

Table of Content

Acknowledgement.....	3
Abstract	
Chapter One	4
1.0 Introduction	4
1.1 Problematizing Citizen Participation in Local Development Initiatives.....	6
1.2 Purpose and Research Questions	7
1.3 Research Questions	8
1.4 Ntungamo District; an overview on the Study Area	8
1.5 Limitations of the Study.....	12
1.6 Ethical Considerations	12
Chapter Two	14
Review of Related Literature	14
2.0 Background	14
2.1 Concept definition.....	16
2.1.1 Citizen and Citizen Participation.....	16
2.1.2 Local Economic Development	18
2.2 Review of Previous Studies	19
2.3 Theoretical Framework	25
Chapter Three	29
Research Design and Methodology	29
3.1 Introduction.....	29
3.2 Qualitative Research Methods	29
3.2 The Research Process.....	29
3.4 Methods for Data Collection	31
3.4.1 Semi structured Interviews	31
3.4.2 Focus Group Discussions (FDGs)	32
3.4.3 Limitation of Methods.....	33
Chapter Four	35
Findings.....	35
4.0 Data Analysis and Findings	35

4.1 Planning and Participation	36
4.2 Policy making.....	46
4.3 Policy Implementation	50
Chapter Five	59
Conclusion.....	59
5.0 Summary of findings.....	59
5.1 Relevance	61
5.2 Conclusion.....	63
References	64

Acknowledgement

This thesis has been produced during my scholarship period at Lund University funded by the Swedish Institute.

The data collection was made possible with the generous funding by the Crafoord Foundation – Lund University.

I am extremely grateful to my Thesis supervisor Olle for his enormous support, patience, guidance and encouragement. Thank you for making me appreciate Research.

Special thanks to all the staff at Graduate School, Lund University who contributed to making my Lund University experience a memorable and rewarding one. I particularly want to thank Axel Fredholm for being a wonderful mentor. I am forever grateful.

To my family in Uganda – I am grateful to my dear mother Mrs. Margaret Mwijuka for your love, support and constant prayers. My sister Grace Kyomuhendo, we started this Masters project together.

To all my children - James, Elizabeth, Bright, Aron, Arnold, Nina, Prince, Kenema, Gladys, Evas, Natasha, Ian, Julia, Elisha and Joseph – read hard for a bright future.

To my friends - Prof. Mnason Tweheyo and Dr. Naboth C. Rwakazairwe for your support.

Lastly to my friend Ronald Kafero who was with me throughout the data collection process. To you all, I am forever grateful.

Chapter One

1.0 Introduction

In the first days of my fieldwork, I interviewed DO8 of Ntungamo District Local Government. I had just arrived in Ntungamo District hoping to gain insights into citizen participation in Local Economic Development (LED) initiatives. I was keen on engaging with both the local citizens in the district and the district officials that implement LED initiatives to collect data for this thesis. Having been curious for a while about what the actual role of the local citizen in LED initiatives was, I was equally interested in knowing the ways through which local citizens would be engaged, involved or fully participate in LED initiatives that aim at making their life better. During this interview, DO8 made an honest confession, *“I have no knowledge about the LED Policy of Uganda”* This stunning revelation got me thinking about the data collection exercise and what to expect from other respondents because DO8 is supposed to be on the LED Task Forum of the district. I thought further about the policy making process in the country, the policy implementation process and the massive changes that policies are supposed to deliver in the effort to make meaningful transformations in the local communities. This heightened the urge to investigate further about citizen participation in the local development process in the context of Uganda, specifically Ntungamo District where I conducted the fieldwork.

Citizen participation as a development tool continues to dominate development discussions and enables individuals to create a sense of belonging. Citizen participation encourages local capacity development and enables people to engage in different development processes that aim at transforming their well-being (Burns, et al., 2015, p. 12). With the tag line of Agenda 2030 of the Sustainable development Goals, “leaving no one behind” citizen participation have a place in the development process. Citizen participation is integrated in the legal framework and decentralization administration in Uganda. These legal instruments outline the structures and guidelines that create an environment that encourages citizen participation at different levels in the development of the country. Representation

and inclusion of local citizens in formulating and influencing decisions, implementation and monitoring of LED initiatives serves as a focus of this thesis. Citizen participation is crucial to achieve a broad consensus on interests that are vital for LED as the community aim at consulting, negotiating deciding, managing and controlling their own future (Yatta, 2015, p. 7). Participation involves engaging citizens from different layers of society in form of access to information, consultation on issues and influencing major decisions.

Ideally, local governments in Uganda are expected to formulate comprehensive and integrated development plans that incorporate the local council one to local council three plans. Communities are expected to develop action plans that are forwarded to the parish, then passed on to the sub county to form the sub county development plan that is later forwarded to the district. After an elaborate planning process, District priorities are then communicated back to the Sub County, parish and local village to inform the citizens on the outcomes of their proposals. In theory, the process envisages a streamlined form of citizen participation in this process. The practice of this process is what this thesis is set to investigate.

Uganda, like any other developing country appears to be a victim of “universal policy solutions” (Frödin, 2008, p. 1). These universal policies project a promise of steady and continuous progress in the realm of development although global policy ideas implemented in local contexts are bound to be ineffective. For a while now, Uganda has positioned herself internationally as a “good global citizen” and complying with global policy trends with international multilateral organizations and other development partners. Uganda has posted positive development indicators in the last three decades of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) yet some sections of the population continue to swim in poverty. The most affected and poverty-stricken are the people in rural areas and these contribute to urban poverty through internal migration. Poverty cause grievances and resentment among the population and this has contributed to the growing disillusionment between citizens and the government, ironically mostly in urban areas partly because the rural power are powerless. The rural and urban poor’s conditions

suggest that the needs of the poor have been neglected and the local citizens disconnected from their elected representatives and office bearers (Gaventa, 2002).

This thesis examines the dynamics of citizen participation in Local Economic Development (LED) initiatives in relation to Uganda's LED Policy of 2014 at district level and the empirical data obtained during the data collection process in Ntungamo district. I specifically explore local citizens' perceptions towards local citizen participation in LED initiatives, the implementers' perceptions towards the LED process and improved participation in LED initiatives in Ntungamo District. I employ the use of the concept 'local' to refer to the citizens of adult age (18 years and above) as determined by the constitution of Uganda who are residents of Ntungamo district and this has nothing to do with their social, economic and political affiliations.

1.1 Problematizing Citizen Participation in Local Development Initiatives

In an effort to enhance citizen participation, Uganda embarked on Decentralization as a form of local governance by passing the Uganda Local Government Act 1997. Decentralization was meant to bring services closer to the people and offer the population with the opportunity to engage, participate, and get involved in taking part in their own development. The World Bank and other development actors further strengthened the call for citizen participation in local development (Ndegwa, 2002). The 1980s had witnessed an era of empowerment and this had become a central theme in the development operations, discussions and academic debates on poverty and rural development. Empowerment was equally associated with the need for the poor to participate in their own development (Kahika & Karyeija, 2017, p. 4) while the World Bank (2002) noted that, individuals ought to have the capacity to oversee and gain authority over their lives either by themselves or with the assistance of others.

Citizen participation legitimizes policies, plans and programmes and builds ownership. The constitution of Uganda safeguards the rights of people to be involved in the formulation and implementation of development plans and programmes that affect them. The constitution stipulates that, "every citizen has the right to participate in the affairs in the affairs of

government, individually or through his/her representatives and to participate in peaceful activities to influence the policies of government through civic organization”(Government of Uganda, 1995).

Whereas, legal framework of Uganda through the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, the Local Government Act 1995 amended 1997 and other development policies identify a conducive environment and strong initiatives that empower the population to get involved in their own development process and promote citizen participation, there are issues that arise regarding representation and citizen participation in LED initiatives. The unheard voices of marginalized and underprivileged groups of people, usually women, youth, Persons with Disabilities (PWDs) and the poor people in communities remain under represented without a chance to participate in the development process and maximize the local benefits. For a Decentralization system that is built on the premise of local participation in effective planning, local resource mobilization, decision-making, implementing and evaluating the local development initiative (Kakumba & Nsingo, 2010, p. 172), this calls for further investigation.

1.2 Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the participation of both the local citizens and the implementers of Local Economic Development (LED) initiatives in Ntungamo district. The scope of the study will be limited to perceptions of local citizens towards citizen participation in LED initiatives, the perceptions of the implementers of LED initiatives and the ways through which participation in LED initiatives can be improved upon. LED initiatives in Ntungamo district are implemented under the decentralization system of government. The decentralization policy and its policy reinforcement with the LED policy of 2014 have created space to allow citizen participation in LED initiatives in Ntungamo district. There is however, limited evidence to show that citizens are actively engaged in the planning, formulating, decision-making, implementing and evaluating LED initiatives. This requires further investigation. LED as an alternative strategy for pursuing development while engaging local citizens puts

emphasis on engaging different stakeholders such as the Public and Private sector, CSOs and community citizens, to cater for the local dimension in the districts development process.

The thesis contributes to the exiting knowledge on citizen participation in LED initiatives from a Ugandan perspective. Citizen participation in local governments in Uganda for some time now has taken the form of benefiting from government social services, providing data for empirical studies like housing census and participating in elections at different levels. The study is explorative and the findings are not definitive.

1.3 Research Questions

The thesis seeks to answer the following questions below:

- a) What are the perceptions of local citizens on LED initiatives in the Ntungamo District?
- b) What are the perceptions of the implementers of the LED process in Ntungamo District?

1.4 Ntungamo District; an overview on the Study Area

The empirical data for this thesis was collected from Ntungamo District Local Government. Ntungamo district is one of the 127 District Local Governments. Ntungamo district is my home area although I was born in Kampala City. I have been involved in local development initiatives at Sub County level in Ntungamo District over the years. The population of Ntungamo speaks Runyankore language and the local citizens use Runyankore to communicate in village meetings to cater for the views and opinions of those who cannot communicate properly using the English language. The English language however, is and remains the official language in Uganda. Both the English language and Runyankore are used in the District Local Government premises to conduct district activities such as council meetings.

Fig. 1: Administrative Map of Uganda



Source: *One World - Nations Online, 2019*

The District of Ntungamo has a total surface area of 3,389.8sq km and Four (4) counties; Kajara, Rushenyi, Ruhama and Ntungamo Municipality. The four counties are further sub divided into Eighteen (18) Sub Counties; Kibatsi, Bwongera, Ihunga, Nyabihoko, Rukoni East, Rukoni West, Ruhama East, Nyakyera, Ntungamo, Rwekiniro, Itojo, Western

Division, Eastern Division, Central Division, Rugarama, Rubare, Kayonza and Ngoma. The district also has 11 Town Councils and these are Rwoho, Mirama Hills, Kafunjo, Kitwe, Nyakyera, Rwahi- Rwentobo, Rubare, Rwashamire, Rwamabondo, Nyamunuka and Kagarama (Ntungamo District Local Government, 2019).

Fig. 2: Map of Uganda showing Ntungamo District



Source: Wikipedia, 2017

Ntungamo District has 140,697 household and a population estimate of 702,029 people. The male and female population are 338,796 (48.3 percent) and 363,223 (51.7 percent) respectively. The main economic activities in Ntungamo District are Agro based with heavy reliance on subsistence agriculture, livestock, matooke

(bananas) and coffee production. The sources of income are trading, sale of labour, small-scale manufacturing, sale of agriculture products, public and private sector employment (Ntungamo District Local Government, 2019).

Table 1: Key features of Uganda’s decentralized local government structure

Local Council (LC) Area/Level	Status of LC & Politic Head	Political Head & Selection of Representative	Administrative Head
District Council (LC 5)	Local Government	District Chairperson, elected by Universal Adult Suffrage (UAS) and councilors from Sub Counties, Women (1/3), Youth, disabled	Chief Administrative Officer (CAO)
County Council (LC 4)	Administrative Unit	Chair; Council made up of all LC 3 Executives, whom then elect LC 4 Executive and Chair	Assistant CAO
Sub County (LC 3)	Local Government	Chair elected by UAS, Councilors from parish & women (1/3), Youth	Sub - County Chief
Parish Council (LC 2)	Administrative Unit	Chair elected by all LC 1 Executive who make up the council	Parish Chief
Village Council (LC 1)	Administrative Unit	Chair elected by UAS, & all adults (18 years) are council members	

Adapted from: Uganda, Local Government Act (LGA) 1997 as amended in 2001 (Mukiga, 2013)

Figure 3: Map of Ntungamo District



Source:DISPATCH, 2019

1.5 Limitations of the Study

The FGDs were conducted in the local language (Runyankore) and this created a need to translate the collected data from Runyankore to English for better analysis. The other limitation was that the time allocated to data analysis was not adequate. The researcher had to work for long hours during the days the analysis was done. More on limitations, children were not included in the study although they are regarded as citizens. It is assumed that the interests of the children are well taken care of by their parents although some of the issues that concern children have the ability to influence policies. Defining the concept “citizen” as used in the study posed a challenge and I decided to use “citizen” as defined by the constitution of the Republic of Uganda.

1.6 Ethical Considerations

I took it upon myself to acknowledge that I had the responsibility towards the people participating in the study including all those that might be affected indirectly, positively or negatively by the results of the research. I made a commitment to

follow the Swedish Research Council guidelines while conducting this study (Swedish Research Council , 2017). I did everything within my limits to endeavor to create a conducive environment for the respondents, ensured that privacy, confidentiality and anonymity were observed. In addition to this, I have told nothing but the truth about this study and ensured that the collected data is well managed. I communicated ethically with the respondents for the whole time of the study and will continue to do the same after the study. I showed a “sense of responsibility” throughout the planning, execution and dissemination of the results of the study (Weiss, 1998, p. 264), sought consent from Graduate School, Lund University, to conduct research in Uganda and obtained the consent of the participants to confirm their participation in the study.

Chapter Two

Review of Related Literature

2.0 Background

In the last three decades (1986 -2020), Uganda pursued development under three distinct paradigms; Post War Reconstruction (1986 – 1997), Poverty Eradication (1997 – 2009) and Social Economic Transformation (2010 – 2020) (United Nations, 2016). In 1997, the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) was formulated as guide to national development policy and public expenditure planning. A decade later (2007), the Comprehensive National Development Planning Framework Policy (CNDPF) was approved by the Government of Uganda. The CNDPF outlined a 30 years program implementation of Uganda Vision 2040 that is composed of 3 ten year plans, 6 five year National Development Plans (NDPs), Sector Investment Plans (SIPs), Local Government Development Plans (LGDP) and Annual Work Plans and Budgets (FAO, 2015, p. 2).

Up until the 1990's, Uganda was governed under the centralized government system that was accountable to the population. The introduction of multiparty politics after a decade of single party rule under the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government enabled the establishment of elected local councils and power shifted to the local population through decentralization. Uganda's decentralized system of governance, stipulated in the country's legal framework in the Constitution of Uganda (1995) and the Local Government Act of 1997 allows local governments in Uganda to exercise significant political and administrative powers (One World - Nations Online, 2019; Kahika & Karyeija, 2017). The Constitution of Uganda (1995), (articles 176 – 207), defines the powers of the central government and clearly spells out that, “all other functions and services not listed in the powers of the central government fall on local governments”. The Constitution of Uganda thus guarantees power to lower units of government at District, Parish, Sub County and village levels as stipulated in Article (179) 40(One World - Nations Online, 2019; Yatta, 2015, p. 11). The district local governments

in Uganda directly receive appropriations from the central government to cover the transferred responsibilities. There have been no reported conflicts between the central and local governments in the execution of their respective mandates (Yatta, 2015, p. 11).

The decentralization policy in Uganda was first established in 1992 with the aim of attaining the benefits from democratic governance, and improving the social and economic welfare of the population (Ministry of Local Government, 2014). This policy shift made it apparent that people had gained “political legitimacy” to participate, engage and make decisions directed towards their own development (Spicker, 2014, p. 439; Yatta, 2015, p. 5). Decentralization further aimed at bringing services closer to the people, engaging citizens and enabling the people to participate in their own development (Kahika & Karyeija, 2017, p. 2; Ministry of Local Government, 2014). Decentralization emphasizes the need for collaboration between the government and other stakeholders with the aim of eradicating poverty and ensuring an inclusive sustainable and equitable growth, and development at the local level (Ministry of Local Government, 2014). In 2014, the LED Policy was adopted as the sixth pillar to Uganda’s decentralization policy with all District local governments directed to start implementation (Kahika & Karyeija, 2017, p. 3).

The LED policy of 2014 serves as the 6th pillar of the decentralization policy and the strategic framework that supports Uganda’s strategy of implementing Private sector led economic intervention that are expected to handle youth unemployment and help increase local government revenue generation leading to improved service delivery (Ministry of Local Government, 2014). The LED policy of 2014 highlights “a process through which local governments, the private sector, and communities form partnerships to mobilize, manage and invest resources effectively into economic ventures to stimulate development and growth of the locality.” In this process , the national and local stakeholders collaborate to assess and propel the local economy, tap into the possible opportunities and deal with the challenges or obstacles that are encountered in implementing action plans so as to realize opportunities and combat impediments (Government Of Uganda, 2014).

2.1 Concept definition

2.1.1 Citizen and Citizen Participation

The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda defines a citizen as a person who is born in Uganda with a parental lineage from any of the indigenous communities that existed or resided within the boundaries of Uganda as of 1 February 1926. A person that is born in or outside Uganda with one or both parents or grandparents as citizens of Uganda by the time of their birth is considered a citizen of the Republic of Uganda. Other forms of being regarded a citizen of Uganda include “foundling” and adopted children”, “citizen by registration” and “citizen by naturalization” (Government of Uganda, 1995). The emphasis in this definition is on the legal recognition of persons within geographical boundaries of states, that are either native or naturalized or born to parents or grandparents that where citizens of a specific country. Given that the study was conducted in Uganda, I found it appropriate to use the Uganda constitution definition and specifically focus on a citizen as used for this study as a legal subject or national of Uganda that is a resident of Ntungamo District. This definition guides the meaning of ‘citizen’ or ‘local citizen’ as used in this thesis.

Chikemera (2013) defines citizen participation as a “desired and necessary” component of development (p. 87). Lisk (1985) cited in Chikemera (2013) refers to citizen participation to the involvement of broad masses of population in the choice, execution and evaluation of programs and programs designed to cause upward shifts in the wellbeing of the population (Chikerema, 2013, p. 87). Citizen participation is achieved by taking part as individuals or the community in decision making at every stage of the development process. Participation takes form(s) of passive or active participation (p. 87). The United Nations in the Declaration on the Rights to Development emphasizes the need for “active, free and meaningful participation” in development (United Nations, 1986).

Flensburg (2010) refers to citizen participation to as the “involvement of the public in decision making” by the government. Citizen participation can also be referred to as “public participation”, “citizen involvement” and “public involvement”. Citizen

participation is a process where the private individuals have an opportunity to influence public or government decisions using the existing government structures and legal frameworks. Citizen participation is more about having people in the community actively involved in a combination of processes that take the form of political, economic, social and cultural.

The Ntungamo district officials who participated in this study considered citizen participation as indicated in the quotes below:

The involvement of citizens at the planning level, budgeting for resources, and deciding where the resources should be allocated (DO4, interview, 14/3/2019).

Peoples involvement in coming up with priorities, developing their budgets and asking for demand driven services from government (DO8, interview, 1/3/2019).

The involvement of the local people in planning, monitoring and evaluating and sharing of outcomes of project (DO6, interview, 6/3/2019).

The quotes above emphasize the involvement of the local citizens in LED initiatives to participate in processes that are meant to benefit and improve their wellbeing. Another perspective on citizen participation was advanced. As indicated in the quote by below:

What the district delivers matters other than involving people in processes that do not deliver what they require. People should not be involved for the sake of being involved (DO8, interview, 1/3/2019).

This quote suggests that any form of citizen participation should be able to deliver results that correspond to the needs of the local citizens.

In Uganda, citizen participation traditionally took the form of citizen forums (commonly known as a kimeza in Uganda), local community meetings, community outreaches and sensitization meetings, local council meetings, stakeholder and

interest group meetings, and individual citizen representation. In more recent times, the space and platforms for citizen participation have reduced drastically as people strive to survive. People associate citizen participation with benefiting from government social services without making a contribution to the processes that are involved in the process through which these services are determined, planned and implemented.

2.1.2 Local Economic Development

Local Economic Development (LED) means different things to different people but in simple terms, LED refers to “a set of activities that aim at promoting investment at the locality with the aim of improving the wellbeing of local population through local economic development initiatives”. LED aims to create a favorable and enabling environment for local business, opening up of new avenues for both local entrepreneurs and external investors. LED initiatives take the form of SME development, micro business development, community development, integrated rural development, urban or regional planning, public administration /administrative decentralization, skills development or vocational training and employment promotion (Donor Committee for Enterprise Development , 2018).

According to Uganda’s Local Economic Development (LED) policy of 2014, LED is “*a process through which Local Governments, the private sector and the communities form partnerships to mobilize, manage and invest resources effectively into economic ventures to stimulate development and growth of the locality.*” This process involves collaboration between stakeholders, formulation and implementation of action plans and solving barriers to achieving LED. The LED process aligns itself with Private Sector Development that aims at advancing Uganda’s competitiveness, infrastructure development the need to meet the country’s economic development objectives through investments and opportunities that promote growth within District Local Governments and increase household incomes (Government Of Uganda, 2014).

The Local Economic Development (LED) approach has gained ground in the development world because of the need to promote local development leading to the creation of jobs, income generation, improved governance, transparency and assessing the local leadership performance (Yatta, 2015, p. 7). LED positions itself as an integrated process that does not prescribe what local communities ought to engage in but rather embraces and promotes local values and endeavors to find local solutions by employing local economic drivers. LED represents one of the many development ideas/interventions adopted by governments that aim at reducing poverty, increasing economic growth and creating employment. LED is associated with changing local conditions, building capacities, organizing participatory processes and trying to empower the different stakeholders most especially the poor and marginalized (UNHABITAT, 2005). The LED approach is susceptible to the implementation of unrealistic plans often determined by those that have control over the resources (Ferguson, 1994, p. 10).

2.2 Review of Previous Studies

This section of this thesis focuses on reviewing previous literature on Local Economic Development (LED), Decentralization and Participation because of the relationship these specific areas share with the study topic, citizen participation in local economic development Initiatives.

The Initiative for Social and Economic Rights (ISER, 2018) studied citizen participation in local government Service delivery processes in Uganda and identify participation as an ‘important component’ for service delivery. ISER associated poverty with lack of participation in decision making, civil, social and cultural life. The study highlights participatory programmes as inclusive, involves the poor, and marginalized in society. According to ISER, local citizen participation can help to achieve several goals, reduce poverty levels, build social capital and empower citizens to demand for accountability and good governance. ISER contends that Uganda’s decentralization system has created opportunities for citizen participation in different sectors’ planning and decision-making process although some sections of the population remain socially excluded with little access to information to allow them to participate. ISER emphasizes that participation has the ability

to guide the designing of better pro people development initiatives and help reduce inequalities. The law right of citizens to participate, the many gaps to be filled in regard to participation and the need to address the existing low levels of citizen participation require attention. The need to empower and sensitize communities, empower local communities and create functional platforms to promote participation worth pursuing (ISER, 2018). ISER raises crucial issues concerning citizen participation but focuses on service delivery in specific districts.

Kahika & Karyeija (2017) in their study on Institutional roles and the implementation of LED in Uganda assess the institutional capacity of District Local Governments to handle LED implementation. Kihika and Karyeija (2017) highlight the need for local governments to be facilitated to “*create LED institutions and LED implementation planning frameworks*” that involve key state actors at local level. Kihika and Karyeija (2017) contend that the technical capacity to implement LED remains a challenge (p. 6) and the legal framework to facilitate people participation in LED initiatives is not adequate (p. 7). It is argued further, that the political representation at the district level represents the political party in power’s position which may not serve the interest of the common person’s participation and implementation in LED especially if they are not aligned to ruling party’s ideology. Kihika and Karyeija (2017), raise pertinent questions on the fate of LED funds mobilized by the community and other stakeholders given the rampant levels of corruption in the country. They propose and recommend the empowerment of the District Local Governments although they are not clear on who should conduct the empowerment and what form this empowerment should take. Kihika Karyeija (2017) advocates for local level planning much as the issue of mobilizing all the stakeholders involved remains a challenge. Kihika concludes calling on the private sector to pick interest in LED initiatives since they have the ability to attract resources.

Buntaine, et al., (2017) in their action research study on local realities, the citizen voice and accountability in Bwindi, Uganda emphasize the intersection between decentralisation and

community driven development. The study highlights how elites capture community driven development by limiting information about the opportunities for citizens to shape their own decisions. Buntaine, et al., (2017) investigate if, “timely and targeted information on when and how citizens can participate in community driven knowledge can improve participation.” The study employs a randomised field experiment to test empowering effect of information about local institutions near Bwindi National park while this thesis employed semi structured interviews and FGDs. A conclusion is reached that informational treatments are unlikely to empower participation (Buntaine, et al., 2017).

Funck (2014) in his study on LED conducted in Northern and Eastern Uganda reveals that LED is a “fairly” new and “unexplained” concept both in the districts and the country (Funck, 2014, p. 2). Funck acknowledges the existence of Uganda’s LED policy, one of the documents that were analysed in this study. Funck identifies the key “blockages” that are impending LED implementation at different levels but contends that some LED projects have registered “noteworthy” successes within individual projects despite the shortage of funds, human resources, and technical capacity at local government level (p. 3). Funck points out the “confusion” in understanding the LED definition, application and purpose in regard to poverty relief, and or, economic growth (p. 2). Funck further highlights the immense lack of information sharing about LED among the stakeholders and the effects this has on the sustainability of LED projects. The cases of mismanagement of projects in Uganda are highlighted in Funck’s study. The 2017 Transparency International corruption index ranks Uganda at 151 out of 180 countries (Transparency International, 2018). Unlike the government, the private sector is motivated by profits and as one of the stakeholders in LED initiatives, questions on dealing with the longterm poverty challenge in a sustainable way arise if the private sector withdraws their investments for other geographical locations where they are bound to get a high return on investment.

Funck (2014) further asserts that poor infrastructure is a challenge to LED projects although significant improvements have been in electricity and water provision in

some rural areas. Funck emphasizes that infrastructure does not necessarily refer to roads but also to lack of storage facilities for bumper harvests (p. 3). The climate challenge is mentioned as further complicating the sustainability of LED projects as witnessed through unpredictable season changes. Funck builds his analysis from a report in a different geographical part of Uganda, yet its validity can easily apply to Ntungamo District because the main economic activity that engage both men and women in the two regions is rain fed agriculture and decentralisation as a system of governance runs throughout the entire country.

Mukiga (2013) in his study on citizen participation and health service delivery in Ntungamo District focus on the right to participate in Uganda's decentralised health care service delivery. Mukiga focus on participation from a service recipient point of view (p. 1) and informs us further of the sharp rise in local citizen participation in government decision making process (Olken, 2010 cited in (Mukiga, 2013, p. 17).

Mukiga's study reveals differences in the findings about peoples' perceptions on citizen participation – whereas some identify voting as a form of citizen participation believe that they influence decisions when they vote the majority (p. 48) and others identified with other forms of participation where people should *“demand power to achieve specific goals such implementation of target plans”*(p. 50). The role of community based organizations as a link between government and the people should be utilized to foster citizen participation (Mukiga, 2013, p. 78).

Kakumba & Nsingo (2010) in their study on citizen participation in local government and the process of rural development in Uganda acknowledge that citizen participation continues to dominate central positions in policies of countries and global development partners. The importance of rural development towards attracting funding as a way of promoting citizen participation is emphasized in their study while the study also explores existing participatory frameworks (p. 108). Kakumba & Nsingo (2010) emphasize further the objectives of citizen participation as presented by Brynard (1996:4) to include; provisions of information to citizens, acquiring information from citizens, improving participation in public process such as decision making, programmes, projects and service delivery, enhancing acceptance of public decisions, supplementing of public agency work, altering of political patterns and the

allocation of resources, protecting individual and minority groups, rights and interests and delaying or avoiding complicating difficult public decisions (p. 109).

Relatedly, Kakumba & Nsingo (2010) identify challenges to citizen participation such as, political patronage, central government's continued influence and interference in funding of local governments, and local communities that do not align themselves with the ruling party (Olum, 2004:4 cited in Kakumba & Nsingo, 2010). Top politicians or government officials that are involved in 'tender controversies' are mentioned (Francis and James, 2003; Olum, 2004 cited in (Kakumba & Nsingo, 2010, p. 115). The other challenges identified include, elite capture, inadequate financial capacity, accountability or lack of it, local conflicts at both the lower levels and top level of district leadership, 'villages against parishes' and 'sub counties against districts' for failure to include them in decision making and the weak socioeconomic structures that obstruct rural people from meaningful participation (Kakumba & Nsingo, 2010, pp. 116 - 118). The authority, power and influence that some pro government politicians (councillors) and civil servants have to the extent of influencing and taking decisions that concern planning, resource allocation, award of contracts/tenders, sponsoring election campaigns for local government candidates hoping to get something in return or make 'good' use of the office after winning elections are all highlighted in this study (Kakumba & Nsingo, 2010, p. 116).

Matovu (2002) in his study of policy options for good governance and LED in East and South Africa highlights a link between good governance and LED (Omiya, 2000 cited in (Matovu, 2002, p. 125). Matovu identifies good governance, citizen participation, accountability, transparency, openness and rule of law as 'prequisites' for the success of LED. Matovu advocates for decentralisation but warns us that the responsibilities transferred to local governments are not commensurate with the resource allocation and identifies the need for 'meaningful policy options' that can enhance LED. Matovu makes a call for adopting policies that promote partnerships, encouraging stakeholder participation, fighting corruption to avoid leakages, and ensuring proper accountability for public resources (Matovu, 2002, p. 125).

Related to the above, Matovu (2002) draws our attention on the view that governments are taking on private sector led development because the private sector has the ability to mobilize capital, offer better management and technical capacities. He cautions us about the possibility of private sector involvement failing to guarantee participation of every citizen. He cautions that public private partnerships are associated with risks such as partner trust and that governments should strive to be involved and retain its monitoring role even if the partnership was one hundred percent private (p. 127). Matovu calls for the promotion of partnerships at the local council level such as hiring local waste collection companies or local enterprises to build local capacities (Schubeler, 1996 cited in Matovu, 2002, p.127).

The linkage between citizen participation and LED initiatives is very important and significant to this thesis because it brings out the avenues through which local citizens and communities can maximize on local benefits from the available local resources. Communities are comprised of poor populations yet poverty is associated with powerlessness. Rural people form the majority of the weak, powerless and poor in Uganda. The need for change in political and economic structures to empower rural people is crucial (Ferguson, 1994, p. 11). District Local Governments in Uganda should continue to play a decisive and central role in LED initiatives other than reinforcing systems that have contributed to poverty by strengthening those who are already powerful than the have-nots (p. 12).

As direct agents of service delivery (one form of participation as recipients of government services), local governments have the potential to support participation in LED initiatives if the political will is alive. Local governments have the “capacity to convene” the different social actors with the aim of defining what is of interest to the public and determine a broader specimen for LED (Edoun, 2017, p. 28). Citizens can participate as recipients of social services from local governments, and empowered for effective participation in other forms of participation such formulating and making decisions, implementing, monitoring and evaluating LED initiatives. Local citizens have the right to seek accountability or contribute to the quality of services that they receive from local governments through citizen participation. Local Economic Development can thus be viewed as a sum of citizen participation and local government leadership, $LED = f(CP) + f(LGL)$.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

I build an argument on the premise that, for implementation to occur implementers need to have what to implement and that implementation itself is part of the participation process. I further argue that, what to implement is obtained through the process of participation. This implies that implementation does not occur in a vacuum and draws our attention to the processes and participants that are involved in determining what has to be implemented and participating in actual implementation. Participation and Implementation accelerate the need for citizen participation in both the participation processes and implementation. I argue further that, for effective citizen participation in the process determining what ought to be implemented; the local citizens who also double as beneficiaries of LED initiatives need to enjoy ‘certain levels of participation’.

Fung(2006)and Arnstein (1969), and Hill & Hupe (2002), assume a society with functioning and effective institutions that enjoy the support of the educated and empowered people through the separation of powers and collective action. The concepts Participation and Implementation as argued by Fung(2006)and Arnstein (1969), and Hill & Hupe (2002)respectively make assumptions from a standpoint of good governance, functioning institutions and collective activity among the population

The theoretical concept Participation relates to the study on Citizen Participation in LED initiatives basing on the assumption that authority, power and communication have a bearing on the decisions that are made, the policies that are implemented and the participants at different levels of the decision-making process and implementation. Fung (2006) raises pertinent questions about participation that seek answers to who the participants are, the ways through which participants communicate to each other, the link between the discussion and policy or action and the ability for the participants to influence public action. Fung clearly highlights that there are participation processes that are open to all people while in other instances, “elite” stakeholders such as representatives from interest groups are encouraged to engage (p. 3). According to Fung, in public agencies, the technical

experts employ their technical expertise to make decisions while other participants listen with the hope that their views will be put under consideration. Public hearings such as budget conferences are open for all those that want to attend though they might not influence anything (p. 13). Fung emphasizes the need for strategies that “harness the distinctive capacities and local knowledge” by empowering citizens to realize their full potential.

According to Fung (2006) during the process of participation, most often participants receive information from officials announcing and, or explaining policies. This raises issues on the scope of participation, ‘mode of communication’ and ‘decision-making’ and the extent of mobilization. Fung acknowledges that there are ‘authorized sets of decision makers comprised of elected representatives or administrative officials, and these are sometimes deficient and may lack the “knowledge, competence, public purpose, resource or respect to command compliance and cooperation.” The educated and wealthier tend to be participating and their participation may not necessarily respond to the needs and realities of those who do not participate (Fung, 2006, p. 6). Fung identifies six modes of participation; “listen as spectator, express preferences, develop preferences, aggregate and bargain, deliberate and negotiate and technical expertise” (p. 8). Fung further identifies five types of ‘institutionalised influence and authority’; “individual education, communicative ignorance, advise/consult, co-govern, and direct authority” and these influence citizen participation in different ways and at different levels. Fung cautions that, implementation of decisions/policies can encounter challenges from a resource angle, lack of information and the expertise to implement them (Fung, 2006, p. 20).

Relatedly, Arnstein (1969) that, “*citizen Participation is citizen power*”. She contends further that it is “*the redistribution of power enables the have not citizen presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future.*” Arnstein draws our attention on the strategies by which, “the have nots join in determining how policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programs operated and benefits like contracts are parceled out.” Arnstein clarifies

further that, inducing significant social reform enables the have nots to share in the benefits of the “affluent society”, and that, “*participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless.*”

Arnstein questions the existing power structures in society, how they interact and where the power lies at the time of making important decisions. Arnstein’s ladder of citizen participation consists of three distinct categories with non participation (manipulation and therapy) at the bottom, Tokenism (informing, consultative and placation) in the middle, and Citizen power (partnership, delegated power and citizen control) at the top. The challenge with the ladder of citizen participation is that citizens cannot be identified as a homogeneous group because, “*citizens have competing points of views and competing interests*”

According to Hill & Hupe (2002), Pressman & Wildavsky, (1984) are highly regarded as the founding fathers of Implementation (p. 44). Hill & Hupe (2002) draw our attention to what is “expected” from a policy, the “results” of a policy, and the need to understand the processes under which “expectations” and “results” take place (Hill & Hupe, 2002, p. 2). They associate implementation with the concepts “carry out”, “accomplish” “fulfill”, “produce” and “complete”(p. 3) and thus implementation can only take place if and when some action is done and with an end in sight (p. 4). The action alluded to here might take the form of planning, decision making and implementing.

Implementation requires the identification of the different actors/stakeholders that participate in the implementation process and the interplay in the power relations dynamics among these actors (Hill & Hupe, 2002, p. 4). Implementation can take the form of top - down approach or the bottom – up challenge. Implementation in this thesis is viewed as a process that starts from an “initial policy decision” (Hill & Hupe, 2002, p. 46). The assumption is that there should be involvement of the citizens in form of citizen participation because implementing a policy encompasses particular actions by both the public and private individuals with the aim of achieving the objectives that are embedded in prior decisions (p. 46). The overall goals of the policy in this case have to be stated; resources and incentives

availed and clarification on inter organizational goals and the implementing parties put into consideration, and the economic, social and political environment of the policy highlighted (p. 46).

The arguments presented by Fung (2006), Arnstein (1969) and Hill & Hupe (2002) relate to fundamental questions about participation, Implementation, power structures in society, how these power structures interact and the fundamental question of where the power lies when important decision are being made, all of which I find very relevant for the study on Citizen Participation in local economic development initiatives in Uganda. It is also worth knowing that, the “structure and process” where participation takes place is “set and controlled” by the government (Frödin, 2008, p. 5). The state apparatus continues to position herself as a “neutral instrument” for implementation as government positions itself as a machine for the provision of social services (Ferguson, 1994, p. 194).

Chapter Three

Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with methodology and the relationship between data and theory. Qualitative methods such as structured interviews, FGDs and document analysis constitute the research design that was selected for his thesis.

3.2 Qualitative Research Methods

Qualitative research methods help in ensuring “relevance and participation” through the provision of tools that capture the “local context” based on the settings of the participants (Dahler - Larsen, 2012, p. 84). The Qualitative methods allowed the inclusion and participation of the different stakeholders that were required for this thesis and the examination of the social phenomena under study (Frödin, 2008, p. 9). The use of interviews and FDGs creates an atmosphere that encourages discussion, engagement and involvement of the respondents although the findings cannot be generalized as would be the case with quantitative data.

Purposive and cluster sampling were adopted for this thesis. Purposive sampling is convenient and affordable while cluster sampling allows for small clusters of the population to be studied from the different geographical locations of Ntungamo District. Ntungamo district is a large district and with resources and time allowing, the possibility of capturing a wide range of information is high.

3.2 The Research Process

The empirical findings for this thesis are based on face-to-face semi structured and open ended interviews with district officials that are involved in the planning and implantation of development initiatives at the district and FGDs that constituted local citizens from Ntungamo District.

In the initial stages of the data collection process, I made contact with the District Community Office, Ntungamo District Local Government to express my interest in conducting fieldwork in the district, a request that was granted. Prior to travelling

to the field, my search for a travel grant to collect data yielded positive results, clearance to conduct fieldwork from abroad was sought and granted by the Graduate School – Lund University, Swedish Institute and the thesis Supervisor.

While in field, the possibility of having biased data for this thesis was high because I interviewed district officials who initially were concerned about my identity, origin and interest in conducting fieldwork in the district. I had anticipated this because I was in the district at a time when there were border tensions between Uganda and Rwanda. Ntungamo District shares a border with Rwanda. In addition to this, the district official that I interviewed with an exception of one did not know where Lund University was located. These scenarios created a possibility that the respondents might have felt the “pressure” on the style and choice of words for their responses.

As a starting point, I introduced myself and then handed out the introductory letter from my supervisor and the Graduate School – Lund University. To create a favourable environment for the data collection process, I assured the respondents of the confidentiality of the information they would provide. I explicitly told the respondents that the data I was collecting was for my MSc. Development Studies thesis. I further clarified that it was in my best interest to conduct fieldwork in Ntungamo district because of the social and family ties that I have in the District. I allowed the respondents to use the local language (Runyankore) if they so wished. This was done to give confidence to the local citizens who participated in the FGDs.

I wore branded Lund University clothing to all data collection engagements attributed to the data collection process to create a student – respondent environment. My aim was to collect qualitative data that reflected “detailed descriptions of illuminating perspectives” on LED initiatives in Ntungamo District (Frödin, 2008, p. 12). Once the tensions were cleared, I did get some honest responses from the respondents and overtones on the LED process in the district through informal interactions with the respondents and non-respondents, an indication that these respondents had high regard for the data collection process.

I facilitated interviews based on the position of the interviewee at the district and the relevance of their office to implementation of LED initiatives. I had an interview guide with a set of semi structured open-ended questions that guided the data collection process. Every participant was asked the same key questions although I exercised flexibility on how the questions were asked. The FGDs were categorized and facilitated based on the gender, occupation and social standing of the respondent of the respondents. The semi structured interviews and FGDs were recorded for later analysis, then transcribed, confidentiality and anonymity observed. I took it upon myself to check these data sources against each other because all potential data sources have a possibility of carrying an element of bias (Frödin, 2008, p. 17; Somekh & Lewin, 2005).

One observation I made while at Ntungamo District Local Government offices is that men predominantly occupy the district leadership offices and the women work more in lesser capacities as secretaries and office attendants. Women had zero representation in the interviews because the key district officials are all male. This raises issues of the gender aspect in the LED process concerning the LED decisions that are made and the implementation process of the LED initiatives in the district. This is an area to explore further in the future.

3.4 Methods for Data Collection

The following data collection methods were employed during the study; semi structured interviews and Focus Group Discussion (FDG).

3.4.1 Semi structured Interviews

These took the form of a face-to-face conversation between two people, the interviewer (I) and the respondent or interviewee. The individual interviews were conducted with the help of an interview guide that had a set of open-ended questions to guide and allow the flow of detailed ideas and in-depth responses from the respondents. Semi structured interviews allow the interviewer to probe further with follow up questions basing on the responses from the respondent. I effectively employed this method anticipating to get detailed information, perceptions and

opinions about citizen participation in LED initiatives and the LED process from the respondent's point of view.

Semi structured interviews have the ability to empower the respondents through active engagement, allow interaction between the interviewer and interviewee, provide room for clarification and I was able to get the respondents ideas and thoughts about citizen participation in LED in the respondents own words. I was able to get answers to all the questions I asked. I conducted semi-structured interviews with eight (8) key personnel at Ntungamo District Local Government. The respondents were all male.

3.4.2 Focus Group Discussions (FDGs)

FDGs are regarded as windows of “interactions and relationships” without any “hierarchical relations” (Weiss, 1998, p. 260). FDGs bring people who share similar experiences and backgrounds so that both individual and group information, opinions, views, perceptions are collected and feelings/body language observed respectively. FDGs are cost and time effective as they allow a large number of respondents to participate at the same time. The FDGs for this thesis comprised of Eight (8) to Ten (10) participants focusing on women, youth, and business community, local and religious leaders all carefully drawn from the six different parishes of Ngoma Sub County, Ntungamo District. I was able to interact with the respondents on citizen participation in LED initiatives and the respondents revealed their perspectives in their own voices.

I facilitated four (4) FDGs with the intention of capturing their thoughts about LED initiatives in Ntungamo District. The FGD participants comprised of individuals and interest groups of people in Ngoma Sub County, Rushenyi County, Ntungamo District. The FDGs targeted the following groups of people; women, youth, business community representative, religious and community leaders all carefully drawn from the six different parishes of Ngoma Sub County, Ntungamo District. One FGD was exclusively for women, meant to provide them with the space for articulating their perspectives without hesitation given the patriarchy demands and cultural attitudes in this community where women are still expected to carry

themselves around to some level of conformity with cultural ways. One FGD was exclusively for men by virtue of the fact that women lack representation in some areas. The other two FGDs had a good blend of both men and women of different ages but the youngest being 18 years.

3.4.3 Limitation of Methods

It is important to note that I was relying on participants in the data collection process to provide me with honest responses to the best of their ability. Concerning this thesis, the information that I have utilized is what I was able to collect to the best of my ability at that particular time. I was then able to interpret and make connections with the data to inform this thesis. There could be a possibility that issues were not well captured during the data collection and data analysis due to several factors but this is what I am able to produce as of now.

I did not have any control over the information gathered through semi-structured interviews. I am not sure whether the thoughts or opinions of the interviewees were influenced or biased by any circumstances. I found the semi-structured interviews time and labour intensive. The entire interview process from pre-fieldwork preparations to setting up the interviews, conducting the interviews, transcribing, coding, analysing and giving feedback in form of a thesis and feedback to the participants is a long process that requires patience, commitment and professionalism. I however enjoyed the challenge and had a good fieldwork experience.

The FGD recruitment was difficult, met with suspicion given the rural setting and I faced transport challenges trying to connect with the respondents because they were spread out in the six Parishes of Ngoma Sub County. During the FGDs, I observed that some individuals were more vocal and trying to dominate the group responses. I also observed that there was a need to redirect respondents on some occasions. I handled both situations carefully using my knowledge from my participatory methods classes to ensure that every respondent had equal chance.

The FGDs were facilitated in the local language (Runyankore) and this created a need to translate the obtained information from Runyankore to English for better analysis. The process became time consuming. There is a possibility that some participants were hesitant to express their thoughts freely because of the rural setting and the little exposure/ experiences with data collection.

Compared with semi-structured interviews, the focused groups proved to be more expensive and emotionally taxing to execute even when the participants offered their time for free. Listening to the rural stories from different perspectives on the issues that concern the local citizens was hard to take in.

Chapter Four

Findings

4.0 Data Analysis and Findings

The data analysis began during the data collection process while I was listening and beginning to attach meanings to the responses. As part of my routine while in the field for data collection, I wrote down the observed impressions and tried to identify pieces of data that had the relevant value for this thesis.

In an attempt to identify explanations from the collected empirical data, I embarked on interpretation and analysis. Qualitative data collected in form of non-numeric information from interview transcripts, notes, text documents and audio recordings was analyzed. I employed narrative and thematic analysis. I categorized the data, identified patterns and looked out for connections and relation to the response basing on the trend of particular patterns in the responses that are relevant to this thesis and developed themes for analyzing the empirical data.

Ntungamo District Local Government is governed under the decentralization system of governance. Decentralization was adopted in 1992 under the Local Government Act of 1995, amended 1997. For many years, Uganda was governed under a centralized system of government. The policy shift from central to decentralize was guided by the idea that decentralization plays a significant role in bringing services closer to the people. It is however worth noting that decentralization, as a system of government in itself does not guarantee citizen participation in LED initiatives. Under decentralization, the district serves as the Centre for governance and a collection point where policies should be implemented. The expectation is that the implementing officers of these policies and the local citizens in the district participate in determining their needs and contribute to the formulating, planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluation processes.

The collected empirical data for this thesis is analyzed under the following themes: planning and participation, policymaking and policy implementation.

4.1 Planning and Participation

According to Uganda's Local Economic Development policy of 2014, three stakeholders are identified; the Public sector, Private sector and the Community. The policy however does not clearly spell out the level of participation that is expected from each of the stakeholder and the returns on participation.

Planning is a complex process that can benefit from citizen participation. These benefits can be realized when citizens are empowered to participate in such processes. As emphasized in the quote by DO7 below:

The current system allows for decentralized planning and ...people are involved in the planning process (interview, 28/3/2019).

This quote emphasizes the need for high levels of inclusive integrated planning, budgeting, savings, funding, investments and technical capacity. The empirical data from the district officials suggests that local citizens participate in the planning processes in their communities at the Parish and Sub Country level as indicated in the quotes by DO6 below:

I expect community involvement in planning ... planning process starts at village level (Interview, 6/3/2019).

This quote suggests that local citizens are involved in the planning process. The challenge with this quote is that, the participation or involvement alluded to might be largely in policy documents in form of policies, laws and bi laws and whether the policy documents are followed to the later requires further investigation. As indicated in the quote by FD 901 below:

We are not involved (focus group discussion, 15/3/2019).

This quote demonstrates that not everyone participates in the planning process in Ntungamo district. This lack of participation cannot be attributed to a single reason. It should also be noted that different communities in Ntungamo district have representatives in form of local councilors at the village, Sub County, Parish and

district level who are expected to represent the voices of the localities that are in their jurisdiction.

Democratic governance provides a way through which people should be governed. Districts in Uganda are run on five year development plans. The search for ideas to inform these plans is done during the planning periods. As demonstrated in the quote by DO1 below:

The LED activities are handled during the planning cycle and village ideas are collected through the different communities at Parish and Sub County level (interview, 28/2/2019).

This quote suggests that it is important to capture the local dimension in the planning processes. The views, thoughts and ideas of the local citizens need to make it to the planning table so that solutions are sought for the needs of the people. It is also important for the plans to aim at achieving value addition, technological transfer, infrastructural development and the flow of capital to the district's LED initiatives. As suggested in the quote by DO4 below:

Focus should be placed on projects that have greater community benefits (interview, 14/3/2019).

The quote above suggests that transforming communities should focus on big projects that will create employment and other opportunities for the local population. There is need to adopt value for money transactions to maximize on the benefits of the projects that are meant for the community.

Participation in LED initiatives takes different forms; active participation and non-active participation from a general level. The empirical data collected indicated that people identify with the LED approach and development initiatives. As demonstrated in quote by FD1203 below:

LED encourages knowledge sharing and brings together different categories of people (focus group discussion, 5/3/2019).

This quote suggests that knowledge sharing allows the exchange of ideas on issues that concern the people in the communities. Knowledge sharing is important in LED and increases the chances of local citizen participation. In some instances, the participants in these knowledge-sharing activities require participants to have an invitation to participate. Usually, when people are invited to participate in such events, they are at the receiving end. They show up, listen, sign the attendance list and probably leave with no much value addition or making a meaningful contribution. In the event that an invitation is not required, people are encouraged to participate as an avenue of creating accountability by the organizers. There was an indication that some people would be willing to participate to show face especially if there is some reimbursement of transport and provision of lunch or any other tangible benefit. In this case, the issues on the agenda for discussion are not the main motivation for their participation. It is common for ordinary citizens not to participate given that there are costs involved. It is the citizens who can afford to bear the transport cost and spend a day out of their personal activities like attending to their gardens or businesses have the privilege to participate.

Related to the above, access to information and information sharing play an important role in promoting participation in LED initiatives. Information sharing sets the tone for deliberations about development and allows people to reflect and consult where necessary. The empirical data collected indicates a lack of clear and effective information sharing strategy in Ntungamo District. As suggested by the quotes from FD1006 and DO2 respectively, below:

There is clear lack of adequate information about the LED policy and government programs in general (focused group discussion, 7/3/2019).

There is no clear package about the LED Policy and LED initiatives are being implemented without awareness among many people (interview, 4/3/2019).

These quotes suggest that the communication concerning the LED policy and the LED initiatives has not been given the attention it deserves. This is emphasized further as indicated in the quote by FD1005 below:

There is clear lack of adequate information about the LED policy and government programs (focus group discussion, 7/3/2019).

This quote suggests that information blackout serves as a hindrance to citizen participation in LED initiatives. The assumption that information is out there without empowering people to gain access to it further complicates the situation because several households do not own television sets and radios given the low household savings. There are local citizens who do not know how to read, write, and later on make sense of information sources. Government efforts of introducing Universal Primary education and Universal Secondary Education are challenged by peoples need to survive by tending to their gardens. Besides the quality of UPE and USE has been in the spotlight for some time now. As indicated in the quotes below:

Radio, notice boards and letters (DO1, interview, 28/2/2019)

Radio, newspapers (FD1002, focus group discussion, 7/3/2019)

Budget conferences (DO8, interview, 1/3/2019)

Radios, village meetings, churches (FD1105 focus group discussion, 5/3/2019) television, radio, newspapers, letters and public gatherings (FD1204, FD1201, FD1203 and FD1205, focus group discussion, 5/3/2019).

The quotes above highlight the communication tools used in Ntungamo district used to link the local citizens and the district officials in the district. These tools share a characteristic of one way of communication. Such tools lack feedback possibilities from the local citizens whose views should be directing the agenda. The need for strategies to harness the distinctive capacities for people to improve on communication alternatives so that people can participate in LED initiatives remains.

The rural population in Uganda is predominantly engaged in subsistence farming where households produce for consumption between seasons. This makes land a very important resource because most of the economic activities in the district involve engaging with the land. Land is and remains a scarce resource and for some households, land is the only source of income generating resource that they possess. Land is acquired through inheritance after the death of the parents. Land can also be acquired through direct purchase. In the recent past land grabbing has dominated the news in Uganda. The biggest losers in these land-grabbing schemes are the local citizens who cannot afford to engage in long court processes. The phenomenon of landless peasants is on the rise and this has effect on LED participation. As indicated in the quote by FD901 below:

The district has two categories of people; those who inherit land and the landless peasants who are a challenge to development (focus group discussion, 15/3/2019).

This quote highlights the challenges associated with access to resources. This creates and perpetuates inequalities in the district. People without access to land and those with small pieces of land are most likely to be excluded from the participation process. As demonstrated in the quote by FD1003 below:

Land fragmentation has left households with small portions of land that limit their engagement in income generating activities (focus group discussion, 7/3/2019).

This quote suggests that it will become increasingly difficult for people with little or no access to land to participate in LED initiatives in Ntungamo District. The landless peasants are in most cases not able to hire land for cultivation because they lack the financial resource to do so. The situation becomes more complex for those from households whose members have not gone far in acquiring education. As indicated in the quote by FD901 below:

The households with educated people are managing to position themselves in development initiatives as opposed to those with uneducated members (focus group discussion, 15/3/2019).

This quote suggests that households with educated members have some alternative sources of income and are less likely to sell their land. In the event that a family did not have land but

have an educated member, they are in a better position to purchase land from the income from their alternative sources or savings and participate in LED initiatives.

Relatedly, many rural households in Uganda are engaged in subsistence farming because Uganda remains an agricultural economy. The small-scale farmers in the country contribute to the country's economy. The people in Ntungamo District are predominantly small-scale subsistence farmers who grow crops and keep livestock mainly for family consumption although some households produce for both consumption and business. Other than the challenges associated with the weather, there are other challenges that need to be included in the planning process. As indicated in the quote by DO2 below:

The local producers face challenges of handling produce after harvests (interview, 4/3/2019).

This quote indicates that farmers lose many of their harvests because of poor handling at the time of harvest. This is so because most of the crops that are produced are perishable crops like tomatoes, onions, and milk from livestock and yet the rural areas do not have electricity and proper storage facilities. The losses incurred derail future participation and partly explains why citizens choose to produce for household consumption. While planning for LED initiatives, the planners should focus on empowering communities deal with agricultural storage. Better still, the long-term plan of value addition and marketing of the produced goods should be considered.

Under the current LED approach, communities have received supplies in form of seeds, fertilizers and livestock as part of the campaign, Operation Wealth Creation (OWC), the latest government campaign against poverty in Uganda. The process by which these supplies are determined with regard to quality, the amount a household should receive and the nature of how these

are supplied excludes the participation of local citizens. There have been instances where the ‘wrong’ type of seeds have been supplied and sometimes the quantities are too little to cause impact, something that can be avoided if people participated in the processes that determine these activities. As indicated in the quote by FD1004 below:

Usually, the discussions are conducted from ‘above’ and hardly get the lowest common citizen involved; a thing that perpetuates poverty in the community (focus group discussion, 7/3/2019).

The quote suggests that the local citizens should be involved in discussions that concern them. FD1004 uses the concept “common citizen” to generalize the local citizens in the district. The local citizens are identified as “common citizens” because the prevailing circumstances have rendered them powerless to the point that they are perceived as inferior with not much to offer. The indication that even the elected representatives do not represent the views (if any) of the local citizens is clear. Local representatives assume offices for their own interests. They are hand tied on so many fronts, need to survive as well, and are sometimes victims of political patronage.

A range of factors influences citizen participation in LED initiatives in Ntungamo district. The risk of labeling participants as anti-government is high especially when they have divergent views that do not align themselves to the government plans. The categories of those affected academics, religious leaders and ordinary citizens as targets of scrutiny. This certainly makes people pull back and withhold their participation. As indicated in the quote by FD901 below:

We are threatened (focus group discussion, 15/3/2019).

This quote highlights the risks associated with negatively politicizing development issues. The anti-government label in Uganda is generally associated with sabotaging government programmes when people dare to come out and speak even when their concerns might sound genuine. The result of this is that some will participate for

the sake of being seen as involved without contributing. Citizens can only engage in meaningful participation if they are allowed the space and platform to do so. The ideals that would probably contribute to LED initiatives for example might never make it to the discussion table because of the concern that people will be labelled and might face harsh consequences. The participation process needs to set itself free from such situations. Citizens need to be empowered and not disempowered to participate.

Citizen participation in LED initiatives builds on synergies and collective action among the population. The Banyankore who are predominantly the inhabitants of Ntungamo District are known to have utilized resources under the communal utilization in the past but things have changed lately. As indicated in the quote by FD901 below:

There is a mentality of dependence among the population (focus group discussion, 15/3/2019)

This quote suggests that people are moving with the times and adapting to new ways of life basing on the current realities of globalization and its challenges. What used to be close-knit societies that worked and stayed together are breaking away from that tradition. Pronounced cases of “*negative internal local competition*” loosely translated as “*itima*” in the local dialect are on the rise. As indicated in the quote by FD10 below:

‘itima’ disregards synergies and collective action and hinders knowledge sharing (focus group discussion, 7/3/2019).

This quote indicates that people are increasingly holding onto what is accessible such as information and other resources (sometimes meant for the general public) for their own benefit so as not to create unnecessary competition. This kind of negativity does not promote citizen participation in LED initiatives, and should not be ignored by the planners. The ‘*Gavumenti etuyambe*’ mentality loosely translated, as ‘Government Help Us’ mentality should be discouraged so that People feel that they are part of the process. Local citizens need to be empowered to disregard this type of unproductive negativity that derails the power of working in numbers and

people working for themselves to achieve set goals. As indicated in the quote by DO1 below:

LED activities aiming at empowering communities through LED initiatives are examined from the government programmes perspective (interview, 28/2/2019).

This quote demonstrates that citizens are not involved in these processes. The quote further points out that people have not been given choices, are vulnerable and powerless, and are willing to have anything thrown at them. The dilemma with this arrangement is that it takes away the local citizens agency. This partly explains the reason as to why we have policies that people do not seem to know or understand and yet the process is advocates for inclusiveness.

The LED processes in Ntungamo district are bound to cause discontent among the local citizens. The process exhibits levels of injustices against the local citizens. As demonstrated in the quote by FD901 below:

It is those with connections that get information about pending projects, their start dates and work ahead to get the necessary requirements and position themselves in preparation for the projects to commence (focus group discussion, 15/3/2019)

This quote suggests that politicians and other office bearers use local citizens as ‘stepping stones’ to promote themselves. The quote also suggests that LED initiatives benefit a select few; Initiatives benefit those with prior connections with government officials or the people connected to them. There are other injustices that can be attributed to political inequality. As indicated in the quote by FD901 below:

Tenders at the district are being handed to a select few (focus group discussion, 15/3/2019).

This quote suggests that there are people excluded from LED activities especially the unorganised because they lack the tools to influence the political process and the decisions to serve their interests. As indicated in the quote by DO4 below:

LED initiatives will only benefit those who are able to understand what these things are, or those that will come out first and others follow (interview, 14/3/2019).

This quote ignores the importance of inclusive local citizen participation but promotes selective citizen participation. The local citizen will fail to identify with the LED policy and the LED process because of the highlighted injustices. As indicated in the quote by FD903 below:

The government and the business sector know more than the ordinary citizen (focused group discussion, 15/3/2019).

This quote highlights further the dissatisfaction among the local citizens towards LED initiatives. The quote indicates that the people have lost trust in the system that is supposed to benefit them. This puts a strain on the working relationship between the local citizens and government officials. As indicated in the quote by FD902 below:

The relationship between local persons and the government is weak (focused group discussion, 15/3/2019).

This quote suggests that the expectations from the LED policy will be derailed. The relationship between the authorities and the local persons can only be meaningful if the concerns, views, ideas, opinions are incorporated in LED processes to cater for the interests of the different stakeholders.

Research and Development (R & D) is very crucial when it comes to planning and participation in LED initiatives. Research and Development provides basis for evidence based policy and practice in the district. The other assumption is that research should have an impact on the policy makers in the district, help respond effectively to social problems, and gain insights into under researched areas such as citizen participation. Contrary to these expectations, Research and Development has not been given due attention in Ntungamo District Local Government. As suggested in the quote by DO6 below:

Research and development is not part of the district work plans (interview, 6/3/2019).

This quote indicates that the quest to understand phenomena through research has not been given the attention it deserves. In such circumstances, the possibility that development strategies are imposed on local communities or local citizens without capturing the interests of the population remains high. The district currently relies on external research support from regional centres like Kawanda Research Centre in Wakiso and Kachwekano Zonal Agricultural Research and Development Institute in Kabale. These research institutes focus on the areas of agriculture and not the social aspects that concern life in general. As indicated in the quote by DO8 below:

People are doing things without knowing what they are doing (interview, 1/3/2019).

This quote suggests a likely possibility that there are resources being wasted by attempting to engage on different issues yet some of these wastages can be reduced or avoided.

4.2 Policy making

The empirical data collected indicated a form of “consensus” on LED as an approach. As indicated in the quotes below:

LED approach is not new (FG1107, focus group discussion, 7/3/2019)

I have heard about it (LED) (FG1208, focus group discussion, 5/3/2019).

LED is not a new approach and it has been in existence to implement other projects (DO6, interview, 6/3/2019)

LED approach is not a new approach in local development issues...people have always had their own frameworks of LED initiatives (FG907, focus group discussion, 15/3/2019).

The quotes above suggest that people are conversant with the LED framework although their limited information about the LED policy as earlier discussed indicates that more has to be

done in sensitizing the people about this policy. Besides, the origin of the LED policy remains unexplained yet policymaking should be inclusive. As indicated in the quote by DO2 below:

Citizens have a stake in the policy and the government has an obligation to fulfill (interview, 4/3/2019).

This quote indicates that there is a high possibility of local governments relying on policies from the central government even when the decentralization policy allows them the mandate to formulate their own context specific policies that contribute to National policies. This is partly so because the local citizens and district officials hardly know the LED policy. The quote suggests that the local citizen participate in the policy making process although this might be far from reality. The policy making process seems to have been dominated by a select few advancing their interests at the expense of the masses. As indicated in the quote by DO8 below:

we target peasants, subsistence farmers, people who need to be planned for – others can do it for themselves (interview, 1/3/2019).

This quote suggests that the delegated power that the technocrats and experts enjoy is likely to create dominance in the realm of policymaking, decision making and authority to constantly plan for others without their involvement.

Policies in Uganda are the mandate of the government and Uganda is not short of policies. Policy design or the process of making policies calls for the involvement of the different stakeholders' input and this should never be ignored. Citizens are expected to participate in the policy making process. As indicated in the quote by DO8 below:

Policies, programmes and laws enacted by Parliament get input from the local population (Interview, 1/3/2019).

This quote suggests an element of citizen participation in policy making although the origin and ownership of the LED policy remain unexplained. The legitimisation and ownership of the policy by the different stakeholders after the policies have been made is very crucial. Uganda's LED policy has been in existence since 2014 but the empirical data collected from the field indicates little or no ownership of this policy. As indicated in the quote by DO4 below:

I wouldn't think that there is full ownership of the policy...the policy is not yet well publicised and understood by many people including those who should be implementing it (interview, 14/3/2019).

The quote raises concern on the planning process, policy design, policy interpretation and the implication on LED initiatives. The ownership of the policy should never be a problem if the people have participated in the policy making process. In the event that this was not the case, then efforts should be made to ensure that there is uniform interpretation of the policy by the different stakeholders because people have different understandings. It would serve well if approved government policies gain from an education programme at all levels to share streamlined knowledge about specific policies.

Policy ideas have been known to come from different sources such as foreign governments or through interactions between the government and the people. In an ideal situation, policies should be demand driven. Policy making is one area where citizen participation could generously benefit from as confirmed by the quote from DO6 below:

Policies come from somewhere and can be customized to meet local needs (interview, 6/3/2019).

This quote suggests the idea of customizing policies to meet the needs of the local citizens in their geographical setting other than encouraging local people to identify their needs and use the available structures through participation to make their own policies. This probably explains why the needs of the local citizens especially the poor remain a challenge to some societies.

The power and influence of the district politicians and some civil servants influences policymaking and the activities at the district. Usually, it is the politicians' view that gets to the agenda and some of the critical meetings are summoned and chaired by the politicians. As indicated in the quote by DO3 below:

Politicians play a central role when it comes to advancement and mobilization (interview, 26/2/2019).

This quote suggests that the pro government politicians in the district have the ‘resources and a platform’ which they can effectively utilize to the advantage of their political party. As indicated further in the quote by DO2 below:

Approvals at the district are done by the politician (interview, 26/2/2019).

This indicates that the pro government politicians have influence on resource allocation and the projects that should be prioritized. As indicated in the quote by DO4 below:

Politics has a role that cannot be ignored; even directing services to where they should go is influenced by politics (interview, 14/3/2019).

The quote above suggests that the district plans are aligned to the ruling party manifesto either directly or indirectly. The ruling party manifesto holds the broader political plans for the country and is presented to the electorate by the party head during election campaigns. As indicated in the quote by DO8 below:

Politicians in the district implement government manifestos and influence most of the activities at the district (interview, 1/3/2019).

This quote highlights the importance of the party manifesto because the party claim of an election victory is based on the power of its manifesto. As a result, the impact of political influence, political interference and political interests in the district activities has a bearing on the policymaking and implementation. As indicated in the quote by FD1206 below:

The politicians influence sometimes drives government projects where they are least needed (focus group discussion, 5/3/2019).

This quote demonstrates that some sections of the local population will be affected especially if they are not aligned to the ruling party ideology. The projects that are taken to locations where they are least needed are usually in form of political rewards for the political support and this entrenches political patronage. This has

however been down played by some district officials. As indicated in the quote by DO6 below:

Political support, political interests and political intervention try to show a sense of sharing (interview, 6/3/2019).

This quote indicates that, even the diverted projects will still play a role in the development of the other communities hence the notion of sharing. If a road project is directed to a specific community when it was not originally part of the district plans, as an example, it will open up direct and indirect benefits that allow people from other communities to engage in commercial activities or any other opportunities that the road presents. The danger with this work system is that, the system is usually abused and lacks proper resource accountability.

4.3 Policy Implementation

Uganda's LED Policy of 2014 is premised on the assumption that local resource mobilization and utilization can be achieved through partnerships between the Public sector, Private sector and the Community (local citizens). The LED policy qualifies as a legitimization of an approach that has been in existence even before the adoption of the policy as indicated in the quote by DO6 below:

The LED approach is applied to many projects and programmes in the district and community members show demand for LED approach (Interview, 6/3/2019).

This quote suggests that LED is not entirely new and population identify with the LED approach. These assertion points to the future of LED in the implementation of the LED initiatives in Ntungamo district. As pointed out in the quote by DO3 below:

The LED policy of Uganda is, in its initial stages with its first official budget estimates and planning included in the financial year 2019/2020 (interview, 26/2/2019)

This quote indicates governments will and commitments to enable the LED policy achieve the expected objectives on implementation. The quote portrays LED's position in the implementation of projects in Uganda's development process.

The belief that the LED approach is essential for citizen participation in implementing LED initiatives cannot be ignored. As indicated by the quote from DO1 below:

LED is a necessary initiative that should help people develop capacities (interview, 28/2/2019).

This quote indicates that the Government of Uganda is keen on empowering the local citizens to participate in their own development as opposed to the traditional way of government operations where the government has always funded local development initiatives solely. Despite the promise offered by LED, not much has been achieved on ground with the structures that the LED policy earmarks for LED implementation. As indicated in the quote by DO4 below:

LED is something people have not understood properly. It needs a department that can implement it; it will be a good initiative (interview, 14/3/2019).

This quote confirms that the suggested structures meant to aid the implementation of LED initiatives are not yet constituted. According to the LED policy, the expectation is that the district constitutes a local government LED technical working group (forum) and a Sub County LED technical working group for each Sub County in the District. During the time I conducted data collection at the both the district and Ngoma Sub County, It was evident that these technical working groups had not yet been constituted. According to the quote by DO2 indicated below:

LED taskforce is not in place and the LED functionality at the district is lacking (interview, 4/3/2019).

This quote suggests that putting the policy into action remains a challenge. With this kind of arrangement, the expectations from the policy will not be achieved as expected because the implementation process is not effective.

Key district officials in their respective capacities participated in the empirical data collection for this thesis. Through this participation, most of the district officials indicated little or lack of understanding of the LED policy of Uganda. As indicated by the following quotes below:

I have no knowledge about the policy other than building on the LED approach that has always existed (DO8, interview, 1/3/2019).

I must admit I am not conversant with the policy. Even we the district leaders may not be fully aware of the policy's benefits (DO4, interview, 14/3/2019).

I am not used with it, I am not aware about it (DO5, interview, 14/3/2019)

People see activities being done but they cannot associate them to the LED Policy (DO6, interview, 6/3/2019).

The quotes raise questions on how or why the district officials who are in charge of handling the LED process and implementing the LED policy at the district do not know about this policy. This is against the background that the LED policy has been in existence since 2014 and is available on the Ministry of Local Government website. How one implements a policy, they hardly know a thing about and achieve the expected results from this policy remains unanswered. The poor coordination and possible lack of cooperation between government agencies is cited in this case, going by the detailed framework for implementation and coordination of the LED policy on paper.

The issue of monitoring and evaluation is critical in the success of LED initiatives. The LED policy of 2014 sets out the structures and importance of monitoring LED initiatives. As indicated in the quote by DO7 below:

Effective monitoring and supervision is an important component of LED initiatives (interview, 28/3/2019).

This quote emphasizes the need for monitoring and evaluation. The dilemma however is that, monitoring and evaluation require funding. The funding sources for monitoring and evaluation are not identified yet funding these activities remains crucial. Involving local citizens in LED initiatives with their participation contributes to addressing the monitoring and evaluation challenge. As indicated in the quote by DO2 below:

Local citizens and local leaders should be utilized as focal persons (interview, 4/3/2019).

This quote suggests that the monitoring and evaluation of LED initiatives can benefit from empowering local citizen to participating in LED initiatives. Citizen participation in LED initiatives contributes to the legitimization of LED initiatives. It should however be noted that the availability of the monitoring and evaluation resources does not automatically translate into program success.

The implementation of LED initiatives affects people and communities differently. In some cases, LED initiatives require the use of local citizens' resources. A case of a road project going through peoples land might seem like a good project for the community but the affected persons, whose land is being tampered with might not feel the same way. Whereas the project can be beneficial to the community, it serves as a disadvantage to the landowners who lose part of their land without compensation. As indicated in the quote by DO7 below:

Some people want compensation when the LED projects such as access roads or electricity lines are to be implemented within their boundaries (interview, 28/3/2019).

This quote suggests that the implementation of LED initiatives should not serve as a dis-incentive to the local citizens. In such instances, a form of compensation is expected. There have been cases where LED projects might need to use local citizens' resources for example. In instances where the aggrieved party cannot be compensated in the name of LED initiatives, this sets a precedent for the rejection of LED initiatives. This is understandable from a local citizen's perspective because

land is a very important resource. There are indications that district officials argue that they operate on tight budgets: As indicated in the quote by DO7 below:

Most government projects do not have compensation funds (interview, 28/3/2019).

This quote demonstrates that LED initiatives are likely to face resistance from local citizens. Even if there were compensation funds, it would not be surprising if the local citizens are not compensated and the money shared among a few high-ranking officials. It is also disheartening when rural folks are not compensated yet similar projects in other parts of the country do attract compensation from the same government. The prospect of LED initiatives fighting poverty while taking away people's most valued possession (land) dilutes the intention of the policy.

The implementation of LED initiatives is affected by the quality and commitment of the people in positions of responsibility. Uganda as a country has a high unemployment rate and scores high on the corruption index. These two circumstances create an environment that can easily be exploited to the advantage of a select few. Ntungamo district has a District Service Commission that is responsible for employing qualified people that are suitable for the positions they occupy. It however should be noted that the aspect of 'technical know who' is a common occurrence in Uganda. As indicated in the quote by DO7 below:

There are administrative weaknesses because of ineffective governance (interview, 28/3/2019).

This quote confirms that there are governance challenges in District Local Governments. These weaknesses affect implementation and the achieving the expected targets from implementation. The ineffective governance is compounded further by the governments' slow approach to work. As indicated in the quote from FD1001 below:

Policy follow-ups are lacking on the part of LED programmes and government projects in general (focus group discussion, 7/3/2019).

This quote suggests that there is a possibility of a leakage and wastage of resources. This will have an impact on the local citizens because they form the majority that are in need and are usually the immediate target for LED initiatives.

The survival of LED initiatives revolves around resource mobilization, resource distribution and resource re-distribution. Ntungamo district has a wide range of resources that include tourism sites, such as the Kitagata and Kyafura hot springs, mineral deposits of tangerine and TIN, skilled and non-skilled labour, land, flora and fauna among others. These resources have to be protected to serve the present and future generations. As indicated in the quote by DO7 below:

Tourists' sites such as Kyafura hot springs have acquired land titles to safe guard the site (interview, 28/3/2019).

The quote above suggests that the protected local resources can be utilized for LED initiatives to benefit the local communities where they are located. As suggested in the quote by DO1 below:

Rural step-ups largely remain semi developed and thus require a push to move towards growth and bring a balance between rural and urban areas (interview, 28/2/2019).

This quote demonstrates that the need to identify and grow the local resource capital to process and cause investments, create employment to allow peasant transformation to commercial production and harness the benefits of value addition is significant. This will in turn reduce on the inequalities that are evident between the rural and urban areas. With the aid of capacity building projects and participation in participatory district development processes, the local dimension can be realized through the implementation of the LED initiatives.

Local Economic Development (LED) in this thesis is analyzed from the reference point of Uganda's LED Policy of 2014 and the empirical findings obtained from data collection. The LED Policy identifies Public Private Partnerships as potential sources of funding for LED initiatives. As indicated in the quote by DO8 below:

Public Private Partnerships should be encouraged (interview, 1/3/2019).

This quote demonstrates the positivity that partnerships bring to the table. Partnerships offer an opportunity to redistribute powers through negotiations among the powers and the citizens when communities are organised and have strong power bases. The policy also emphasizes the need to build partnerships and pool local resources to facilitate business like activities that are able to contribute to the creation of employment and income opportunities for the population. As indicated in the quote by DO1 below:

The private sector possesses the ability to access different funding options for investments (interview, 28/2/2019).

This quote demonstrates that unlike individuals, the private sector has high possibilities of attracting different forms of capital for investment. The private sector enjoys higher advantages of accessing the resources, obtain funding from different sources and can thus engage effectively in these partnership. Partnerships are supposed to attract investment in a range of areas that allow citizen participation and are beneficial to local development in general. The relative peace and security conditions that the district currently enjoys provide a conducive environment for investment and can thus attract Public Private Partnerships to implement LED initiatives.

On another note, the ambiguity surrounding Public Private Partnerships in Ntungamo district concerning the implementation of LED initiatives cannot be ignored. Ntungamo district currently enjoys Private Public Partnerships in the areas of education, health and milk processing. The manufacturing and value addition processes remain untapped and need to be targeted by such partnerships. The current forms of partnerships is characterized by the provision of services on behalf of the district with little or no investment such collecting market dues on behalf of the district. From a broader perspective, the current arrangement between the public and the private is more of the public extension of implementing government programs through the private sector. As stated in the quote by DO6 below:

The government/ public brings up activities and the private sector comes in to give technical know how that is paid for (interview,6/3/2019).

This quote highlights the form of Public Private Partnerships that do not create jobs and other opportunities for the local citizens as expected because there is no value addition in such engagement. The execution of such activities in some cases derails citizen participation in LED initiatives because the market dues hinder participation for the local citizens who do not have much capital. As indicated above, from the point of service delivery on behalf of the local government through engaging private entities, the difference between the public and private sector remains blurred and without much distinction between the two entities. As indicated in the quote by DO3 below:

The private and public sector are seperated by the self initiative of private firms looking for their own funding (interview, 26/2/2019).

This quote suggests that unlike private entities, the public sector has access to and utilises public resources for government programmes. It is poossible that some of the private entities in the district are run by the very people who are supposed to regulate the activities of these partnerships. This might be the reason why we have district and other government officers with vested interests in tenders and contract awards controversies for example.

Ntungamo district has invested in infrastructure that is crucial for the implementation of LED initiatives in the district. Infrastructure in this case takes the form of both ‘hard’ infrastructure - large physical developments such as roads, and ‘soft’ infrastructure – institutions, all aimed at building capacity for implementing LED initiatives. As indicated in the quote by DO7 below:

Ntungamo district has the capacity to implement led initiatives. (interview, 28/3/2019).

This quote suggests to us that the district has made investments in infrastructure development. Ntungamo district has a number of national roads that connect the district to Kabale, Rwanda, Mbarara, Rukungiri, Mitoma and Bishenyi districts. The district also has district feeder roads and the equipment that is meant for the maintenance of the roads. In addition to this, several villages in the district are being connected to electricity through the rural electrification programme. Running water is also being extended to several villages. As indicated in the quote by DO4 below:

The district has the capacity to implement LED initiatives...we have the infrastructure and human resource available and if well educated about the initiative, they can deliver (interview, 2019).

This quote demonstrates to us that there is a possibility of achieving the expectations of the LED policy by implementing LED initiatives. With the current developments that include the provision of electricity and running water to the villages in Ntungamo district, the next big thing may turn out to be value addition to the commodities that are produced in these communities. This would certainly foster citizen participation and improve peoples' living conditions.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

5.0 Summary of findings

The purpose of this thesis was to explore Citizen Participation in LED initiatives in Ntungamo District of Uganda. The data collected for this thesis sought to answer the following research questions; what are the perceptions of local citizens on LED initiatives in the Ntungamo District? , what are the perceptions of the implementers of the LED process in Ntungamo District? and contribute to the academic field with new knowledge based on the findings that inform this thesis. Interviews and focus group discussions were conducted during the month of February to April 2019. The main findings as well as the relevance of the data collected are summarized and discussed in this section.

To begin with, LED became an integral part of Uganda's Decentralisation policy in 2014 as an alternative approach to meeting the development needs of the local communities through citizen participation in LED initiatives. In comparison to other approaches, the LED approach focuses on local resource mobilisation and empowering local capacities to cause a positive transformation to the local communities through effective citizen participation. Citizen participation is perceived as a tool that can create opportunities for the have nots, poor and marginalised in communities to guide and influence LED initiatives for their benefit.

The perceptions, views, opinions, ideas, strengths and challenges about LED were presented in the interviews and FGDs with district officials and local citizens respectively, in Ntungamo district. A contrast or disconnect between the information obtained through the interviews and the information collected using FGDs was observed in the area of participation during data collection. Whereas the district officials' responses collaborated with what is expected as per the policy papers, the local citizens had different views regarding their participation in citizen participation in LED initiatives. The local citizens largely felt that they are not effectively utilized and are sometimes excluded from the critical aspects of citizen

participation and implementation at district level. This discrepancy in the information gathered across the two divides might signal the uncoordinated nature of operations in and between government agencies and the population or local citizens, they are meant to serve. Because of this incoordination, local citizens are excluded from participation and implementation of LED initiatives.

The second important finding was the clear ignorance of the LED policy by both the district officials and the local citizens. There was however, clear appreciation of the LED approach and all of the participants identified with it as understood by them. There was an indication that the policy making process was relying on ideas that are 'foreign' and do not reflect the needs of the people. This was indicated by the lack of the ownership of the LED policy. Political influence by pro government politicians such as elected representatives in the activities of the district was pronounced. This collaborates with (Kakumba & Nsingo, 2010)'s views about political interference as indicated in previous literature.

The third important finding was the involvement of the private sector in LED initiatives because the participants in the data collection increasingly identified the private sector as worthy stakeholders in the LED process. Partnerships with stakeholders are very crucial for resource redistribution through negotiations with stakeholders. In addition to this, the current development paradigm is tending towards private sector led development. Ntungamo district has identified incentives in form of tax holidays in the early stages of the investment and pieces of land where investments can be set up. These developments signal out the importance of the private sector in LED initiatives. The LED approach offers a future for the implementation of initiatives in Ntungamo district. The challenge, however, is that private entities are profit driven and can choose to transfer their capital or investment where they have a high rate of return on investment. This is bound to create the 'partnership risk' that should be well handled in advance.

Other findings indicated that LED was a multi sectoral approach used for implementing multi sectoral programs at the district. Ntungamo district officials

want us to believe and appreciate that district is well positioned to implement LED initiatives and ensure participation of local citizens in LED initiatives. All the responses from the interviews and FGDs conducted were in agreement that LED is a ‘good’ approach although this cannot be attributed to any successes on ground. The participants liked and identified with the LED approach because it offers them an opportunity to be part of their own development processes. The LED approach does not necessarily translate into or guarantee citizen participation in LED initiatives.

5.1 Relevance

The findings for this thesis should be put into context to portray the relevance, the contribution and point out possibilities of future research.

In a broader context, LED is a global phenomenon and continues to dominate development debates. With the agenda 2030 of the Sustainable Development Goals that emphasize that no one should be left behind, LED offers hope. From the National to local level, LED is incorporated in the legal framework of Uganda, the Constitution of Uganda, Local Government Act and the Decentralization policy and Uganda’s LED policy of 2014.

In relation to previous studies, the conclusion of this thesis aligns with Kakumba & Nsingo, (2010)’s argument on the political power and political interference exercised by pro government politicians, councillors and civil servants. This is not a new trend and it appears that it may get to unacceptable levels in the future given that it is on record from the collected data that the pro government politicians in the district influence and interfere with district plans, implementation, decision making and other LED processes like tenders or contract procurements. The interviews were conducted among key district officials and what they had to say is below:

Politicians in the district implement government manifestos and influence most of the activities at the district (interview, 1/3/2019).

This quote above is in agreement with Kakumba & Nsingo (2010)'s findings on the political influence that the pro government politicians exercise when promoting their parties ideology.

Citizen participation has been identified as an opportunity to benefit from inclusiveness with citizens having a stake in LED initiative. Citizen participation is an important component for LED to success and confirms the mandate for citizens to participate. Citizen participation has the potential to involve the poor, marginalized, and creates opportunities for people. For effective participation, people need to have access to information about opportunities to participate. It is important to address the existing low levels of citizen participation. These findings are in agreement with ISER (2018) and Matovu (2002). The right for citizen to participate, Uganda's legal framework in reference to citizens to participate and inclusiveness in participatory programs all create an atmosphere that encourages citizen participation in LED initiatives.

The findings of this thesis are also in agreement with Kahika & Karyeija (2017). When it comes to funding for LED implementation frameworks, Political power at the District Local Governments and Public Private Partnerships, they found out that there is need to facilitate and empower districts to create LED institutions and formulate a LED implementation framework. They also identify Public Private Partnerships as potential sources of funding for LED initiatives. Kahika & Karyeija (2017) also found ou that political parties at district level present ruling party ideologies, something that is in agreement with the data for this thesis because it was also mentioined in the interviews and focus grioup discussions.

On the issues of defining and understanding Uganda's LED Policy, immense lack of information among LED stakeholders and Private entities being involved in dealing with the poverty challenge in the long term given that private entities are profit driven, Funck (2014) is in agreement with the findings of this study on the issues highlighted above. Funck also raises the issue of infrastructure and specifically identifies part of that infrastructure as lack of storage facilities. The

issues highlighted are in agreement with the findings and were mentioned in the semi structured interviews and focus group discussions whereby local citizens were losing their perishable commodities due to lack of storage facilities. Still on infrastructure, the findings of this study hint on infrastructure development as a vital development for implementing LED initiatives in Ntungamo District. Funck (2014) and Kahika & Karyejja(2017) are in agreement with the infrastructure or capacity concerns in relation to implementing LED initiatives.

5.2 Conclusion

As argued throughout this thesis, the aim of the thesis was to explore citizen participation in LED initiatives in Ntungamo District of Uganda. Citizen participation requires the will and commitment from the different stakeholders to engage, empower, involve and allow local citizens to participate in planning, policymaking, implementation, monitoring and evaluating of LED initiatives. Ntungamo District needs to align herself the LED Policy of 2017 and exercise good governance to achieve effective citizen participation in LED initiatives.

Based on the interviews and FGDs, the analysis pointed at the main findings and these are summarized as follows:

- Uncoordinated nature of operations in government agencies and this affects planning and participation
- The ignorance of the LED policy by both the district officials and the local citizens raises questions in regard to the the policy making process and policy ownership by the district officials and local citizens
- The private sector is an important stakeholder in LED initiatives in regard to resource mobilisation and redistribution.
- Citizen participation has the potential to promote inclusiveness in LED initiatives in the district.
- There is a high level of political influence at District Local Governments. The pro government politicians promote the ideology of the political party in government. This political influence affects planning, policymaking and implementation.

- Local Economic Development approach is important for the implementation of LED initiatives now and going forward.

The research field can benefit from these findings in a variety of ways:

- Citizen participation and Local Economic Development in Uganda is not extensively researched. There is not much literature available
- This thesis deals with one district out of the current 127 districts in the country. The other 126 can be explored further on different aspects of LED
- The earlier studies identified that where conducted on citizen participation in Ntungamo district focused on a single sector – The Health Sector and Mukiga (2013) and the focus is on service delivery in the health sector.
- There are more area for further investigation in regard to citizen participation and local economic development initiatives in Uganda.

On 15 April 2019, two months after I had been away for data collection in Ntungamo district in Western Uganda, I got on the plane and left Uganda for Sweden with the data I had collected for this thesis. The data collection process was made possible with a travel grant from Crafoord Foundation – Lund University.

In this thesis, the research questions concerned themselves with perceptions of the local citizen on citizen participation in LED initiatives and perceptions of the implementers that employ the LED approach during implementation in Ntungamo district. The questions also sought to identify the ways through which participation in LED initiatives can be improved upon.

References

Alexandre, A. F., 2010. Sen's Capability Approach as a Framework to the Practice of Development. *Development in Practice*, 20(2), pp. 173 - 187.

Arnstein, S. R., 1969. A Ladder Of Citizen Participation. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 35(4), p. 216 — 224.

- Burns, D., Ikita, P., Lopez Franco, E. & and Shahrokh, T., 2015. *Citizen participation and accountability for sustainable development*, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.
- Chikerema, A. F., 2013. Citizen Participation and Local Democracy in Zimbabwean Local Government System. *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science* , 13(2), pp. 87-90.
- Collier, D., 2011. Understanding Process Tracing. *Political Science and Politics*, 44(4), pp. 823 - 30.
- Donor Committee for Enterprise Development , 2018. *The Local / Regional Economic Development Toolkit*. [Online]
Available at: <http://www.meso-nrw.de/toolkit/>
[Accessed 05 02 2019].
- Edoun, E. I., 2017. Management Through Decentralisation and Local Economic Development: A Condition for Sustainable Urbanisation in Africa. *Risk Governance & Control: Financial Markets & Institutions / Volume 7, Issue 1, Winter 2017*, 7(1), pp. 26 - 31.
- European Union, 2016. *Supporting Decentralisation, Local Governance and Local Development through a Territorial Approach*, Brussels - Luxembourg: Tools and Methods Series (Reference Document No. 23).
- FAO, 2015. *Country Fact Sheet on Food and Agriculture Policy Trends*, Newyork: FAO.
- Ferguson, J., 1994. *The Anti Politics Machine*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Flensburg, P., 2010. Handbook of Research on E-Government Readiness for Information and Service Exchange: Utilizing Progressive Information Communication Technologies. *Online Information Review*, 34(5), p. 819–821.
- Frödin, O., 2008. *Snergies, Stalemates and Social Dilema: Governance in South Africa in Comparative Perspective*. Lund: Department of Sociology, Lund University.
- Funck, L., 2014. *DCR Local Economic Development Activities in Northern Uganda Karamoja Region*, Kampala: Knowledge Networks & Dutch Consortium for Rehabilitation Research .
- Fung, A., 2006. *Varieties of Participation in Complex Governance*. Cambridge: Public Administration Review.
- Gaventa, J., 2002. Introduction: Exploring Citizenship, Participation and Accountability. *Institute of Development Studies Bulletin* , 33(2).

- Government of Uganda, 1995. *The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda*. Kampala: Government of Uganda.
- Government Of Uganda, 2014. *Local Economic Development Policy*. Kampala: Ministry of Local Government.
- Government of Uganda, 2017. *State of Uganda Population Report 2017*, Kampala: national Population council.
- Hill, M. & Hupe, P., 2002. *Implementing Public Policy : Governance in Theory and in Practice*. London, Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Kahika, G. & Karyeija, G., 2017. Institutional roles and the implementation of Local Economic Development, Kasese District, Uganda. *Africa's Public Service Delivery and Performance Review*, 5(1).
- Kakumba, U., 2010. Local Government Citizen Participation and Rural Development: Reflections on. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 76(1), pp. 171 - 186.
- Matovu, G., 2002. Policy Options for Good Governance and Local Economic Development in Eastern and Southern Africa. *Urban Forum*, 13(4), pp. 121 - 133.
- Ministry of Local Government, 2014. *Local Economic Development Policy*, Kampala: Government of Uganda.
- Ndegwa, S. N., 2002. *Decentralization in Africa: Emerging Trends and Progress*. Washington: World Bank.
- Ntungamo District Local Government , 2018. [Online]
Available at: www.ntungamo.go.ug
[Accessed 3 10 2018].
- Ntungamo District Local Government, 2019. *Ntungamo District Local Government*. [Online]
Available at: www.ntungamo.go.ug
[Accessed 26 01 2019].
- One World - Nations Online, 2019. *Political Map of Uganda*. [Online]
Available at: <https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/uganda-map.htm>
[Accessed 07 05 2019].
- Pressman, J. L. & Wildavsky, A., 1984. *Implementation*. 3 ed. Berkley: University of California Press .
- Sen, A., 2001. *Development as Freedom*. Oxford; Newyork: Oxford University Press.

SIDA, 2002. *Participation in Democratic Governance*, Stockholm: Division of Democratic Governance - Sida.

Spicker, P., 2014. *Social Policy : Theory and Practice. Bristol*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Swedish Research Council , 2017. *Good Research Practice*. Stockholm: Vetenskapsrådet.

Transparency International, 2018. *Corruption Perceptions Index 2017*. [Online] Available at: https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2017#table [Accessed 20 1 2019].

UNDP, 2018. *Human Development Reports 2018*. [Online] Available at: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/2018-update> [Accessed 20 01 2019].

UNHABITAT, 2005. *Promoting Local Economic Development through Strategic Planning*, Nairobi, Vancouver: UNHABITAT.

Weiss, C. H., 1998. *Evaluation Research: Methods for Studying Programs and Policies*. Upper Saddle River, N.J: Prentice Hall.

Wikipedia, 2017. *Ntungamo District In Uganda*. [Online] Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ntungamo_District#/media/File:Ntungamo_District_in_Uganda.svg [Accessed 06 05 2019].

Yatta, F., 2015. *Local Economic Development in Africa: Implementation, Constraints and Prospects*, s.l.: Platforma.