

***Innovative policy change to support urban farmers in Kampala:
What influenced development of the new City Ordinances on urban agriculture?***

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1. Introduction:

In May 2005, the Mayor of Kampala assented to a new set of laws, or Ordinances, to cover the practice of urban agriculture and marketing in the city. These new City Ordinances represented a significant shift in policy, moving away from a historically very negative approach to farming in the city, towards a much more supportive approach which recognised the huge economic importance of urban farming for poor households, especially women, whilst dealing with the real concerns over public health, nuisance and environmental impacts.

This paper is based on some of the findings of a case study into the process of this policy change, and the influences that caused it¹. These influences were many and complex, as described in the case study report (Hooton et al, forthcoming). The policy change itself can be considered innovative in the way it addresses a controversial activity as described above. But this paper focuses on the innovative way that a coalition of organisations collaborated in activities to promote appropriate policies to support UA in Kampala, examining these activities in the context of the surrounding political and economic situation, and in the way the activities link to other influences. These organisations are now part of a group called the Kampala Urban Food Security, Agriculture and Livestock Coordination Committee (KUFSALCC).

2. Background - Urban agriculture practice in Kampala:

Urban agriculture (UA) has been increasingly practised in Kampala for many years, despite prevailing laws which technically did not permit it. Kampala has an estimated population of 1.2 million inhabitants², rising by some 3.9% yearly. Covering some 195 km², it has a large peri-urban area, with much of the land suitable for agriculture³. Significant rural-urban migration over the years has brought large numbers of poor, unemployed people who were culturally farmers, and for whom farming was the main survival skill. Poverty is widespread, with almost 40% living in absolute poverty, and the unemployment rate is 42.5% (ref). Uganda's turbulent recent history has also driven the process of widespread self-reliance for food production. Economic mismanagement and collapse during the 1970s and 1980s led to increased reliance on subsistence food production by urban dwellers (Maxwell, 1994 & 1995).

¹ The overall case study complements other case studies being done in different contexts, as part of a project aimed at drawing lessons on how different actors can more effectively engage in activities that result in pro-poor policy change outcomes. For full details, see www.pppppc.org, Leksmono et al (2006) and Hooton et al (2006).

² Based on the 2002 census, and making up an estimated 280,000 households.

³ Contributing to this has been the political expansion of Kampala's boundaries in 1968, combined with natural city growth, which has brought in large areas of farmland and farming communities

Today, almost half of the land in Kampala is used for agriculture. An estimated 30% of households are involved, mostly with plots of less than one acre. Over 60% of those practising urban and peri-urban agriculture and livestock keeping (UPA&L) are women. Staple crops predominate⁴, whilst livestock kept are predominantly chickens and dairy cattle, although pig-keeping and fish-farming are increasing (ref).

Whilst the economic, social and ecological importance of UPA&L in developing countries is now well known, especially with respect to urban food and nutrition security, income-generation, employment, and productive utilisation of otherwise idle land in the cities⁵, prior to the mid-late 1990s research evidence on the importance of UPA&L was lacking or not widely known.

However, in Kampala, as elsewhere, UPA&L has been the subject of serious concerns both from city authorities and the public. Most of these concerns have been based on perceived public health issues, including concerns about harbouring of disease vectors (especially mosquitoes) and vermin, and transmission of zoonotic diseases⁶. There have also been concerns over contamination with toxic chemicals, industrial effluents and vehicle exhaust fumes.⁷ Planners have generally not seen UPA&L as consistent with a modern productive city environment. And this has all meant that the written and implemented policy environment affecting UA (see section 4.1) has been at best uncertain and often very unfavourable for the poor farmers of Kampala.

3. Case study approach:

This description and analysis of the process, activities and influences leading to the policy change in Kampala came from the application of a new approach to understand policy processes, developed by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) through its Research and Policy in Development (RAPID) programme⁸ and IRLI. Full details of the approach are given in Hooton et al (forthcoming).

Analysing policy processes is difficult because of the wide range of factors affecting them. The approach used is called the RAPID Outcome Assessment, or ROA, and combines elements of three established methodologies:

1. Episode studies – which track back from a particular policy change to identify and evaluate key influences and events. These can capture a wide range of possible influences, but may fail to capture detail of each event or influence.

⁴ The main crops grown are cassava, sweet potatoes, beans, maize, *matoke*⁴ and cocoyams, although leafy vegetables and mushrooms are increasingly being grown.

⁵ Other benefits of UA include contribution to the recycling of household/domestic waste, providing a training tool for urban school children, a source of tax revenue, and contributing to the greening of cities.

⁶ Zoonotic diseases are those capable of being transmitted between animals and humans, including tuberculosis, brucellosis, plague and jiggers.

⁷ Other concerns have included road accidents caused by crops obstructing drivers' visibility and by roaming livestock, siltation of drainage channels, dropping of dung, pollution from poorly disposed livestock wastes, and general nuisance from poorly managed livestock. Tall and bushy plants have been seen to pose a security risk, by providing hiding places for criminals.

⁸ Full details on the RAPID programme can be found at www.odi.org.uk/rapid.

2. Case study analyses – tracking forward from particular activities to assess their impact on policy change. These can give a detailed analysis of a particular activity or programme, but will tend to overemphasise the importance of that programme compared with other influences.
3. Outcome Mapping – focusing behaviour changes of key actors and what influenced the changes. This brings in a

The ROA approach triangulates information collected, using a combination of these approaches to obtain a more balanced assessment of the relative contribution of a project or programme's activities on changes in policy or the policy environment, which will inevitably also have been influenced by a number of other factors. For this case study, which focused on a clear change in policy, the episode study component was a key part of the approach, understanding the process leading to the actual change in law. But the simultaneous application of behaviour change (outcome mapping) elements and case study elements captured wider issues of attitudes and behaviour, together with events more distant from the formal process of the development of the new ordinances. Material was collected through: (i) literature review and commissioning of a timeline of key events and actors; (ii) interviews with key actors in these events and the formal process leading to the new UA Ordinances; (iii) a workshop to map out behaviour changes of key actors and finalise a map of key events and influences; and (iv) follow-up interviews and literature search to cross-check findings and deepen the analysis. The information was assembled into three overlapping narratives, as well as a visual representation of the process and influences. Analysis of the policy change process was done using the 'context-evidence-links' (CEL) analytical framework⁹ developed by RAPID which emphasises political context and the roles of evidence, linkages and external environment.

4. Findings:

A full description of the activities and influences that shaped the policy change is given in Hooton et al (forthcoming). In this section, a summary of these wider activities and influences is given, followed by a description of the activities of the coalition of actors who collaboratively engaged in influencing the policy change in the few years leading up to the passing of the new Ordinances in 2005.

4.1 Policies, interventions and activities affecting urban agriculture in Kampala:

Urban agriculture activities have been shaped by wider influences and policies, including civil war and structural adjustment policies. Throughout these, widespread malnutrition was not observed in Kampala, as UA was used as a survival strategy. Kampala's complex land tenure system has also led to a wide variety of formal and informal land forms of access to land for farming (Maxwell, 1995 & 1996). Specific policies have affected UA directly, although mostly UA has just not been recognized in policy. National agricultural legislation assumed rural production, whilst some specific urban laws had elements broadly interpreted as prohibiting the activity. Much

⁹ Full details on the RAPID analytical framework are given on the RAPID website at http://www.odi.org.uk/rapid/Tools/Toolkits/RAPID_Framework.html. See also ODI (2004).

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of this legislation had not changed since colonial times. The practical upshot of this is that despite it being a crucial food security and economic activity, UA was actively discouraged in many areas, with crops being slashed and livestock confiscated.

Against this background, until the early 1990s there were few activities to support UA, or to document and study it. At that time, with support from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Daniel Maxwell, an American student, carried out seminal research which demonstrated the key role of UA as an economic strategy of the poor and the impact of UA on food security. During this research, links were made both with government agricultural extension officers (AEOs) and with policy makers, although they remained sceptical about the practice. Through the 1990s, further research on UA in Kampala was carried out by students at Makerere University, increasing the body of evidence. International organisations also started becoming interested in the role of urban agriculture, including IDRC which established a programme of international research into UA.

In 1993 decentralisation was implemented. Kampala City became a District, made up of five Divisions, with a hierarchy of levels of local councils (LCs)¹⁰. The political head is the Mayor.

Two key effects of this change were that:

- (i) Politicians in the urban environment were more exposed to issues affecting their voters, and this in time started changing attitudes towards UA.
- (ii) Technical officers were relocated from Ministries to KCC. Whilst AEOs had little support within KCC for their activities, they continued working, seeking out support and resources from NGOs, and reporting on UA to their superiors. Planning, public health and other officers were also reporting on UA issues and the lack of an effective legal framework.

In 1997, the Local Government Act (1997) gave legislative powers to local councils, enabling KCC to review and make new legislation. Committees of senior officers and politicians now had effective links with technical officers and UA issues were discussed at technical committee level. Officers backed up their observations with key research findings. Also in 1997 the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) was published, including the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA)¹¹ and these have shaped most new policy in Uganda.

After decentralisation in 1993, the District AEO, working under KCC, but receiving little support for UA activities¹², started to build capacity for UA work, mainly through collaboration with NGOs. One NGO was Environmental Alert who had started UA activities in Kampala to support food security and income generation, combining awareness-building for local politicians with the more practical activities of providing skills and inputs to farmers. By 1999, despite many people within KCC

¹⁰ Initially termed 'Resistance Councils' (RCs), and now called LCs, there are five levels of local government, from LC1 to LC5. For Kampala the District Council (LC5) is Kampala City Council (KCC) and the LC5 Chairman is the Mayor.

¹¹ Aiming to reduce poverty through "a profitable, competitive, sustainable and dynamic agricultural and agro-industrial sector", the PMA nevertheless has no mention of UA.

¹² When AEOs were 'moved' from the MAAIF to KCC in 1993, they initially had very little support, as many people within the council saw no role for agriculture within the city, and therefore no role for AEOs. They nevertheless continued to work, and sought out opportunities to work collaboratively with other actors to make up for lack of their own operational funds.

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still regarding UA as an illegal activity, there was more open collaboration between KCC, NGOs and researchers on UA research and development activities.

In 1999, with their new law-making powers, KCC started a review of city Ordinances. This review was an internal process, with little community consultation. However the KCC committee overseeing agriculture had already recommended specific legislation to cover UA, and by 2001 the review had resulted in six new draft Bills for Ordinances dealing with UA issues.

4.2 Activities of the KUF SALCC coalition:

The above section describes the broad situation ahead of the specific activities, between 2001 and 2005, of the coalition of actors that now make up KUF SALCC. These actors had been separately involved in activities relating to UA previously. Kampala City Council's AEOs had been actively supporting UA activities in collaboration with partners including NGOs. Various departments from Makerere University had been involved in research on UA issues. Environmental Alert had been the leading NGO involved in supporting UA as part of its food security activities, as well as advocating at various levels for more favourable policies. In 1999, the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) had established what was to become their Urban Harvest programme, and was now leading international research on UA with international and national partners. The Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAIF) had not been actively working much on UA, but some key staff were working closely with the AEOs. Similarly the National Agricultural Research Organisation (NARO) had been involved as partners in some research activities, though without a specific plan for UA research.

With the increased international profile of UA research and development activities, members of these Kampala organizations had been attending local and regional meetings, which exposed Kampala's technical officers, research community, NGOs and politicians to wider thinking on UA practice and policy, and meetings with peers from other countries. And whilst some of the activities in the late 1990s had involved collaboration between some of these actors, from 2001 a much closer collaboration developed. This was initiated by planning for two related collaborative research activities – the 'Strengthening Urban Agriculture in Kampala' and 'Health and Urban Agriculture'¹³ projects. A key aspect of these projects was the cementing of the coalition of actors more formally through the establishment of a 'Health Coordination Committee'¹⁴ to 'steer' the Health and Urban Agriculture project. It is this committee that became KUF SALCC.

Whilst having clear research objectives, these collaborative projects also mobilised these key actors around the critical issue of the lack of a rational and evidence-based policy framework on UA - indeed policy issues became a major focus of the

¹³ The full name for the Health and Urban Agriculture project was "Urban Agriculture in Kampala - Health Impact Assessment and Options for Improvement"

¹⁴ The Health Coordination Committee (HCC) was the formal name of the collaborating group of organizations until March 2004, when KUF SALCC was formally constituted as an independent non-profit organisation. For the purposes of this paper, however, the group is referred to throughout as KUF SALCC.

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collaborative activities. Progress on the draft Ordinances on urban agriculture that had followed the 1999 review had stalled and these draft ordinances became a target for influencing. A number of stakeholders including the KUFSALCC organizations identified a number of gaps in the revised ordinances, which were felt not to be based on good evidence. Whilst some stakeholders, notably Environmental Alert, had been advocating for the participatory re-examination of these ordinances, KCC had been reluctant to do so. Now with these collaborative projects, specific research activities were carried out that addressed perceived policy concerns. And with KCC as a major partner in the activities, not only was the main policy making body closely involved in the direction of the research, but policy-relevant findings could feed directly into the policy making process. Also, research and development activities by this multidisciplinary team were now routinely being done in highly participatory ways.

The members of KUFSALCC, who had previously collaborated informally, were now working effectively as a multidisciplinary team, and able to formally plan and seek funds for work that was much more oriented towards supporting policy change. During two other key meetings in 2003, KUFSALCC developed a plan for implementing UA and livestock research, policy and planning in Kampala, which included advocating for supportive legislation. Crucially, this included securing funding from DFID for a community consultation process and sensitization – seen as an important step in the objective of revising the draft UA ordinances.

Opinions of key political leaders were also changing. A key City Minister in Kampala had become a strong supporter more appropriate policy on UA, and worked to influence her colleagues, including the Mayor. At a 2002 ministerial meeting in Addis Ababa - “Feeding Cities in the Horn of Africa” – attended by Kampala’s Mayor, a declaration was made on the need for appropriate policy changes to support urban food security, including urban food production.

In August 2003, under the DFID funding¹⁵, KCC and KUFSALCC held a series of six stakeholder consultative workshops in Kampala (five at Division level and one at District level) to raise awareness of the existence and content of the draft Bills for Ordinances and, to generate stakeholders’ inputs. Participants included researchers, KCC technical and political leaders, MAAIF officials, farmers’ representatives, AEOs, representatives of NGOs and donors. During the workshops papers on topical issues on UA and recent research findings were presented. Thematic working groups each addressed one of the Draft Bills for Ordinances, based on participants’ interest and specialization. Recommendations and inputs from the group discussions were presented to the plenary for debate and adoption. The outputs from the Divisional workshops formed a major basis for discussion at the District workshop.

The consultative workshops highlighted numerous areas that had not been properly addressed and made key recommendations both in terms of technical changes and in the structure of the draft Bills¹⁶. It was also recommended that a series of simple ‘Guidelines’ be produced to accompany the new Ordinances, and a period of pilot-testing and sensitisation for the Ordinances and Guidelines. Finally it was recommended that a national policy on urban agriculture be formulated.

¹⁵ Funding also included contributions from both Kampala City Council, Urban Harvest and from Environmental Alert.

¹⁶ For details of the recommended changes, see KUFSALCC and Urban Harvest (2004)

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After the workshops, KCC requested that KUFSALCC support a revision process in line with these recommendations. In November 2003, the recommendations from the District Workshop were forwarded to the KCC Sector Standing Committee¹⁷ and recommendations made to Council for final approval. Council approved the recommendations, with minor amendments, in December 2003. The City Advocate in collaboration with KCC technical officers handled the final incorporation of all the inputs into the revised Bills for Ordinances and then forwarded them to the Attorney General's Office for further review and alignment with the National Legislation. The Mayor finally assented to the five new Ordinances in June 2005:

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

After the consultations KUFSALCC and Urban Harvest started to further test whether the revisions to the draft Bills for Ordinances addressed the needs of the urban farmers. This included the development of simple guidelines summarising the key elements and requirements of the ordinances. KUFSALCC also obtained funding for an action research project to field-test the revised Ordinances in order to identify potential challenges faced both by farmers in observing the ordinances, and by regulators in implementing them. Impact assessments of the guidelines were also carried out. This process is still ongoing (See [KUFSALCC \(2006??\)](#)).

Figures 1 and 2 show a representation of the key events and influences in the change of policy on UA, with their timing and linkages.

5. Analysis and discussion:

As described above, a complex mix of activities and influences played some role in changing attitudes and behaviour towards UA. Our focus here is to look more closely at the activities of the KUFSALCC coalition and the way they managed to play such a key role leading up to the ultimate policy change. In short, a well planned series of community consultations was linked to comprehensive and relevant research, seeking to address an issue important to poor people's livelihoods. Yet many efforts in this field in other cities and in other fields follow similar approaches without achieving the significant policy shift that occurred in Kampala. Why did change occur here?

5.1 Wider influences on the policy change:

Clearly some major contextual issues played a major role and it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss all of these. They are described and analysed in Hooton et al (forthcoming), but can be summed up as there being a favourable political and economic environment for the change, together with a comprehensive range of research evidence indicating the importance of UA as an economic activity.

¹⁷ The Sector Standing Committee is comprised of the Sector City minister as chairperson, some Councilors and Sector technical officials.

One major influence was the persistence of Kampala's residents in practicing UA activities despite the lack of support and unfavourable policy environment. However, for this to result in policy change, other things had to happen. Ultimately, development of the new Ordinances was primarily enabled by two key related policy shifts. Firstly decentralisation and devolved law making brought local accountability and the need of politicians to respond to the real needs of their voters. Despite an initially negative effect on the activities of AEOs, KCC structures allowed evidence from technical officers to feed effectively into policy discussions. The change in Kampala contrasts with the lack of development of a national policy – the normal prerequisite for development of laws. Secondly a poverty focus in national policy has come from the PEAP, which put poverty reduction at the heart of national and local policy. Practices which could be shown to be important for poor people's livelihoods were prioritised and civil society could hold leaders responsible for taking action. Political leadership was also a hugely important factor. Although initially sceptical, the Mayor played a key role in influencing others, whilst probably more influential was the high-level support that came from the City Minister responsible for agriculture throughout the process.

Research evidence also played a key role in changing attitude and behaviour towards UA, with an increasing body of evidence building on Maxwell's initial research in the early 1990s. The way this research itself was conducted and communicated meant that a wide range of stakeholders was aware of the empirical evidence supporting what they saw with their own eyes – that UA was a critically important activity for food security and income, especially for women. Technical officers' own involvement in research rooted this research in real and relevant issues, as did NGOs' experiences from their field activities. And AEOs and NGOs used this research to complement their own evidence and experiences.

5.2 The role of KUFSALCC and its partners:

The success of the KUFSALCC partners seems to have been in the way they capitalised on an opportunity for change, and the way they worked to bridge barriers between different actors and disciplines, had a strategy for influencing key technical and political actors, and made evidence (both research-based and from practical demonstrations) work to maintain momentum for change.

Linkages and the role of individuals:

The KUFSALCC partners really represented the spectrum of key actors in a policy change process¹⁸ – the policymaking body itself, central government, NGOs and researchers – both local and international. Critically, the policymaking body itself – KCC – was a major partner all the way through the process, represented both by technical officers and political leaders. Evidence and experience was added by the research organizations and NGOs – the NGOs also providing an important link to local community organizations. And central government, whilst not directly involved in making policy in Kampala, is an important actor nonetheless in linking with wider agricultural issues and national policy.

¹⁸ While farmers themselves were not directly part of KUFSALCC, most of the KUFSALCC members worked daily with farmers on UA issues, and invariably used highly participatory approaches both in research activities and in the policy-influencing activities.

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But in this case, unlike many others, the linkages really worked, and people from very different organizations worked together effectively towards change. This seems down to key individuals in all the organizations. In fact KUFSALCC has arguably been more of a coalition of individuals representing organizations, than of the organizations themselves. Some of these effective working relationships were formed in earlier collaborative activities, especially between the District AEO and Environmental Alert. Others developed at later stages, including when the Regional Coordinator for Urban Harvest started playing a fuller role – in particular in linking the partners to sources of funding and to wider international debates on urban agriculture.

Crucially, the KUFSALCC partners' strategy included widening the linkages to include other key people in the policy process – especially those generally opposed to, or with different views on UA (both political and technical actors). During discussions on research and development activities and during the consultation process, all those with a stake in the process were brought into consultations so that all opinions could be heard and discussed. This helped to address potential barriers and ensure that the right balances were struck between being supportive of UA as a practice, addressing real issues of concern, and having a realistic and enforceable policy framework.

Champions:

Linked to the role of individuals within the KUFSALCC coalition is the important role of 'champions' in the policy change process. Key political champions for change in this case included the City Minister responsible for agriculture, and the Mayor himself (although he had earlier been opposed to a more supportive policy on UA). But 'nurturing' these champions required good linkages with the KUFSALCC actors, which were very effectively maintained by the District AEO. The champions also needed to be equipped with appropriate information, which happened through their close linkages with the KUFSALCC activities and strategic use of briefings and field visits organized by the KUFSALCC actors.

And in many ways all the key individuals within KUFSALCC can be considered as champions for change, especially in the way they provided leadership amongst their peers. For example, the District AEO ultimately formed a highly motivated and effective team of AEOs despite initially working under very challenging and unrewarding circumstances.

However, the downside of this key role of individuals in the KUFSALCC partner organizations is that so much depends on these individuals and their relationships. In one instance, the untimely death of a key individual from NARO meant that that organization played a much more marginal role in the process than it perhaps could have done. Thankfully most of the key individuals continue to work together, and their championing of UA issues within their own organizations has led to increased organizational ownership in most cases. Nevertheless, it is important to consider that reliance on good individual relationships, whilst potentially achieving better organizational linkages than more formal links, have a potential negative side.

Generation and sharing of evidence:

The KUFSALCC partners were fortunate in having an extremely good foundation of relevant evidence to build on. Awareness of the importance of UA as an economic

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activity following research by Maxwell and others meant that key people were at least open-minded enough to listen to debate on what was a controversial area. But in selecting appropriate areas of research, including key technical and political people in these decisions, and in conducting their activities in a highly participatory way, KUFSALCC and its partners ensured that research evidence was relevant and credible. The close collaboration with key decision makers during the research and development activities ensured that findings were also communicated throughout the activities, in addition to being presented in more formal settings. The research provided both enhanced socio-economic evidence on UA as an economic activity, but also technical evidence quantifying the real risks and issues surrounding practice, together with ways of addressing these issues. And to add to the research evidence, the ongoing development activities by Environmental Alert and other NGOs, as well as by KCC AEOs themselves, provided on-the-ground experiences which were shared with decision-makers through regular exposure visits.

Linking participation with formal policy process:

Finally, the consultative workshops and KUFSALCC's practical support for the formal process of developing revised laws proved very important in actually achieving policy change. Despite the window of opportunity for change provided by the political and economic context described previously, no such change had previously occurred. The participatory consultation process that KUFSALCC initiated was in fact the way that Uganda's own Constitution determines that laws should be changed (ULRC, 2004). KCC's own 1999 review of policy had been far less consultative, most likely owing to the time and cost involved in wider consultation, as well as perhaps technical officers' confidence in their own experience and expertise. However this resulted in what were generally agreed to be unsatisfactory revised Ordinances, and even then the drafts were not progressing towards being passed.

So in arguing for and securing funding for the community consultations, KUFSALCC not only made the drafts more appropriate through bringing farmers themselves more closely into the policy process, but also effectively supported KCC to follow a process they (presumably) would have liked to follow. And for this to happen, funding was necessary. The KUFSALCC partners convinced DFID to fund the consultative process, as well as practical support for KCC in driving the draft ordinances to actually become law – a process that can take years, or not happen at all.

6. Conclusion:

A diverse set of influences led to this change in Kampala. The activities of the farmers themselves in continuing to farm in the adverse policy environment, NGO-supported development activities and lobbying, and some highly influential seminal research done back in the early 1990s set the scene for changed mind-sets. Critically important was the decentralisation process which brought farmers and elected politicians much closer together and brought effective accountability. Innovative and highly motivated individuals within the city council technical staff collaborated with farmers and civil society, and in turn influenced the same elected politicians through an effective internal reporting system. Collaborative research provided the evidence on both the social need for change and on technical approaches to quantify and deal with issues of concern.

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But a key factor that led to change in Kampala was the coordinated and collaborative activities of the group of motivated actors – individuals representing organisations – from local and central government, civil society organisations and research institutions, both local and international, all working closely with the farmers themselves, as well as a key role played by ‘champions’ at various levels. Some key lessons emerge from this case study on ways of working to achieve policy change outcomes that support the livelihoods of poor farmers. This group took advantage of the favourable environment for change, but it still took the implementation of a well thought out strategy, very effective multidisciplinary working, and widespread knowledge sharing to achieve the desired policy change.

The activities of this group cannot however be considered a ‘blueprint’ for achieving policy change. Whilst the principles of widespread consultation, close engagement and inclusion of the policymakers themselves, and above all collaboration between government, civil society and research actors can be seen to be very important, the most effective mechanisms for achieving these will likely vary between contexts. This case study does however give a good example of how one group of actors has successfully negotiated a complex and controversial policy change process.

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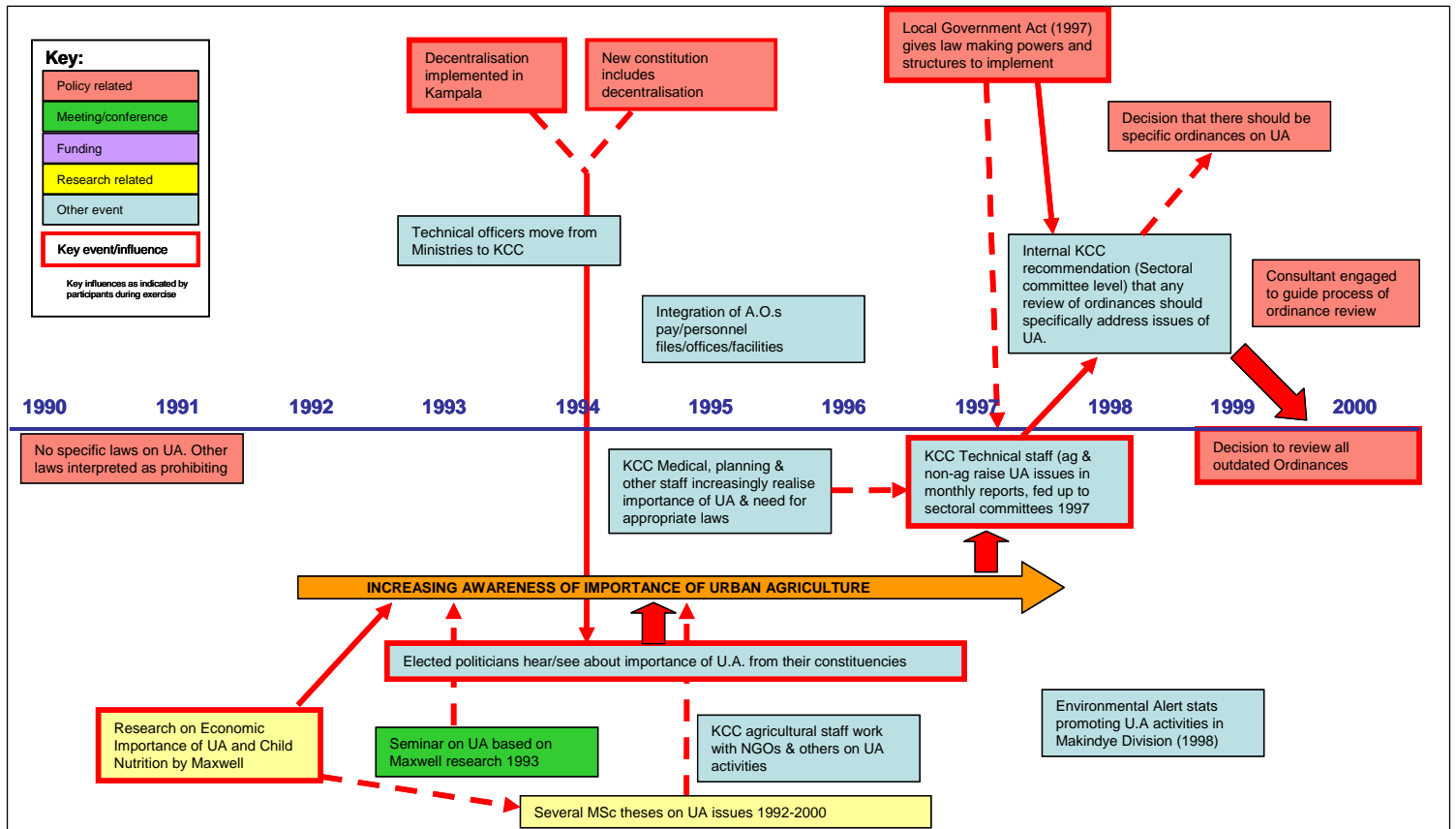


Figure 1: Timeline of events and influences – Part 1: 1990-2000

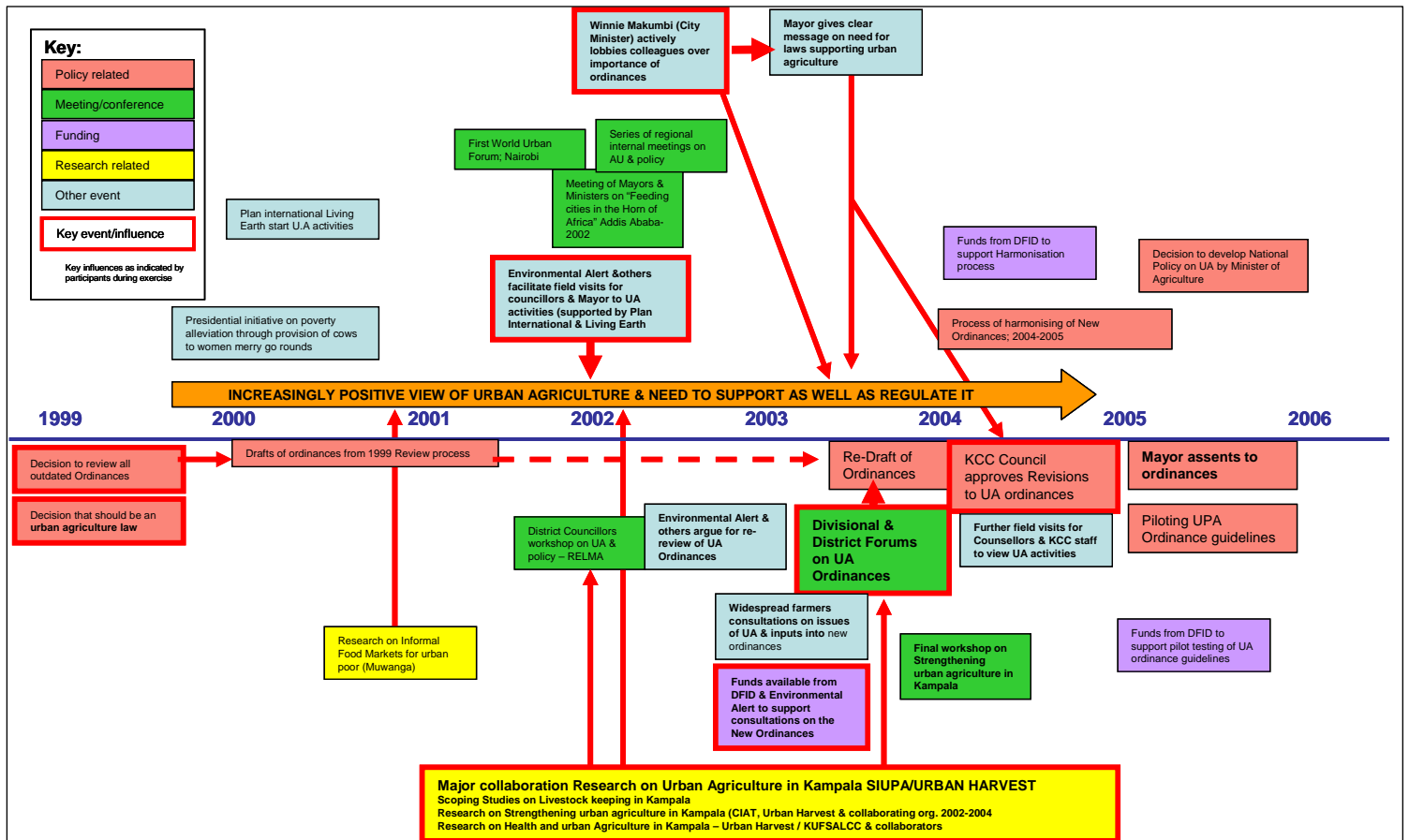


Figure 2: Timeline of events and influences - Part 2: 1999-2006