there is need for organisation to enter partnerships to deliver services, especially where there is some capacity deficiency. They need to complement each other's efforts. This is needed as it has been argued/assumed that 'co-production extends citizen action into areas where it was previously not present, building skills and capacities, including those to recognize and realize collective will; and this is particularly significant in group and collective co-production activities' (Mitlin, 2008:345), the extent to which this is true or not for Kabarole district is discussed in the findings section.

Reasons for co-production

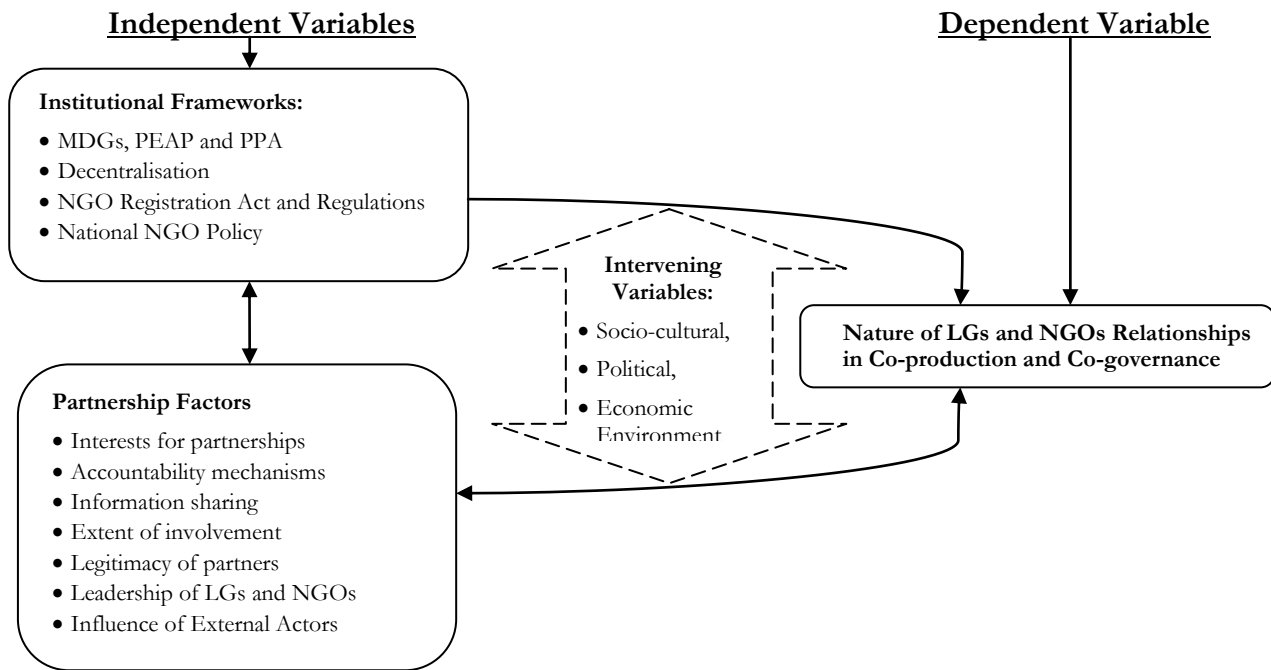
Joshi and Moore (2004:41) advance two interests for co-production. They state that; 'Co-production arrangements have evolved in response to declines in governance capacity at local or national level. Government no longer provides certain services very effectively, and as a result, organised groups of citizens with something at stake move in to help shore them up. In such circumstances we talk of the governance drivers of co-production. Secondly, 'some services cannot effectively be delivered to the ultimate recipients by state agencies for reasons that are more 'natural': because the environment is too complex or variable, and the cost of interacting with very large numbers of poor households is too great, especially in rural areas. In such cases, users become involved in an organised way at local level...'

This study analyses the extent to which these may be the only drivers or interests that cause the local government in Kabarole district and NGOs to partner in service delivery and the kind of relationships that result there from.

2.4 The Analytical Framework

The study analyses the institutional framework, the interests that drive local governments and NGOs to partner in service delivery. It further analyses the critical factors that play a role in determining the quality of relationship between the local governments and NGOs co-production and co-governance. These are analysed in light of the prevailing socio-cultural, political and economic environment within which the local governments and NGOs operate. The figure on the next page illustrates the diagrammatic presentation of the analytical framework showing the linkages between the different variables.

Figure: Diagrammatic presentation of the Analytical Frameworks



Source: Researcher's own construction (2009)

The institutional frameworks and partnership factors are assumed to be the independent variables and the nature of local government – NGOs relationship in co-production and co-governance to be the dependent variable. However, there are forward and backward linkages between the variables since they tend to influence each other. The institutional framework influences the partnership factors as they too are affected by the partnership factors and the two determine the nature of relationship that exists between the local governments and NGOs.

It is assumed in this paper that the nature of relationship that exists between the local governments and NGOs determine what get to be the critical partnership factors. For example, conflictual or harmonious relationship determines the extent of information sharing and involvement. The institutional frameworks on their part do influence the partnership factors since they provide the basis for the local government - NGO relationships in partnership arrangements. All these are moderated by the existing socio-cultural, political and economic environment within which the local governments and NGOs operate.

Chapter 3

THE UGANDAN INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS FOR GOVERNMENT – NGO RELATIONSHIPS

3.1 Introduction

The chapter presents the broader development framework in Uganda. These are; the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the Uganda Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) and the Project Priority Areas (PPAs). It then presents decentralisation as the basis of development planning and implementation in Uganda. The focus is on the legal and policy frameworks for Government – NGO relationships and its implication for partnership. This chapter has attempted to answer research question one on the institutional frameworks for local government – NGOs relationships.

The institutional framework for development planning and implementation plays a key role in determining the nature of relationship and level of partnership that can exist between government and the other development actors. Krishna argues that ‘appropriate institutional development is a key task of development, and institutions at the grassroots and intermediate levels are urgently required that can help citizens connect effectively with the state and with the market’ (Krishna, 2003:369). There are contradictions in the institutional frameworks as presented below, they facilitate and constrain partnerships between the local governments and NGOs at the same time.

3.2 The Broader Development Frameworks

The development planning and implementation in Uganda is guided by three broad frameworks; the MDGs, PEAP and the PPAs. The PEAP is Uganda’s medium-term planning guideline. The PEAP also serves as Uganda’s Poverty Reduction Strategic Paper (PRSP). This is the framework that guides the formulation of Governments policies, implementation of government programmes through the sector – wide approaches and the decentralised system of governance. The PEAP is constituted by five pillars⁷. These are operationalised by the PPAs. These are primary and secondary education, primary health care, rural roads and market infrastructures, water and sanitation and environmental protection. These provide the basis for local government’s prioritisation of projects and a basis for partnership with the other development stakeholders like the NGOs.

3.3 Decentralisation and Service delivery in Uganda

The 1995 Constitution⁸ of Uganda provided for a decentralised system of governance. Article 176 on the Local government system states; ‘the system of local government in Uganda shall be

⁷ Pillar 1: Management of the Economy; Pillar 2: Improving production competitiveness and incomes; Pillar 3: Security, Conflict Resolution and Disaster Management; Pillar 4: Good Governance for Poverty Eradication and Pillar 5: Human Development.

⁸ A pdf version of the constitution can be obtained from the Uganda Law Reform Commission at http://www.ulrc.go.ug/about_ULRC/ugConstitution.php Access date: 18/09/2009

based on the district as a unit under which there shall be such lower local governments and administrative units as Parliament may by law provide...The following principles shall apply to the local government system— (a) the system shall be such as to ensure that functions, powers and responsibilities are devolved and transferred from the Government to local government units in a coordinated manner; (b) decentralisation shall be a principle applying to all levels of local government and, in particular, from higher to lower local government units to ensure peoples' participation and democratic control in decision making...' (Uganda Law Reform Commission, 1996:121).

This is the article lays the foundation for the establishment of the decentralised system of local governments in Uganda. As provided for by the 1995 Constitution, The Local Governments Act was enacted in 1997. Section 35 sub-section 3 of the Local Government Act states; 'the district council shall prepare comprehensive and integrated development plans of lower level local governments(subcounty and division) for submission to the National Planning Authority, and lower level local governments shall prepare plans incorporating plans of lower councils in their respective areas of jurisdiction' (Uganda Law Reform Commission, 2008:49). This provision allows for the incorporation of the activities of the other development stakeholders into local and national development plans. However, as will be discussed later, participation in the development processes has not taken place as expected.

Due to various reasons, the Constitution, the Local Government Act and other sector laws have undergone a number of amendments. Many of these amendments have been done amidst protests from different circles in Uganda and internationally. The process has been claimed to be undemocratic and with minimal participation of the other stakeholders. There is suspicion of government's motives for the amendments. The amendments are seen as attempts to increase government's powers to control civil society and undermining the gains of decentralisation in Uganda. For example, the amendment of section 2 of the NGO registration Act which included a subsection that states; 'no organisation shall operate in Uganda unless it has been duly registered with the [NGO] Board established under section 3 of this Act and has a valid permit issued by the Board' (Uganda Law Reform Commission, 2008:8).

Another development with implication for LG – NGO relationship has been the introduction of the Local Government Development Programmes (LGDP) in October, 2000. The government instituted an annual assessment of the local governments on their compliance with some key elements related to governance and management of the development processes in the local governments. These include the assessment of the level of partnership between the local governments, NGOs and the other development actors. It became a condition for the local governments to acknowledge the contributions of NGOs as development partners in their development plans which was not the case before. The results of the assessments attracted a penalty, rewards or a static status. A penalty meant a 20% decrease in funds transferred to the local government in the following year, a reward meant a 20% increase in funds, and a static status meant receiving the same amount of funds from the central government as in the previous year. This made the local government – NGOs relationship to some extent a "marriage of convenience" since it was a condition to obtain more funds.

3.4 The NGO Registration Act and Regulation

The NGOs registration Act 1998 and amended in May, 2006 was enacted to facilitate the process of registration of NGOs in Uganda. The Ministry of Internal Affairs was made the 'Lead Agency' charged with the responsibility of monitoring the operations of NGOs in Uganda and to hosts the NGO Board created under this Act. The NGO Board is mandated to register, regulate, monitor and oversee the activities of all NGOs in Uganda and ensure compliance with the laws and regulations.

Section 13 of the Act mandates the Minister of Internal Affairs NGOs to make regulations to govern the registration process of the NGOs. In 2008, the Minister caused the enactment of the NGO Regulations which among other things stated special obligations of NGOs. Section 12 of the regulation states among others; ‘An organisation shall, in carrying out its operations, comply with the following: It shall not make any direct contact with the people in any part of rural area of Uganda unless it has given seven days’ notice in writing of its intention to the local government executive committee and the district administrator of the area. It shall in carrying out its operation cooperate with local government councils and executive committees in the area. It shall not engage in any act which is prejudicial to the security of Uganda or any part of it...It shall hold itself responsible for all acts of its members and employees...and it shall not engage in any act which is prejudicial to the national interest of Uganda’ (Uganda Law Reform Commission, 2008: 4, 5).

The laws governing the operations of NGOs in Uganda have been viewed by NGOs as being restrictive, thus contributing to the conflictual relationship between the government and NGOs at different levels. Kwesiga et al note; ‘Government regulation of the civil society sector, if too restrictive, can run the danger of generating defiance in place of collaboration and constructive criticism’ (Kwesiga et al, 2008:3). The NGOs have exhibited defiance on a number of occasions. For example, during the formation of the NGO board, the NGOs networks refused to nominate names out of which the Minister of Internal Affairs could select NGO representatives to the board.

The amendment of the NGOs registration Act and regulations was a welcome move by the local governments since it gave them more powers to monitor and control the activities of the NGOs and gave them power to have access to some key information from the NGOs that were previously hard to get. This also was an opportunity to “meddle” in the internal affairs of the NGOs. This was the very reasons why the NGOs protested and tried to resist the amendments even when government attempted to make the process as participatory as possible by involving the different NGOs networks in the process.

In the face of the ever growing number of NGOs in Uganda and their involvement at various levels of development and in different sectors, there is need for a proper and functional institutional framework to coordinate between government and the NGOs. In the National NGO Policy it is noted; ‘the growing number and diversity of NGOs in the country present a great challenge in terms of ensuring that all NGO actors exercise responsible and accountable behaviour that protects the basic interests of the different NGO sector stakeholders, especially the vulnerable segments of society’(Office of the Prime Minister, 2008:19).The NGOs have increasingly gone into new areas of intervention like human rights, democracy and governance which often pits them against the local governments.

3.5 The Uganda National NGO Policy

The Government under the Civil Society Capacity Building Programme of the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) with funding from the European Union (EU) developed a National NGO Policy with the theme, ‘Strengthening Partnerships for Development’. The OPM made the process as participatory as possible by carrying out regional consultations. The NGO forums and networks were invited to participate in this process and to make their inputs into the proposed policy. The policy may have come in place largely due to pressure from the NGOs and donor like the EU who funded the process than free will of the government. A number of

NGOs concerns⁹ were incorporated into the National NGO Policy. Unlike the NGO Act and regulations, the National NGO policy was welcome by the NGOs.

The Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) is mandated by the Uganda Constitution under Article 108(a) to coordinate the implementation of all Government Policies and in the case of the NGO policy, it works in collaboration with the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The National NGO Policy has the following specific objectives; to 'define NGOs and their role with a view to promoting increased citizen participation in policy-making processes and development issues, clarify the role of other stakeholders and their relationship with NGO actors, provide for legal, policy and procedural changes that will allow NGOs to effectively contribute to national and district development planning in a harmonized manner, ensure the autonomy of duly registered NGOs and to promote a culture of accountability amongst different players in national development' (Office of the Prime Minister, 2008:13). The objectives seem good in themselves but in some ways are in contradictions with the NGO Act and Regulations which seem to be more restrictive and not aiming at a harmonious relationship between government and NGOs as is the case of the NGO policy.

A number of NGOs had urged government to first put in place an NGO Policy before coming up with a law and regulation for NGOs so as to ensure consistency between the policy, law and regulations as noted by Kwesiga et al; 'the NGO community has for long been urging government to put in place an enabling policy framework for the smooth and efficient operation of NGOs' (Kwesiga et al, 2008:1). The inability of government to heed to this has resulted into inconsistencies between the law, regulation and policy. Some of these have remained points of contention between the NGOs and government, thus affecting the quality of relationship.

Government does not only recognise the NGO sector as contributors to development but also as a threat to development and stability of the country. The National NGO Forum in their briefing paper observed; 'The Non Governmental Organization (NGO) fraternity in Uganda is deeply concerned that the legal and regulatory framework for NGO operation in the country, represented by the NGO Act, 2006, its attendant NGO Regulations, 2008 reflect serious inconsistencies and are essentially restrictive of the citizens' right to participate in their country's development process. The extent to which this will translate into serious repression to NGO work in practice will depend on the degree to which the Government will perceive NGO work a stumbling block to the promotion of its treasured interests as a sitting government' (Uganda National NGO Forum, 2009:1).

The government recognises the self-regulating mechanism that the NGOs have developed as stated in the policy; 'In seeking to promote and institutionalize best practices in NGO sector development and operations, Government recognizes and welcomes the efforts by sections of the NGO community to develop mechanisms for self-regulation and collective action such as the 2006 Quality Assurance Certification Mechanism-QuAM, and the 2006 Civil Society Minimum Agenda, and enforcement of codes of conduct adopted by members of NGO umbrella organizations and other networks'(Office of the Prime Minister, 2008:19).

However, the contradictions that exist between the provisions of the law and regulations for NGOs and the NGO policy seem to negate the good will that is expressed in the national NGO policy. The Policy seems to be more accommodative of the NGOs than the Laws and regulations. This could be explained by who is in charge of the what. The NGO Act and Regulations originated from the Ministry of Internal Affairs that mainly deals with security issues and may have to approach every issue with security in mind, thus the provisions of the Act and regulations that are more restrictive and controlling. On the other hand, the NGO policy

⁹ See appendix 3 for the principles, concerns and issues

originated from the Office of the Prime Minister that is more equipped to deal with policy matters and thus its approach are more participatory and less controlling. This may explain the difference in the nature of the laws, regulations and policy and the contradictions that exist between them.

Unlike the NGO law and regulations, the NGO policy has been widely accepted. It came in place through a participatory process, it acknowledges the role NGOs play in development processes, seeks harmonisation in the laws, regulations, policies and development interventions. It is guided by clear objectives, principles, values and expected out comes that are not contested by the other actors in the NGO sector. But the extent to which the policy is implemented is another area for further research.

In conclusion, the institutional framework provided by decentralisation, the MDGs, PEAP, PPAs and the NGO policy play a facilitating role in harmonising the relationship between the government and NGOs. However, the contradictions between the NGO law and regulations are constant opportunities for conflict between the government and NGOs even though they all claim to be interested in development and improvement of the livelihood of the people.

Chapter 4

KEY PARTNERSHIP FACTORS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON LGs and NGOs RELATIONSHIPS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of partnerships between Kabarole district LG and NGOs. The findings on the interests behind partnerships, the nature of relationships, the factors that determine these relationships and theoretical implications of the findings are presented.

4.2 Local government – NGOs partnerships in Kabarole district

An Overview of partnerships in Kabarole district

Though there is no up-to-date record of the NGOs that are working in Kabarole district, the local government has partnerships with NGOs like SNV, Safe the Children, KRC, Rwenzori Anti Corruption Coalition, UNICEF, Uganda Red Cross, CARE Uganda and some faith-based organisations like Catholic Relief Services (CRS). These NGOs are Kabarole district local government are partnering in education, health, water and sanitation, environment protection, agriculture and governance issues. Two examples of these partnerships are presented in this paper, that is; SNV, Uganda and Kabarole Research and Resource Centre (KRC). The first example of SNV, Uganda points to co-production and the second example of KRC is one of co-governance.

Example 1: The Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV)

This partnership has been referred to as that of co-production because it represents an example where two parties enter a formal agreement by signing a MoU which states what is expected of the different parties. SNV, Uganda's role in the partnership is to build capacity through conducting of research to develop knowledge and development of networks to increase resource input into the development program in Kabarole District.

As stated in the MoU document, the partnership has as its main objective, the achievement of the MDGs and PEAP at the local level. In specific terms, they hope to: 'Improve education management at all levels aiming at improved access, retention and quality to contribute to development of human capital and access to development opportunities; Strengthen management structures and systems to improve governance, attain social inclusion and equity as a channel to sustainable development for all, Identify and promote new, and support existing appropriate technologies and practices for sustainable integrated water resource management for improved production, safety and livelihoods and improve sanitation and the focus shall be on rural growth centres by addressing issues of waste management, household and environmental hygiene and expansion of sanitation facilities coverage' (SNV Uganda, 2007:7).

Most of these areas of partnerships are in the areas where the Kabarole district local government and communities have inadequate capacities either in terms of personnel, expertise, materials or finances. This is an example of co-production because the parties contribute resources in part and it is a regular long term relationship as stated by Joshi and Moore (2004). This can be seen in the definition of the concept co-production.

Example 2: Kabarole Research and Resource Centre (KRC)

Unlike the example of SNV, Uganda – Kabarole district LG partnership which is based on a MoU, the KRC case is one of an informal partnership due to the fact that they did not sign a formal MoU to regulate their relationship and the expectations from KRC and Kabarole district local government. The focus of KRC is on the issues of governance and management of service delivery in Kabarole District.

Within this partnership arrangement, KRC implements the Local Governance Empowerment Programme (LGEP). This is a three year project covering twenty three subcounties in the districts of Kabarole and two other Districts. The programme aims at empowering the local communities and strengthening the local government structures to effectively respond to the needs in health and education sectors. It aims at strengthening the capacities of local communities to actively participate in planning and budgeting at the different levels of government and in the activities of the other development partners.

KRC developed the Poverty Resource Monitoring and Tracking (PRMT) and the Partnership for Public Expenditure Monitoring (PPEM) to facilitate the implementation of the Local Governance Empowerment Programme. PRMT tries to establish partnership between government and CSOs in Kabarole district by collecting information for awareness creation, advocacy, increase in the community participation in development planning and implementation. This is done through a Community Based Monitoring and Information System (CBMIS).

The second tool developed for the implementation of LGEP is the PPEM. PPEM is meant to facilitate higher level advocacy processes at regional and national levels in education and health sectors. PPEM aims at Strengthening Civil Society-Government partnership in monitoring public Expenditures. Under PPEM, KRC has conducted two researches in Kabarole District in health and education sectors. The findings from these studies are to feed into the activities of the Rwenzori Regional Think Tank that is being developed with support from Hivos.

The main objectives of these interventions are to promote public sector accountability, improvement of systems of service delivery and harmonised development planning. These present an example of co-governance because KRC is involved in the promotion of participatory planning, budgeting, monitoring of service delivery and promotion of accountability in the public sector. These examples of partnerships point to the interests that drive the local governments and NGOs to partner in the development processes in Kabarole district.

4.3 Interests for partnerships

Introduction

The local governments and NGOs consider each other as development partners. However, the findings show some differences in their interests to enter partnerships. First I present and discuss the interests of the NGOs and then those of the local governments to partner while drawing on the theoretical framework. This section answers research question two.

NGO Interests to partner with Local Governments

Both Local and international NGOs seem to be interested in direct delivery of social services to the local communities combined with governance issues and capacity building of other organisations and local governments. This may be due to the fact that direct services are easily visible and the results can be realised within a shorter time period addressing governance issues

and local capacity improves systems of service delivery and ensures sustainability of services to the communities.

Promotion of accountability which is linked to improvement in the quality of service delivery seems to be another interest for the NGOs to partner with the local governments. This has become critical especially when there is an increased focus on the issue of corruption in the government systems. An NGO official stated; ‘What we have tried to do after realising that government is the major service provider [is,] we decided to look at corruption in government, how we can start tackling it so that the service delivery becomes more effective. So that is how we began partnering with government and started to look at what they are providing and then how we can supplement with the little we have [...]. That is what motivated us and that is how we started to partner with the local government to share their budgets so that we can know how to do follow-ups...’ This interest of the NGO can be co-governance where the NGO is interested in the issues related to management and planning of government resources meant for service delivery to the local communities. This relates to the KRC example presented above.

During the period of field work for this paper, the Kabarole district local government had been ranked as the “most corrupt” district in Uganda by the Inspectorate of Government and this was locally attributed to the anti-corruption activities of the local NGOs that were monitoring the utilisation of the government resources and the level of awareness created in the communities by the NGOs which had led to an increased reporting rate of corruption in the local governments to the Inspectorate of Government and other anti-corruption agencies in the district. However, how “clean” the NGOs themselves are is questioned by some people, especially government officials who claim that the NGOs are not any different as far as corruption is concerned. This is discussed into detail under the section on accountability. Linked to the issue of improvement in accountability and quality of services as an interest for the NGOs to partner with the local governments is the desire to have the local communities owning their development processes and being the engine of their own development.

NGOs showed interest in building capacities of local governments to become more responsive to local needs, for example, the SNV interventions. This is an example of co-production with the local government to deliver services. However, it is of interest to see whether the identified capacity building areas are actually addressing the core issues and whether they are translating into any improvement in the effectiveness with which service is being delivered to the communities.

Finally, NGOs may have an interest to contribution to national development. This can be contested depending on what we call development and whether the activities are actually contributing to development. However, this study has not gone into this debate. The NGOs can be said to contribute to national level development if they implement their activities and projects within the national development frameworks.

Local Governments interests to partner with NGOs

The local governments reported having an ever increasing demand for services beyond they can provide. This puts the local governments at a position where they have limited options but to look for partners who can complement their efforts to deliver services to the local population. A district official stated; ‘the kind of partnership that we have with the NGOs in the district (Kabarole district) is demand driven. We look for NGOs that can fit within our development priorities and can fill in the gaps’. The interest points to co-production in service delivery.

However, NGOs who are involved in addressing governance issues like corruption seem to have uneasy working relationships with the local governments. This is due to the manner in which they conduct their businesses which often tend to demonise the local government officials

or they do not clearly make the local governments understand the spirit behind their work. This creates mistrust between the NGOs and local governments.

Another motivation for local governments to partner with NGOs is the level of expertise that the NGOs have. In most cases many NGOs have qualified staff in particular fields. For example, in the case of SNV, they have technical staff (advisors) who are specialised in specific sectors like education, agriculture, human resource management and administration who offer support to the different sectors in the district local governments.

To the local government officials, the NGOs have the capacity to attract resources independently either through writing project proposals or programmes. The donors are more willing to support a project of an NGO than a project written by a subcounty or district local government. Most donor funds to the local governments come through the central government. Only in a few cases do they go directly to the district or subcounty local governments. This ability of the NGOs to attract resources, especially financial resources for some critical sectors in the local governments also prompts the local governments to partner with the NGOs.

NGOs can also help in fulfilling the manifestos of political leaders. During their campaigns to be elected into political offices, politicians promise so much and once elected, they realise that things are more complicated than they had thought. Soon they realise that there is only so much they can do to fulfil their electoral promises so they turn to the NGOs and tell the population that they are the ones who have attracted the NGOs to their areas and they take credit for the work being done by the NGOs and claim it is the fulfilment of their campaign promised.

Related to this is the fact that some people start NGOs or use NGOs as a platform for launching their political career into elective offices which in itself may not be bad but it brings conflict between incumbent political leaders and the intending candidate for the political offices. The NGO official can be seen to be using NGO work to serve his or her personal political ambitions.

In general, the level of internal cohesion in NGOs and LGs is of interest to both NGOs and LGs. Where there seems to be a lack of internal coordination and cohesion, there is less interest to work with such a local government or NGO. For example, the lack of internal coordination and cohesion is seen where there is conflict between the politicians and technical staff and conflicts within and between NGOs. This is important in deciding whether to partner with an NGO or LG. Most internal conflicts within the local governments and NGOs seem to revolve around allocation of resources, especially financial and material resources.

In conclusion, both LGs and NGOs at face value share the interest to deliver services to the communities. The NGO interests seem broad and LGs interests more specific. However, personal interests go hand in hand with the community development interests.

4.4 Nature of LG – NGOs Relationship in Kabarole District

Decentralisation of service delivery in Uganda to local governments led to an increased interaction between local governments and other non-state development actors especially the NGOs. In the processes of the interviews and review of the documents of the local governments (LGs) and NGOs refer to each other as partners. The partnerships between the LGs and Local NGOs are both formal and informal. That is, some are governed by Memorandum of Understandings (MoUs) while others are not. A government official noted; ‘...most of the partnerships are informal, especially with the local NGOs but with the international NGOs like SNV, UNICEF, Save the Children among others, we have formal MoUs that are signed between the local government and the NGOs spelling out the terms, conditions and sector of the partnerships’.

However, a MoU is not a guarantee for effective partnerships. They may provide some predictability in the implementation process and serve as an accountability mechanism, but could

hinder flexibility in an ever changing environment. This aspect is discussed later while dealing with the external actors whose terms and conditions are said to be rigid and nonresponsive to the ever changing needs of the communities.

The good functioning of a local government is a prerequisite for a good working relationship and performance of the NGOs as noted by Bebbington and Riddell. They state; 'NGO performance is [...] more likely to be more effective where the state is relatively effective in social and development service provision and where the quality of relationships between NGOs and [local] government is cordial and constructive' (Bebbington and Riddell, 1997:114). LGs and NGOs therefore need to work towards creating an environment that can help them build a cordial relationship.

From the interviews, it was reported that local governments and NGOs generally have good working relationships. However when probed further, they revealed some level of uneasy relationships that exist between them. Some of the factors that account for this are discussed later in this chapter. The nature of the relations can best be captured in the words of an NGO official; '...the relationships between the NGOs and Government have not been that smooth for a long time because they [local governments] always look at the NGOs as people who are poking their noses into their issues and maybe they look at the NGOs as people who do not have the credibility to be questioning them on this and that'.

On the other hand, when asked about the way in which the NGOs view the local governments and their officials, a Project Manager with an NGO stated; '...of course the attitude of the NGOs also towards government is, that all the local governments are corrupt and are misusing government funds'. Another NGO official further said about their relationship; 'Government is always labelling the NGOs as being anti government because [the NGOs] are trying to question what they are doing wrong and they always want to blackmail people that whatever government is doing is favouring people but people do not know that it is their right and when you try to help people to know their rights, they (government) say you are inciting violence in the community'. This points to mistrust among the partners since they do not trust the each other's motives.

The nature of relationship that exists between the local governments, at the district and subcounty levels can best be described as being harmonious and conflictual and this is influenced by a combination of factors as discussed later in the chapter. However, the reported uneasy working relationships between the local governments and NGOs is not a general case but varies from local government to local government, NGO to NGO and at times from project to project and official to official. Therefore they are case specific rather than general.

4.5 Key Determinants of the Nature of LG – NGOs Relationships

Introduction

This section presents and discusses the key findings on the factors that seem to determine the nature of relationship between Kabarole district LG and NGOs they partner with. These factors include accountability, information sharing, leadership and personal relationships, extent of involvement, legitimacy and influence of external actors. This section answers research question three.

Accountability

Issues of accountability have become of central concern to both state and non-state development actors. Leaders and organisations are called to account for their actions and inactions. Accountability now goes beyond financial accountability. As we have seen, it has generated a lot of mistrust between local governments and NGOs due to rampant cases of corruption. Therefore mechanisms for local governments and NGOs to hold each other accountable are important and how it is done is critical in determining the nature of relationships that exist between them.

The findings from the study seem to show that much as there are accountability mechanisms established either by law or MoUs, both NGOs and LGs reported problem in holding each other accountable and it is an area which tends to generate conflict most in the local government – NGOs relationships. Ackerman argues; ‘good governance does not emerge spontaneously or naturally out of the good hearts of individual bureaucrats and politicians. It is the result of a tough, and often conflict-ridden, process of institutional design. The principle element that assures good government is the accountability of public officials’ (Ackerman, 2004:448). However, where the public officials are not willing to be held accountable and see those who attempt to hold them accountable as “enemies”, then co-governance will be difficult to realise.

The main forms of accountability reported by both the local government and NGOs included; reports, field visits, meetings and feedback from communities. There is a challenge of trusting reports as forms of accountability especially where the local governments or NGOs lack the capabilities to verify the reports. This was expressed by an NGO official who stated that; ‘the reliability of reports from the CPFs¹⁰ is a challenge. You may find a well written, typed, decorated report, looking very beautiful but when you go on the ground, you can hardly find something and this happens with the educated CPFs whom you expect to do better jobs in communities, meanwhile on the other hand, you get these one or two page, hand written report which you can hardly make sense of but when you go on the ground, you will be amazed by the amount of work done by these semi-illiterate CPFs and level of community awareness and level of participation in programmes’. This raises concern in over relying on reports as major form accountability between the local governments and the NGOs and secondly points to weakness in the NGOs internal accountability mechanisms. This may bring to question the moral authority the NGOs have to hold LGs accountable.

However where the means of verifying the reports are constrained, then the reports will have to do, otherwise there is need for alternative methods that can be utilised to back up the claims in the reports. Important for accountability is the level of trust that is cultivated between the partners. This trust is built over time through quality work in the past and the ability to deliver on promises. Trust may determine the extent to which the LGs and NGOs respond to each other. An NGO official stated; ‘...unless it is hidden, to me there is a lot of trust between us and the local governments’. Trust may actually not be there since the field study reveals that there is a lot of mistrust between the NGOs and the local governments as exhibited in the inadequate sharing of information.

¹⁰ CPF is an invention by KRC to facilitate community mobilisation and later adopted by the other local NGOs operating within the Rwenzori Region, giving rise to the formation of Rwenzori Association of Community Process Facilitators (RACOPF). The formation of RACOPF and the use of the CPFs is an area of contention between some local NGOs who use them and to them the formation RACOPF will make CPFs to act like a Trade Union of sorts of an NGO. This whole idea has not gone well with some of the local NGOs who are using the CPFs for community mobilisation in their programmes and projects

Information sharing

The National NGO policy states; ‘All NGOs and CBOs engaged in development activities within a district shall share their program activity plans and budgets with the Local Government Authority for purposes of harmonization of such program activities into the broader sectoral or area development plans and resource estimates’ (Office of the Prime Minister, 2008:18)¹¹. The respondents reported that they do share their information with their partners but accuse their partners for not sharing their information. An NGO official stated that; ‘...for us we see each other as partners. For example when we want some information from the district, they give it to us and when the district officials want some information, to supplement theirs, they come to us and we give them[...] At the level of information sharing, we see there is positive working relationship.’ On the other hand, a district official stated to the contrary about information sharing with the NGOs. He noted that; ‘...at the moment, it (the relationship) is not the best. We are imposing ourselves on them. They are not sharing their information yet they have access to our information. We are suspicious that they are hiding some things from us’.

What seems to bring difference in opinion about information sharing is the kind of information being shared. The district and subcounty local government are interested in information concerning the budget, work plans and reports of activities of the NGOs which they seem reluctant to share with the local governments and the NGOs interested in the budgets and work plans of the LGs. Sharing information is one thing but what is done with the information shared is another. Is it ever used or not? An NGO official noted; ‘...these government officials always accuse us of not sharing information with them but what do they do with the information we give them? These people do not read these reports. At times they even ask us for things we have already submitted to them’. Krishna argues; Information is critical to these encounters. Citizens who are adequately possessed of programme information and who know where to go for seeking redress are more capable of holding their local bodies accountable [...] accountability is supported when LGs and CBOs provide information honestly and regularly to the other partner and when responsibility- and authority-sharing arrangements are clearly laid out (Krishna, 2003:368). Sharing of information is therefore critical for co-governance and for citizen participation, as well as in determining the quality of relationship that exists between the NGOs and LGs.

Leadership and Personal Relationships

Leadership at all levels of the local governments and NGOs seem to be very critical in determining the type of relationships that can exist between the NGOs and local governments. The informal relationships between the leaders of the local governments and NGOs seem to have an influence on the working relationships between them. An NGO official had this observation about how the informal relationships affect the way the partners work and perceive each other. The official noted that; ‘...the personal relationship we have with the leaders has a bearing on the kind of relationship you have as an institution. You may find where a chairperson LCV (Local Council Five – district or higher level local government) has a bad relationship say with the director of an NGO, you find that you have a bad working relationship because they (leaders) do not agree’. This has been observed by other scholars as being fundamental in determining the working relationships between organisations. Lister notes; ‘the dominance of personal relationships within the organisational relationships calls into question much of the

¹¹ See appendix 6 for the summary of the planning steps and timing for Lower Local Governments

theory¹² currently being developed for NGOs in terms of capacity building, institutional strengthening, scaling-up and diffusion of innovation, which all rely on organisational processes as the basis for change' (Lister, 1999:15). This therefore calls for a conscious attention to be paid to the informal interactions and their implications on formal working relationships.

The involvement of the NGO officials in "active" politics, especially elective political offices seems to have an impact on the working of partnerships between the local governments and NGOs. The level of political engagement by the NGOs officials determines working relationships between NGOs and the local governments. A local government official noted that; '...some of these (bad relationships) are due to leadership [of some NGOs] which associates the NGOs work with their political agenda. Some have stood for elections in the past and failed. We cannot rule out that they (NGOs) have political agenda'. An NGO official equally made reference to what the local government official had stated, when he noted that; '...an NGO official stood for an election and this led to a lot of conflict between the LG and NGOs as mistrust set in. This was ironed out during a leadership retreat for the region'. These observations confirm what Mitlin (2008) notes, that local NGOs use co-production and co-governance as a channel of securing political influence.

Politics to a large extent is concerned with the allocation of scarce resources and some of these scarce resources are in the hands of these NGOs. The question is; if NGOs are controlling and allocating resources, which is a political process, how can they be politically neutral? As earlier reported, one of the interests for the local governments to partner with the NGOs is that NGOs help the political leaders fulfil their election manifestos. If political leaders take credit for the work of NGOs, they should not blame NGOs for being involved in politics.

The ability to negotiate through the complex partnership relationships between the local governments and NGOs is to some extent facilitated by the leaders previous working experiences either as an NGO official or a local government official. This working knowledge seems to facilitate the process of relationship building since the leader may be in a better position to understand the challenges of the other partner since they already have the experience from the other side and often they keep a close linkage with former colleagues who are either government or NGO officials.

Extent of Involvement

Related to information sharing and leadership is the level of involvement in each other's activities and programmes. The NGOs claim they do involve the local governments in their activities as stated by one of the NGO officials; 'We really try to involve them (local leaders), we have meetings with them, share our plans with them and bring them on board...but otherwise they (local government officials) really have a negative attitude towards the NGOs...' On the other hand, the local governments expressed concern over the low level of seriousness exhibited by the NGOs. Often when they invite the NGOs to participate in their activities, the NGOs send persons who cannot take decisions on behalf of the NGOs for very serious meetings like the budget conferences. Some of the officials have no clue about what is being discussed. As such they do not add value to the meetings.

The main bone of contention in involvement between the local governments and NGOs seems to be the nature of involvement as stated by an NGO; 'looking at planning, as NGOs we try to bring them (local governments) here and there but at the local government level you still find there is a bit of challenge in bringing on board the NGOs when they are doing their

¹² The particular theory that Lister is referring to is not clearly stated.

planning...if they brought on board the NGOs at the beginning of the actual planning process it would have been better because they would get better information on what exactly is happening in the communities...when they have already made the plans... that is when they bring you on board and you find that you have very little input because you find they have already planned their thing'. The NGO official by calling the planning process "their thing" is an indication of lack of ownership of the process. This can be a challenge to participation of partners who are supposed to co-produce and co-govern. This could stem from the framework that is used for planning. The development planning guide¹³ for parishes and villages does not make it mandatory for the LGs to involve the NGOs in planning processes at that level yet development priorities are to be generated from the village and parish level. The parish and village level guide states that the NGOs can be involved '*if any*'. This is a contradiction to the claims of the NGOs, that they are more present at the grassroots than the local government. How comes its 'if any'? This may imply that the process does not recognise the role NGOs can play in planning at the village and parish levels.

Legitimacy

As earlier noted, the contentions that exist between the local governments and the NGOs and the mistrust that they expressed about each other could amount to the questioning of one another's legitimacy. Important to note is what the local governments and NGOs understand as being legitimacy and how they generate this legitimacy rather than just saying they or their partners are legitimate in whatever they do.

From the fieldwork, the researcher found that both NGOs and LGs considered themselves and their development "partners" as being legitimate service providers. An NGO official noted that; 'we are legitimate in a number of ways. For example the confidence the community has in the work we do gives us the legitimacy to work with the communities. Secondly our operations are accepted by the local leaders'. However the local governments doubt the legitimacy of some NGOs whereas the NGOs did not explicitly express any doubt about the legitimacy of the local governments. A local government official noted that; 'to me, the current NGOs in the district are legitimate. Others we deregistered. Some came in the name of providing social services and ended up in the preaching business so we closed them down'. Another local government official stated that; 'we determine their (NGOs) legitimacy through ascertaining their national registration, local registration with the office of the District Community Development Officer, feedback from the subcounties they work in and through their quarterly and annual reports which we try to verify by doing field visits'.

However, legal recognition of a LG or an NGO may not guarantee the acceptance by the community they intend to serve. Krishna argues; 'Institutions work most effectively when they elicit voluntary compliance from a majority of people,[...] Since individuals do not bind themselves readily to any and all decisions, only institutions that are rooted within a particular society, which reflect and embody widely held notions of legitimate authority, can command allegiance and obtain compliance' [...] 'Institutional performance depends importantly upon public consent. Consent derives in turn from locally shared notions of legitimacy and appropriateness' (Krishna, 2003:361). I do agree with his argument that the legitimacy of any organisation be it an NGO or a local government should be rooted in the society they operate among.

¹³ See appendix 7, 8, and 9 for the roles and responsibilities during sensitization, identifying, prioritization of development plans at district, subcounty, parish and village levels

A remarkable difference was noted by the researcher in the sources of legitimacy as expressed by the NGOs and local governments. When asked where the local governments and NGOs draw their legitimacy from, the NGOs reported drawing their legitimacy from the laws, policies, recognition and acceptance by community members, type of services they provided, years of experience, expertise they have and intervention in critical capacity areas. Meanwhile the local governments almost entirely reported as drawing their legitimacy from the laws, policies, and regulations of the government with no regard for their acceptance as local governments by the communities in their areas of jurisdiction.

Influence of External Actors

Last but not least, the influence of the external actors like the central government and donors seems to have an influence on the kind of working relationship that exists between the NGOs and the local governments as they partner to deliver the decentralised services. This is more so due to the fact that the relationships that exist between the local governments and NGOs on one side and the Central Government and Donors on the other are so structured that it affects the degree of responsiveness that they can have towards the ever changing needs in the communities that they work in.

Concerning how the donors affect the local working relationships between the local government and NGOs, an NGO official stated that; ‘...there are donors who are really so rigid and cannot be flexible but in working with the communities you need a lot of flexibility so that you suit the demands of the communities... Things [keep] changing so you need to be flexible...’ The rigidity of the external actors is not only affecting the NGOs but also the local governments. Government operates on the basis of a financial year and the local governments are expected to only implement the activities, projects and programmes that have been approved for that financial year by either parliament or the councils. The provisions for changes in the governments Finance and Accounting Regulations are so laborious that they make local governments non responsive to some of the changing needs which they may not have predicted earlier in the planning and budgeting processes, thus making the NGOs to have the same feelings towards the local governments that they have towards the donors.

The terms and conditions that the donors set with the Central Government as they negotiate aid trickle down to affect decentralised service deliveries in the local governments and their ability to work effectively with their development partners. A Ugandan news paper, the New Vision on Monday, July 27th, 2009 reported that during the opening of the Global 2009 Smart Partnership, the President of Uganda, Yoweri Kaguta Museveni said; ‘...donors promise to fund crucial sectors like construction of roads but do not deliver. “It creates political problems for us. People think we are not doing our work”’ (Mukasa et al, 2009:1). Another Ugandan magazine, The Independent in its issue of July 3 -9, 2009 also quoted the President on the issues of the donors, making particular reference to the developed countries as saying; ‘You find a person who knows the problems and priorities of his country getting orders from a young graduate on matters she doesn’t know. Developed countries should stop giving us directives and solutions to our problems’ (The Independent, 2009:4).

These observations point to the questioning of issues of value judgement. Smillie notes; ‘...organizations that support local NGOs cannot avoid imposing their views of development, their priorities and their bureaucratic requirements on the recipient. And northern NGOs that receive support from their own governments run the risk of becoming agents (or being seen as agents) of political or strategic, rather than humanitarian objectives’ (Smillie, 1995:60, 61). This is reflected in what the head of state of Uganda says concerning the influence of the donors in the development processes in Uganda.

The concern on the rigidity of conditionality's set by donors is shared by both the local governments and NGOs. When it comes to dealing with development partners who are external to the local government systems, a local government official stated that; 'most of these donors give funds with conditions attached without taking into account the unique situations under which we operate here and think that things here are like in their countries'. As far as the rigidity of the donor and central government conditions are concerned, the local governments seem to share the same sentiments and feel that these conditions do not allow them to be responsive to local needs. However, without going deeper into the debate what actually represents local needs, it may actually be difficult to aggregate local needs. There is the risk of some few influential people or groups of people's needs being portrayed by the local government governments and NGOs as the needs of the entire community they intend to serve, especially in light of the low community participation in the development planning and implementation processes.

4.6 Summary of key findings

The local governments and NGOs do recognise each other as development partners. However, their relationship is characterised by good working relationships and conflict. Despite this, they continue to partner under co-production and co-governance arrangements and complement each other in the decentralised community development initiatives, either through direct service delivery or capacity building activities to strengthen systems and structures and empowering local communities to participate and own the development processes.

Though the local governments and NGOs claim to be partnering to bring about development in the communities, they have both common and varying interests that drive them into partnering with each other. The interests seem more of what can I get from this partner than what can I give to the partner and their relationship can be "friends" and "foes", all existing at the same time.

The nature of relationship that exists between the local governments and NGOs are determined by interrelated factors. The key determinants of the nature of relationship that exists between LGs and NGOs in Kabarole District include; accountability mechanisms and compliance to these mechanisms, information sharing and type of information being shared, leadership and personal relationships between leaders, especially the informal relationships. The extent of involvement of the partners in each other's activities and reporting to each other and the perceived legitimacy of the partners do affect their working relationships. The external actors like the central government do influence the relationships through laws, regulations and policies and donors through aid conditions and the level of flexibility they allow the local governments and NGOs to respond to local needs.

4.7 Theoretical implications of the findings

Two examples of partnerships have been presented, one between Kabarole district LG and KRC, a local NGO and the other with SNV, an international NGO. Though the two cases have shared characteristics of co-production and co-governance, the SNV case is more of co-production while that of KRC is an example of co-governance. As defined by Ostrom (1997), Joshi and Moore (2004), the two examples represent a situation where the local government and the NGOs as independent actors contribute resources to the production of goods and services. However, to better understand how these relate, one needs to pay attention to the interests that drive the LGs and NGOs to partner either through co-production or co-governance.

Mitlin (2008) argues that co-production and co-governance between the state and citizens is used by local NGOs as a channel of securing political influence. This seems to be true in the Kabarole case. As earlier noted, some of the conflicts between the local government and NGOs had been due to the involvement of some NGO officials in active politics. However, it is not

only the NGOs who use co-production and co-governance for political influence but also politicians in LGs as they tend to take credit for the work done by NGOs. Therefore, the focus should be on both LGs and NGOs interests in using co-production and co-governance for securing political influence.

Ackerman (2004) argues that co-governance is a means through which local governments can be held accountable to the people they serve. Community empowerment and participation that is carried and encouraged under these partnership arrangements have the potential of creating awareness in the communities which are the primary targets of the local governments and NGOs to not only hold the local governments accountable as Ackerman argues but also hold the NGO accountable. The same can apply to the accountability between local governments and NGOs. However, attention needs to be paid to the power relations between the partners. The institutional frameworks may not allow for such an accountability to take place even if the LGs and NGOs are involved in co-production and co-governance.

Co-production has been distinguished into two broad categories, one where the service providers are independent and can easily be substituted and another where the service providers are interdependent and play complementary roles. It could be argued that given that the local government had the capacity, they could represent the first category but as the interest reveal, this is not the case. The findings largely reflect situations of interdependency. The government needs to put in place the appropriate institutional framework and resources as noted by Mitlin (2008), while the NGOs commit their resources and expertise so that they can complement each other's efforts so as to deliver quality services.

Joshi and Moore (2004) give two interests that drive that have led to co-production. First, it is in response to the decline in state capacity to effectively provide some services. Within the current context of decentralisation in Uganda, in addition to capacity gaps, there is the problem of attitudes and conflicting interests of the service providers. It is not enough to build technical and financial resource capacities but to address the issues of attitudes and conflicting interests that may undermine partnerships.

Secondly they argue that the complex and varied environment of service delivery with related costs of service provision in these environment make it difficult for governments to deliver services especially in the rural areas, therefore, locally organised user groups are better place to provide such services. It is true that the environment for service delivery is complex but there are issues that may make it for the local communities to co-produce and co-govern with the state. Most communities have inadequate capacities for self mobilisation. There are power asymmetries in communities which may make it difficult for the largely illiterate community members to actively participate and hold the LGs and NGOs accountable.

If we are to believe that decentralisation brings services closure to the people, empowers communities to participate in development processes and makes development interventions responsive to local needs. The environment should not be that complex and too varied taking into account the fact that government has structures right from the village level to the national level and each of these provide for the participation of different stakeholders in the planning and implementation of development initiatives. If the issues that determine the nature of relationships between the LGs and NGOs could be harmonised, then the environment could not be that complex for the participation of all development stake holders. However, as is often the case, practice is far from principles.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This paper has attempted to analyse the local government – NGO relationships in the planning and management of local development initiatives the decentralised system of governance in Uganda using a case study of Kabarole district by applying the theories of co-production and co-governance. This chapter presents brief conclusions based on the findings of the study

The broader institutional framework for local government - NGO relationship seems to provide an enabling environment for local government - NGO partnerships. However, the laws and regulations governing NGO operations seem to be the key area that is generating a lot of conflict. The NGO policy on the other hand seems to be widely accepted by both local governments and NGOs and its principles and values are in conflict with the NGO law and regulation. There is need to harmonise the different aspects of the institutional framework and the policy and law making processes should be as participatory as possible at all levels.

The local governments and NGOs have common goals but the interests driving them to partner are varied. Co-production and co-governance is not only instrumental in providing services and proving avenues for complimentarity between the local governments and NGOs but is used as an opportunity to increase political influence. Political influence if is done in “good faith” and for the “common good”, is acceptable to most people but where it serves the interest an individual or a group of people, then it is resented.

Accountability mechanisms and extent to which they are complied with, information sharing and leadership factors seem to be key determinants of the kind of relationship that exists between the local governments and NGOs as they partner to deliver decentralised services and they affect the quality of relationship that can exist between the local governments and NGOs.

Apart from co-production whose out puts may be more visible, community empowerment and participation which are more of co-governance are important in realising long term and sustainable development. Capacity building efforts should not only focus on skills development but also on attitude changes LG and NGO officials and community members.

A more open and participatory system of developing the institutional framework for local government – NGO relationship minimises conflict and promotes cooperation among the different stakeholders. Regulatory institutions for sectors like the NGOs should not have all powers vested in one or two agents of the central government but rather be representative of the stakeholders involved and neutral channels for arbitrations put in place.

As local governments and NGOs face more challenges of raising their own financial resources, central government and donors need to support them but they should allow some degree of flexibility in the use of the funds so that they can become more responsive to the local needs. However, the accountability mechanisms need to be institutionalised and more downward accountability promoted. The ultimate goal should be to build the capacities of LGs and NGOs to support themselves.

As earlier noted, as the number of districts increases in Uganda and without a matching increase in financial resources for providing services, available funds will mainly be directed towards administrative costs, thus opening more space for the NGOs and local communities’ to co-production and co-govern. However for this to happen, appropriate and functional institutional framework need to be in place.

Further studies need to be conducted to ascertain the extent to which partnerships lead to improvement in the quality of service delivery, community empowerment and participation in development processes.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Guide for Local Government-NGOs Partnerships

Theme 1: Relationships

1. Do you have any forms of partnerships with the local governments/NGOs?
2. In which sectors do you partner with the local Governments/ NGOs?
3. Have you entered formal partnership agreements or have informal partnerships?
4. What interests drive you into partnerships?
5. How would you describe the nature of partnership relationships you have with the local governments/ NGOs in the decentralised system of service delivery?
6. What factors affect the type of Partnership relationships you have with the local governments/NGOs?
7. What are your interests to enter into partnership with the local governments/ NGOs to deliver services?
8. Do you consider your organisation as being legitimate service providers?
9. (If yes) Where do you draw your legitimacy from?
10. Do you consider your partners (Local government/NGO) as legitimate service providers?
11. What accountability mechanisms do you have in place to regulate the partnership arrangements?
12. How important is leadership in the functioning of the partnerships in service delivery?
13. How does leadership affect the NGO – LG partnerships?
14. What are the sustainability mechanisms that you have in place to continue the working relationships between the local government and NGOs?

Theme 2: Institutional Framework

15. How do the existing laws, policies, and regulations affect the working relations between the NGOs and LGs?
16. Which particular aspects of the institutional framework facilitate partnerships?
17. Which particular aspects of the institutional framework constrain partnerships?
18. How does decentralised service delivery system influence your partnerships?

Theme 3: External Actors

19. What influence do the donors have on the way you work with the NGOs/LGs?
20. What influence does the central government have on the way you work with the NGOs/LGs?
21. What coping mechanisms do you employ to manage the influences of the external actors?
22. Is there any other thing that you would like to comment about which we may not have discussed?

Appendix 2: Table showing the list of persons interviewed

A	Local Government Officials	Local Government (District/Subcounty)
1	Deputy Chief Administrative Officer	Kabarole District Local Government
2	District Planner	Kabarole District Local Government
3	Subcounty Chief	Kibiito Subcounty Local Government
4	Chairman Local Council Three	Kibiito Subcounty Local Government
5	Community Development Officer	Kisomoro Subcounty Local Government
6	Subcounty Chief	Mugusu Subcounty Local Government
7	Chairman Local Council Three	Mugusu Subcounty Local Government
8	Subcounty Chief	Buheesi Subcounty Local Government
9	Subcounty Chief	Bukuku Subcounty Local Government
B	NGOs Officials	Organisation
1	Director	Kabarole Research and Resource Centre
2	Deputy Director	Kabarole Research and Resource Centre
3	Head Research Unit	Kabarole Research and Resource Centre
4	Head Information Unit	Kabarole Research and Resource Centre
5	Project Manger Local Governance Empowerment Programme(LGEP)	Kabarole Research and Resource Centre
6	Programme Officer (LGEP)	Kabarole Research and Resource Centre
7	Programme Officer (LGEP)	Kabarole Research and Resource Centre
8	Programme Officer Information Unit	Kabarole Research and Resource Centre
9	Programme Officer Research Unit (Data Analyst)	Kabarole Research and Resource Centre
10	NGOs Advisor	Rwenzori Region
11	Education Advisor	SNV – Western Region
12	Community Process Facilitator (CPF)	Kibiito Subcounty
13	Community Process Facilitator (CPF)	Kisomoro Subcounty

Source: Field study by Researcher, 2009

Appendix 3: Table showing Principles and Issues in the Uganda National NGO Policy

Principles set by the NGOs	Principles set by Government in the National NGO Policy
Recognise the value, diversity and indispensability of a vibrant Civil Society	Respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms with regard to social, cultural and religious beliefs and practices, which rights will be exercised responsibly
Recognise the autonomy of NGOs and their right to self regulation	Freedom of association and independence of individuals and NGOs within the overall framework of the law
Permit NGOs to carry out their legitimate activities /work in a hospitable environment free from fear of harassment, reprisal, intimidation and discrimination.	Voluntarism and respect for diversity within the NGO sector
Recognise CSOs as a vehicle for citizen expression.	The right of NGOs to autonomy, self-governance and self-regulation consistent with the laws of Uganda
Give space for CS to contest government policies, laws and regulations and recognise that there are several ways through which NGOs can engage with government.	Dignity, mutual respect and trust underpinned by open dialogue, transparency and accountability
Provide NGOs with the right to associate and register, with individuals permitted to form or join and participate in NGOs of their choice in exercise of their Constitutional rights to freedom of expression, peaceful assembly and association.	Gender equity and equality
NGOs Issues of Concern for the National NGO Policy	Issues of Concern in the National NGO Policy
Policy should encourage and support formation of principled and value-based collaboration between NGOs, central and local governments, elected officials, private sector and communities for purposes of creating synergies and enhancement of democratic principles, accountability and good governance.	Lack of clarity of what constitutes an NGO in Uganda
It should recognise and foster diversity within NGOs and CSO.	Inadequacies in the existing legal and regulatory framework for the operations of NGOs
It should distinguish and separate registration from regulation.	Inadequate clarity of the mutual roles and responsibilities, rights and obligations of key actors in the NGO sector and the need to create harmony/facilitate the contribution of NGOs to national development
The policy should aim at boosting standards of good governance and accountability as contained in the Uganda Civil Society Minimum Agenda 2006 and the NGO Quality Assurance Certification Mechanism 2006, among other documents.	Inadequate capacity in Government and amongst NGO actors to propel sustainable NGO sector development
It should entrench the principle of civil society participation in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of policy and regulations that concern them.	Weak sustainability of the NGO sector
It should provide an enabling environment to solicit resources; locally and other sources.	Inadequate integrity, transparency and accountability by some NGO actors for the public resources received
The policy should provide for incentives that promote paradigm shifts, reward innovation, and encourage internal democracy and good governance, research and new ideas.	Lack of adequate and reliable data and information on the NGO sector
The policy should promote positivism, hard work and risk-taking as opposed to obsession with control and criminalisation of NGOs.	
NGOs should be free to develop mutually rewarding relationship with other stakeholders – including political parties and the private sector.	
Concerning networks, the policy should acknowledge that these are voluntary-based initiatives with mandates, constitution and code of conduct defined by their members,	
Any restrictions on the operations of any NGO should be based on the authority of the law and justifiable in a democratic society with courts of law having the final decision on whether the restrictions are justified.	
The policy should leave NGOs to solicit funding from any donors, government, political actors, private sector and other philanthropic bodies, foundations and others. It should promote corporate social responsibility through incentives such as tax rebates in respect of donations by the corporate sector	

Source: Adapted by research from the National NGO Policy (June, 2008) and National NGO Forums proposals for the National NGO Policy (January, 2008)

Appendix 4: Roles and responsibilities of NGO sector actors at national level¹⁴

The expected broad roles and responsibilities of Ministries, Departments and Agencies are outlined below:

CATEGORY 1: GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES, DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

Office of the Prime Minister

The Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) shall carry out its mandated function with respect to NGO Policy implementation in the following manner:

- i) Promote the National NGO Policy which shall be integrated within the framework of the overall national development policy of the country;
- ii) Coordinate the implementation of the Policy across line Ministries, Government Departments and Agencies as well as the Private sector in NGO sector activities to ensure harmonious and cost-effective operations;

Ministry of Internal Affairs

The Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) shall be the NGO Sector Lead Ministry with responsibility to:

- i) Support the NGO Board to build the institutional capacity required to carry out its mandated functions;
- ii) Provide policy guidance to the NGO Board in matters affecting the development of the sector;
- iii) Ensure effective supervision of the NGO Board; and
- iv) Prepare and disseminate periodic NGO sector performance reports including an Annual Report covering the contribution of the sector to Uganda's development efforts, issues and challenges faced, and proposals for promoting the objectives of this Policy.

The NGO Board

The functions of the NGO Board shall include the following:

- i) Conduct background checks and scrutinize the credentials and status of all NGOs, including RENGOs and INGOs seeking to register and operate in Uganda. Only legitimate NGOs are to be allowed to operate in Uganda.
- ii) Make recommendations to the relevant authorities in regard to employment of non-citizens by an NGO, or whether an NGO may be exempted from taxes and duties or be accorded any other privileges or immunities;
- iii) Consider new applications for registration by Non-Governmental Organizations including NGO umbrellas/networks/clusters;
- iv) Consider applications for renewal of NGO permits;
- v) Keep a Register of all registered NGOs;
- vi) Monitor compliance by all registered NGOs with the terms and conditions of their certificate of registration/incorporation, and their Constitution;

¹⁴ Source: The Uganda National NGO Policy 2008

- vii) Provide appropriate guidelines for operationalisation of the NGO Policy at line ministry, district and lower levels of administration consistent with the principles of this and other related policies;
- viii) In liaison with designated officers in line ministries and Local Government Authorities, monitor district relations with NGOs to ensure compliance with set guidelines;
- ix) Coordinate Government engagement with other NGO sector stakeholders including umbrella organizations to promote responsible and accountable conduct amongst NGO sector actors in the country;
- x) Coordinate Government engagement with other stakeholders, including development partners, in efforts to enhance capacity building and sustainability of the NGO sector;
- xi) Coordinate Government engagement with other stakeholders to establish a reliable database and information system on the NGO sector in Uganda;
- xii) Work closely with the sector lead Ministry, NGO umbrella organizations and other stakeholders to prepare and disseminate widely, periodic official reports on the status, contribution and impact of the NGO sector to national development;
- xiii) Advise the Minister on the general policy relating to the operations of Organizations.

Line Ministries, Departments and Agencies

In general, the roles of relevant line Ministries, Departments and Agencies shall include the following:

- i) Strengthening integration of the contribution of the NGO sector in the programs coordinated by the line Ministry, Department or Agency;
- ii) Ensuring that adequate co-operation and coordination is extended to NGO actors to further the spirit of constructive partnership in service delivery for the benefit of communities;
- iii) Monitoring, evaluating and rendering an account of the contribution of the NGO sector to the achievement of the objectives of the sector for which the line Ministry, Department or Agency is responsible; and
- iv) Designating an officer to be responsible for liaison with the NGO Board and other NGOs or coordination mechanisms to facilitate implementation of the NGO Policy including information sharing on NGO activities.

CATEGORY 2: OTHER ACTORS

NGO Umbrella Bodies

The role and responsibilities of registered NGO umbrella organizations/ clusters/networks in the successful implementation of the NGO Policy include the following;

- i) Popularizing the NGO Policy amongst member organizations and promoting compliance therewith;
- ii) Providing leadership to their respective memberships in operationalisation of self-regulatory mechanisms designed to institutionalize professionalism, ethics, integrity, transparency and accountability in the NGO sector in the country;
- iii) Collaboration with the sector Lead Ministry, the NGO Board and other actors in identifying and addressing emerging policy, regulatory and other pertinent issues with a view to enhancing the contribution of the NGO sector to human development;

- iv) Coordinating the participation of their members and NGOs in government policy processes of interest to them and documenting their experiences so as to assess NGO contributions to development.

Development Partners

The Development Partner community plays a pivotal role in NGO sector development and activities in Uganda. Support of the Development Partners comes in the form of very substantial direct resource flows to NGOs as well as through ‘co-opting’ NGOs to work on various programs and projects funded by the Development Partners. In order to improve coordination of development assistance, partner organizations supporting or otherwise active in the NGO sector shall bear the following responsibilities;

- i) Internalizing and complying with the objectives and principles of the NGO Policy and relevant legislation;
- ii) Supporting such NGO sector partnership coordination mechanisms as may be duly established from time to time with a view to promoting the orderly development of the sector;

Media

The media is expected to play a vital role in the successful implementation of this Policy through carrying out the following:

- i) Disseminating and popularizing the Policy amongst stakeholders;
- ii) Providing wide publicity to success stories as well as challenges in the NGO sector in Uganda; and
- iii) Contributing to policy debate, review and improvements in NGO sector development in the country.

Private Sector

The Private sector, as a primary engine of Uganda’s growth and development, is an important stakeholder and partner in the development of the NGO sector. Within the context of corporate social responsibility, the Private Sector is encouraged to extend innovative support to NGO sector development. This can take various forms including:

- i) Appreciating the complementary role of the NGO sector to the vision and mission of business enterprise;
- ii) Supporting the objectives and principles of the NGO Policy; and
- iii) Developing productive linkages with NGOs aimed at improving the quality of life of communities.

Research and Academic Institutions

Research and academic institutions can contribute to successful implementation of the Policy through:

- i) Undertaking operational research in NGO sector policy management and development impact, and widely disseminating the findings thereof;
- ii) Participation in the implementation and evaluation of programs related to the NGO sector;
- iii) Participation in policy debates intended to improve the policy environment for NGO sector development.

Appendix 5: Role and responsibilities of actors at district and lower levels¹⁵

CATEGORY 1: DISTRICT POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP

District Council

The District Executive Committee of the Local Government Council shall perform the following functions:

- i) Ensuring that effective measures are put in place to carry out the Committee's statutory mandate for monitoring and coordinating the activities of NGOs and CBOs in the district, in liaison with the NGO Board;
- ii) Supporting the DTPC to coordinate its planning function in an inclusive manner with the NGO actors in the district;
- iii) Mobilization of communities to empower them to partner productively with NGOs and CBOs for their development
- iv) Ensuring effective liaison with the RDC to ensure that registered NGO actors enjoy the political and legal space within which to undertake legitimate activities that advance the process and impact of development within the district.

Local Government Authorities are expected to sign a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), as may be appropriate, with the NGO partners to guide management of programs or projects jointly implemented with the NGOs/CBOs.

District Technical Planning Committee (DTPC)

The DTPC shall perform the following functions:

- i) Ensuring that guidelines and procedures are put in place to enable the participation of the NGO actors in preparation of comprehensive and integrated district development plans incorporating plans of lower level local councils;
- ii) Providing the NGO community in the district with guidelines to enable the NGOs to participate effectively and in a coordinated manner in implementation, monitoring and evaluation of any joint programs undertaken in partnership with NGOs;
- iii) Ensure effective participation of development-oriented NGOs in sub county planning and program monitoring and review meetings within the framework of the Sub County Development Plans;
- iv) Monitor and provide information on the activities of the NGO sector in the sub counties
- v) Liaising closely with the NGO Board and NGO actors to improve the flow of information, quality assurance, integrity and accountability of NGO sector actors in the district.

The Resident District Commissioner (RDC)

The RDC shall perform the following functions:

- i) Facilitate the activities of the NGO Board in the area of registration and deregistration of NGOs and CBOs according to guidelines provided by the NGO Board;
- ii) Monitor the activities of the NGO sector within the district and ensure compliance with the approved NGO policy, regulations and procedures, the constitutions of the NGOs/CBOs as well as the framework of the district and country's overall development policies and bye-laws;

¹⁵ Source: The Uganda National NGO Policy 2008

- iii) Liaising with the District Council to ensure that registered NGO and CBO actors enjoy the political and legal space within which to undertake legitimate activities that advance the process and impact of development of the people of the district;
- v) Provide information to the NGO Board on the activities of the NGO sector within the district based on guidelines issued by the Board.

CATEGORY 2: NGOS AND CBOS

Individual NGOs and District Umbrella Organizations

The functions and responsibilities of NGOs at district and lower level include:

- i) Internalize and comply with the principles and provisions of the Policy as well as the relevant provisions for registration;
- ii) For organizations engaged in development activities, share their program activity plans and budgets with the District Authorities for purposes of reflecting such program activities into the broader sectoral or area development plans;
- iii) Sign a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), as may be appropriate, with the Local District Government with respect to programs or projects jointly implemented with the District Local Government;
- iv) Conduct themselves in a responsible and accountable manner consistent with their establishing constitution, generally accepted best practices in the NGO sector as well as the laws of Uganda;

CATEGORY 3: THE COMMUNITY

Community Leaders

Community leaders enjoy the trust and confidence of the people they lead and are, therefore, key to the successful implementation of the NGO Policy.

They are expected to undertake the following functions:

- i) Mobilize communities to actively engage with NGOs to improve service delivery and civic empowerment;
- ii) Participate in grass root level audit of the contribution of NGOs to community development;
- iii) Contribute to the identification and resolution of operational problems affecting smooth relations between NGOs and their communities.

Communities

Members of the various communities represent the target beneficiaries of all the activities undertaken by NGOs. Accordingly, communities are expected to be well-placed to welcome and evaluate the activities of these organizations. More specifically, communities are expected to play the following roles:

- i) Support the legitimate activities of NGOs based on clear communication of the objectives and methods of work of the said organizations; and
- ii) Participate in individual and collective efforts to demand effective service delivery and to hold NGO sector actors accountable.

Appendix 6: Table showing the summary of the Timing and Planning Steps for Lower Local Governments

Timing	Steps
July	Review Technical Planning Committee (TPC) Functionality
August	Dissemination of Planning Information for Parishes/ Wards
September	Support to Village/ Parish Level Planning
October	Situation Analysis at the Lower Local Government (LLG) Level
October	Discussion and Prioritisation of LLG Challenges/Obstacles and Strengths/ Opportunities (LLG SWOT Analysis)
October	LLG Visioning and Goal Setting
November	Identification of LLG investment priorities
November	Budget Conference
December	Forwarding projects for District/Municipal consideration
January	Development of the project profiles
January/ February	Review of the project profiles by the Standing Committees
February	Compilation of the draft Comprehensive Development Plan
March	Review of the Draft Comprehensive Plan by the Executive
March	Refinement of the Draft Comprehensive Plan by the TPC
April	Discussion and approval of the Comprehensive Development Plan by Council
April	Finalisation of the Comprehensive Development Plan
April	Submit the Approved Comprehensive Development Plan to the HLG
May/ June	Final feedback to the LLCs (Parish/wards and Villages/cells/zones.

Source: Ministry of Local Governments HPPG for Lower Local Governments

Appendix 7: Table showing the Roles and Responsibilities during Sensitisation, Identification, and Harmonisation of Development Priorities at the District Level

	Roles	Responsible Official(s)	Timing
A	District Level		
A1	District sensitisation involving district technical committee and representatives of CSOs, private sector, district council and opinion leaders	LCV Chairman, CAO, District Planner, District Statistician, and Town Clerk	By 30 th March 2008
A2	Identifying priorities for district level development	LCV Chairman, district technical planning committee and representatives of CSOs, Private sector, district council and opinion leaders	By 30 th March 2008
A3	Receiving Lower Local Governments priority lists and following up to ensure total coverage of the district	District Planner/ Statistician	By 30 th March 2008
A4	Harmonising lower local governments priorities and costing and preparing final comprehensive district development priorities	District Technical Committee	By 30 th March 2008
A5	Preparing a comprehensive M&E matrix for corresponding development priorities identified	CAO, District Planner/ Statistician	By 30 th March 2008
A6	Submitting district and copies of village, parish and subcounty priorities plus the district M&E matrix to PEAP Secretariat	CAO	By 30 th March 2008
A7	Participating in district – Zonal validation workshop	LCV Chairman, CAO, District Planner, District Statistician and Town Clerk	By 30 th March 2008

Source: Adopted from the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Developments Guidelines for developing District and Lower Local Government Development Priorities for the NDP 2008/9 – 2012/13

Appendix 8: Table showing the Roles and Responsibilities during Sensitisation, Identification, and Harmonisation of Development Priorities at the Subcounty Level

B	Subcounty Level	Responsible Official(s)	Timing
B1	Subcounty sensitisation involving subcounty planning committee and representatives of CSOs, private sector, subcounty council and opinion leaders	Subcounty Chief, Town Clerk, Community Development Officer and other Planning Committee members – supported by LCV Chairman, CAO, District Planner, District Statistician, Town Clerk, whenever possible	By 30 th March 2008
B2	Identifying priorities for subcounty level development	Subcounty Chief, Town Clerk, Assistant Community Development Officer and representatives of Planning Committee, CSOs, private sector, subcounty council, and opinion leaders	By 30 th March 2008
B3	Receiving harmonised parish-level priority lists and copies of original village priorities and following up to ensure submission from every village and parish	Assistant CDO	By 30 th March 2008
B4	Harmonising subcounty and parish priorities and costing and preparing final comprehensive subcounty development priorities	Subcounty Planning Committee	By 30 th March 2008
B5	Submitting subcounty priorities and copies of Village and Parish priorities to District Headquarters	Subcounty Chief	By 30 th March 2008

Source: Adopted from the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Developments Guidelines for developing District and Lower Local Government Development Priorities for the NDP 2008/9 – 2012/13

Appendix 9: Table showing the Roles and Responsibilities during Sensitisation, Identification, and Harmonisation of Development Priorities at the Parish and Village Levels

C	Parish Level	Responsible Official(s)	Timing
C1	Identifying development priorities for Parish level development	Parish Chief, assisted by Subcounty Chief, Assistant CDO and representatives of Parish Planning Committee, <i>CSOs if any</i> , private sector, parish council and opinion leaders	By 30 th March 2008
C2	Receiving priority lists from every village and following up to ensure total coverage of Parish	Parish Chief	By 30 th March 2008
C3	Harmonising Parish and Village priorities and preparing comprehensive Parish development priorities list	Parish Chief	By 30 th March 2008
C4	Submitting the harmonised Parish priorities and copies of the village priorities to Subcounty Headquarters	Parish Chief	By 30 th March 2008
D	Village Level	Responsible Official(s)	Timing
D1	Identifying development priorities for village level development	LCI Chairperson assisted by Parish Chief, Assistant CDO and representatives of Village Planning Committee, <i>CSOs if any</i> , Village Council and Opinion leaders	By 30 th March 2008
D2	Preparing a list of development priorities for Village level development	LCI Chairman	By 30 th March 2008
D3	Submitting list of Village development priorities to the Parish Council	LCI Chairman	By 30 th March 2008

Source: Adopted from the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Developments Guidelines for developing District and Lower Local Government Development Priorities for the NDP 2008/9 – 2012/13¹⁶

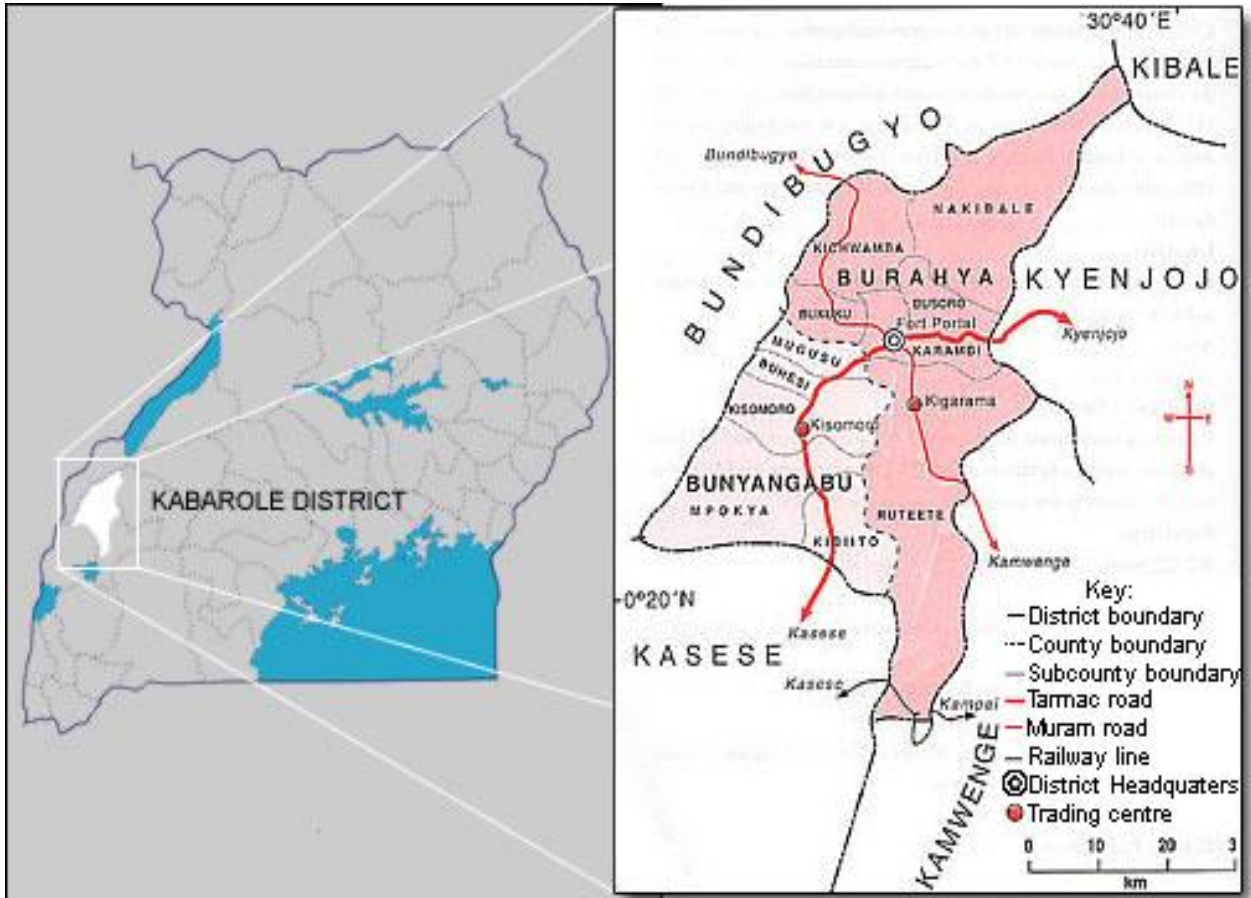
¹⁶ This table of roles and responsibilities is part of the guidelines for the PEAP Revision/ Preparation of the Five Year National Development Plan (NDP)

Appendix 10: Map of Uganda showing Districts



Source: Ministry of Local Government

Appendix 11: Map of Uganda showing the location of Kabarole District



Source: www.coreinitiative.org/Grants/rfa/West/Kabarole_SP.pdf Access date – 08th /09/ 2009