THE ROLE OF NGOs IN URBAN POVERTY REDUCTION: A CASE STUDY OF KASOKOSO, KAMPALA - UGANDA

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DECLARATION

I Habaruhanga Kareba John declare that no portion of the work referred to in the dissertation has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

Habaruhanga Kareba John

Signature...................................

Date. 11th September, 2017

APPROVAL

This work has been done under my (Muhwezi Ivan) supervision as the University supervisor and submitted with my approval.

Signature

.... Date....................................

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my loving wife, children and Hon Wilson Muruli Mukasa.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CFK : Carolina for Kasokoso

CIA : Central Intelligence Agency

DC : District Commissioner

FGD : Focus Group Discussion

GDP : Gross Domestic Product

HIV : Human Immunodeficiency Virus

MDG : Millennium Development Goals

NGO : Non-governmental Organisation

OVC : Orphans and Vulnerable Children

SDI : Slum Dwellers International

SDO : Social Development Officer

SPARC : Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres

UN : United Nations

UT : Umande Trust

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ABSTRACT

NGOs have been regarded as the new 'panacea for people centered pro-poor development' in urban poverty. This research investigates the role of NGOs in urban poverty reduction in Kasokoso from the perceptions of low-income urban households and NGOs operating in this sector. It finds that while there are some successes - in addressing the environmental risks by providing clean water, sanitation services, providing health services, and building social capital of the low-income households excluded from government services and policies on poverty reduction, for example - there are also some barriers to improving NGO programmes. These are the need to include the community in design and implementation of poverty reduction programmes, and the need to adopt an integrative approach that not only delivers programmes based on service delivery, as is the current focus, but that complements this with a stronger role in advocacy and policy influence.

CHAPTER 1. BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION .

Over the last fifty years, the world has witnessed an unprecedented increase in urban populations, directly mushrooming into informal settlements worldwide. In many developing countries, poverty has been the major problem that drives people from rural to urban centers in search of employment and better living conditions. Close to one billion people in the world live in informal settlements located within urban centers (UNHABITAT 2006). This number is projected to increase in developing countries, with hundreds of millions of people living without access to clean water, shelter, security, and basic sanitation and land tenure. The World Bank (2003) contends that currently 74 percent of the world's population lives in low and middle-income countries. Drakakis-Smith projects that by 2025, Africa's share of the world urban population will increase from 10 to 17 percent, making it one of the most rapidly urbanizing continents in the world (Drakakis Smith 2000).

Uganda is located within East Africa bordering the Kenya to the East, Democratic Republic of Congo to the West, Tanzania and Rwanda to the South and South Sudan to the North. The CIA World Fact book (2010) estimates the country's GDP to be $63.78 billion with a growth rate of two percent. It is ranked number 81 in the world based on its inflation rate. Like other developing countries, Uganda has recently experienced rapid urbanisation. While the natural growth of the population has contributed to increasing urbanisation, migration from rural areas to urban centers is viewed as the major factor. The population is estimated to be 34 million people with a growth rate of two and half percent (ibid). The urban population constitutes approximately nearly a third of the total population (OXFAM 2009). A report by the World Bank/City Alliance predicts that by 2020, the urban population will increase to more than half of the national population, and that 48.9 percent of the total population will be both below the national poverty line and located within urban areas (cited by Kessides 2006).

Although poverty in Uganda is largely perceived as a rural phenomenon, the proportion of the urban poor is alarming increasing rapidly. Kampala, the capital city of Uganda has a population of approximately three million people. Sixty percent of Kampala's population – around two million people – occupy five percent of the city's land (UN-HABITAT 2007).

The city has been labeled one of the world's 25 fastest growing cities in terms of population growth. Since 1960, the population of Kampala has grown ten-fold, experiencing one of the highest population growth rates in Africa (OXFAM 2009). Over this period, the population has grown at a rate of 4.4 percent per annum, and is projected to rise to 5 million by 2020 and 6 million by 2025 (UN-HABITAT 2003).

As capital city, Kampala constitutes a large proportion of the country's labour force, employing 25 percent of the national labour force and 43 percent of its urban labour force, as well as generating over 43 percent of the country's GDP (Mukui 2005). There is substantial income inequality. A further report by OXFAM (2009) indicates that the richest 10 percent of Kampala's population accrues 45.2 percent of income while the poorest 10 percent receive only 1.6 percent. This represents wide income disparities between highand low-income households in the city. The proportion of Nairobi's urban population living below the national poverty line has increased from 26 percent in 1992 to 50 percent in 1997 (UN-HABITAT 2006). Urban food poverty has increased from 38 percent in 1997 to 41 percent in 2006 (OXFAM 2009). Poverty is therefore increasingly becoming a crucial urban problem in Uganda, and has led to the mushrooming of informal settlements, where the majority of the urban poor find shelter.

The term 'informal settlement' is often used in preference to that of 'slum', but the terms are synonymous. The United Nations (2007) characterises an informal settlement as a 'physical manifestation of urban poverty'. Although no formal definition of the term exists, it is a contiguous settlement where residents are characterized as lacking adequate housing, sufficient living space, easy access to water, adequate sanitation, and secure land tenure. Sixty-six informal settlements are located within Kampala, considered to be the highest in number within any Africa country (OXFAM 2009). The development and proliferation of urban cities has coincided with the emergence of multiple and denser informal settlements. Urban informal settlements provide a means for the low-income households to find shelter and try to improve their livelihoods, and with no other housing option available to them, their growth is inevitable.

Kasokoso is an informal settlement in the South East of Kampala. It is situated predominantly on government land, covering 550 acres and with a density of 200,000 people per sqKm, and it is considered to be among the largest slums in Sub-Saharan Africa (WSP 2005; Amnesty International 2009). Population estimates of Kasokoso vary between 700,000 to 1.5 million

people (Amnesty International 2009; Neuwirth 2005; OXFAM 2009). Up to 95 percent of residents there are tenants.

Living conditions in Kasokoso are representative of the state of urban poverty worldwide. High population densities, poor sanitation and water quality, limited access to basic services and low-income characterise Kasokoso. Furthermore, residents lack legal security of tenure, leaving them without power to leverage landowners to provide structure maintenance and services. Even within these conditions, Kasokoso's population grows at an annual rate of 12 percent (Kramer 2006).

UN-HABITAT contends that informal settlements like Kasokoso have been epitomized as a failure by the state to provide services to the people (UN-HABITAT 2007). NonGovernmental Organisations (NGOs) have played a prominent role in Kasokoso in areas in which government has been insufficient. As pointed out by Mitlin (2001:2), NGOS have been regarded as the new 'panacea for people centered pro-poor development'. NGOs have become an important sector in the field of social development with increased expectations of NGOs being the 'Magic Bullet' in fixing problems of poverty in developing countries (Edwards and Hulme 1996).

1.1 Research Goal: This research investigates the role of NGOs in urban poverty reduction, using a case study of Kasokoso settlement in Kampala. It examines the perceptions of community members regarding the roles and efficiency of NGOs in service delivery. This will enable an understanding as to whether the community is involved in the design of interventions and whether programs are developed that represent the needs of the community. It also examines the perceptions of NGOs officials, to see how they address poverty, their relationship with the community, and any challenges they face.

1.2 Research Questions The dissertation seeks to answer the following questions:

1. How are NGOs involved in development projects in Kasokoso?

2. Are NGOs addressing the community's problems? How do they support participatory processes?

3. What are the perceptions of the residents regarding the role of NGOs?

In order to address the research questions, this study is addressed in two ways. First, it presents the perceptions of community members on how they understand poverty and how they perceive

the role of NGOs in poverty reduction. Secondly, it contrasts this with the perceptions of NGOs on understanding poverty and their role in poverty reduction in Kasokoso. These analyses are presented in Chapters 4 and 5.

1.3 Methodology

As Chapter 3 outlines, this research utilises both primary and secondary research methods to investigate the role of NGOs in urban poverty reduction in Kasokoso. The use of journal articles, UN reports, Uganda government reports, books, web-based searches, websites and international development reports on NGOs were all useful secondary sources of information. In addition, the research held interviews with key community members and NGO leaders from five communities in Kasokoso. Primary research also involved communities through a mix of in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. The author also presents his personal experiences, having been a resident in Kasokoso, and a founder of the NGO Carolina for Kasokoso for nine years.

1.4 Chapter Outline

The following chapter gives a detailed overview of urban poverty, and reviews recent research on the role of NGOs in urban poverty reduction. Chapter three describes the research methodologies that are best suited to answering the research questions explained here and then details the livelihoods framework, which will be used to investigate the activities in which NGOs are engaged with in Kasokoso. Chapter four provides a brief introduction to the case study site - Kasokoso slum in Kampala-- and presents community perceptions on the role of NGOs in poverty reduction before Chapter five, contrasts these findings with the perceptions of NGO officials. Chapter six concludes with research findings and implications for policy, based on a review of the case study of NGOs in Kasokoso.

CHAPTER 2: POVERTY, URBAN POVERTY AND NGOs: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter presents a discussion on the role of NGOs in poverty reduction, through building a definition of 'NGO' and 'poverty' as they will be used in the analysis. Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are defined as organisations that do not belong to either the government or the private sector. They represent communities in social and political movements at all levels - public and private as well as local and international. Being non-state and non-market, they are often referred to as the third sector and are organisationally representative of civil society (Unerman and O'Dwyer 2006). The lack of government presence in informal settlements in many cities across developing countries has led to donors and the state acknowledging the role of NGOs as a means of providing services inexpensively and timely to low-income households in these areas. NGOs operate across a number of areas including education, health care, service delivery, microfinance, pressure groups, lobbying, social movements, and grassroots organizations amongst others (Fisher 1997; Werker & Ahmed 2008).

Literature on urban poverty reduction often uses the word "NGOs" and "civil society" interchangeably. These terms are often used synonymously, but civil society includes not only NGOs, but also faith based organisations, grassroots organisations, religious groups, informal and cultural groups that pursue activities representing the interests of the poor (Ibrahim and Hulme 2010). Anheier (2004: 24) defines civil society as a "sphere of institutions, organisations and individuals" located between the family and the market, which people associate with voluntarily to advance common interests. This encompasses any organisation that is independent from both the government and the private sector, and enjoys a degree of autonomy (Howell and Pearce 2003).

NGOs are best defined based on a country's legal definition which outlines formal registration and status of an organization within that country (Salamon and Anheier 1997). According to Kenya's NGO Coordination Act No 19 (section 2, 1990), all of the aforementioned organisations are categorised as NGOs. The act defines NGOs as,

[A] private voluntary grouping of individuals or associations, not operating for profit or for other commercial purposes but which have organised themselves nationally or

internationally for the benefit of the public at large and for the promotion of social welfare, development, charity or research in the areas inclusive of, but not restricted to, health, relief, agriculture, education, industry and the supply of amenities and services (Ministry of Home Affairs 2006:16).

Definitions of NGOs can be critiqued for not being comprehensive: they often invariably exclude one of the many areas of NGO development or exclude legal implications in various countries. For the purpose of this research, NGOs are defined as independent, nonprofit, developmental, voluntary organisations operating at the local level and that are engaged in poverty reduction at the local and international level (Lewis, 2001). NGOs widen political participation by engaging marginalised groups such as women, disabled people, and low-income urban residents, and serve an important advocacy role in promoting development and by bringing people together in cooperative ventures to teach civic values such as negotiation, compromise, cooperation, and trust.

NGOs can be viewed to challenge local urban poverty reduction programs that are introduced by the state but are not suitable to the needs of the local population. Given a lack of state service provision, NGOs help to promote the rights of excluded segments of the population, such as the urban poor, and provide them with basic services. Mitlin and Satterthwaite (2004) contend that many states and funding agencies often define urban poverty by income, with national poverty measured by the number of people or households with incomes below an official poverty line (Mitlin and Satterthwaite 2004). The next section discusses definitions of poverty before clarifying the nature of urban poverty.

2.1 Understanding Poverty

One-sixth of the global population, or about one billion people, live in poverty and struggle daily for survival (UN 2006). How to define poverty, however, remains a source of debate both in developed and developing countries. Poverty is widely recognised to be multifaceted (Satterthwaite 2001) and often country definitions in the north or south are linked with a lack or deficiency of basic goods needed for human survival and welfare (Wratten 1995). Conventional forms of poverty measurement, however, are limited in their ability to help us to understand poverty and to design interventions that meet the needs and wishes of low-income households.

This suggests the need for more precise and realistic measures of poverty. Poverty is often "measured by income flows or streams of consumptions expenditures" (Carter 2007: 51). Poverty lines are based upon the income necessary to purchase minimum calorific requirements. This definition is derived from the international standard definition utilised by The World Bank and international funding agencies, of the US$1 per day poverty line, which in 2008 increased to US $1.25/day. This, however, makes no differentiation between urban and rural poverty (Ravallion and Chen 2008, Hulme and Lawson 2010).

Sen (1999) contends that income based measurements of poverty are limited in their understanding of poverty. Hulme and Lawson (2010) also highlight that in practice, this definition of poverty cannot be used to identify the poor at the project level. Sen argues that poverty must be viewed more broadly as the "deprivation of basic capabilities rather than merely as lowness of income" (Sen 1999: 87). The multidimensional nature of poverty means that households face deficiencies in a number of dimensions including physical, social, economic, political and psychological deficiencies. Alongside physical deprivations in food, water, income, literacy and access to health services, poverty also has elements of intangible deprivation, with the notions of equity, vulnerability, empowerment and social exclusion all being applicable to a definition of poverty (Sen 1999, Hulme and Lawson 2010, Mitlin and Satterthwaite 2004, Appadurai, 2004, Rao and Walton 2004).

Income remains a crucial part within these deficiencies. Sen (1999:87) contends that his definition of "capability poverty" does not refute that limited income is a major cause of poverty: in fact, he says, it can be the leading factor to many of the deprivations faced by the poor. Another consideration with poverty definitions is whether official definitions take into account the perceptions and definitions of the population they refer to (Chambers 16 1995). Wratten (1995) points out that there is no general agreement as to the basic needs of the low-income especially across rural and urban areas.

This discussion suggests that definitions of poverty have increasingly widened over the last two decades. From an emphasis on income and consumption, poverty is now recognised as a multi-dimensional phenomenon that encompasses a number of deficiencies that are fundamental to living standards, including vulnerability and exposure to risks, and a lack of access to services. In addition, there is increasing recognition of voicelessness and powerlessness as an important

dimension of poverty (Appadurai 2004, Sabry 2009, Chambers 1995, Kanbur and Squire 1999). These broader definitions of poverty have implications for policies targeting poverty reduction (Sabry 2009, Kanbur and Squire 1999). Rapid urbanisation has led to burgeoning low-income population within cities across developing countries. The following section discusses the distinct nature of urban poverty and the importance of defining it in its own right, before the role of NGOs in urban poverty reduction is further discussed.

2.2 Defining Urban Poverty

Urban poverty is not always conceptualised as a distinct category. Across many developing countries in Africa poverty is still considered largely a rural phenomenon. It is often linked to agriculture, the sector on which most rural poor depend on their survival (Dercon 2008). Urban poverty, however, has specific dimensions and vulnerabilities that the rural poor do not face. Most definitions of urban poverty are income-based and do not account for the assets and livelihoods of the urban poor.

Definitions of urban can vary across different regions. Wratten (1995) states that if poverty has proved difficult to define, urban poverty has proven more so. There is no universal criterion that specifies whether a settlement is a town or a rural village. Urban areas tend to be defined nationally (Mitlin 2005). Experience of poverty in large and small cities can also differ. In Kenya, urban areas are defined based on the city's growth in development areas mostly linked to the industrial sector and proximity to the government offices. Urban poverty is generally recognised by its spatial area, such as its concentration in informal settlements and inner cities (Mitlin, 2005).

Urban poverty is increasing due to rapid urbanisation. Ravallion et al. (2008) calculate that one-quarter of the world's consumption poor live in urban areas and that this number has 17 increased over time. While the world's population living under $1 a day fell by 150 million in rural areas between 1993-2002, in urban areas, the number of urban poor increased by 50 million (Ravallion et al. 2008). Close to one billion people in the world live in informal settlements located within urban centers, and lack access to clean water, shelter, security and basic sanitation and land tenure (UN-HABITAT 2006). Africa's share of the world's low-income urban

populations is projected to increase from 10 to 17 percent by 2025, making it the most rapidly urbanising continent in the world (Drakakis-Smith 2000; Ravallion and Chen 2008).

Population growth over the next 25 to 30 years is expected to occur predominantly in urban areas (UN 2002). Between a third and a half of Kenya's urban population lives in poverty, and with increased urbanisation, urban poverty is projected to account for half of Uganda's total poverty by 2020 (Oxfam 2009). There is, however, no agreed definition of urban poverty in Uganda. State and international funding agencies usually define urban poverty only by income level (Mitlin and Satterthwaite 2004). Wratten defines urban poverty using the "conventional economic definition, which uses income, consumption (and) other social indicators in grouping poor people" (Wratten 1995:12). These social indicators may include life expectancy, infant mortality, nutrition, money spent on food, literacy and access to health clinics and drinking water (Masika et. al 1997).

A focus on income-based definitions of urban poverty has led to the underestimation of urban poverty (Mitlin and Satterthwaite 2004). The magnitude of urban poverty is measured using national poverty lines, which do not account for the increased cost of living in urban areas (Satterthwaite 2004). In comparison with urban centers in high income countries where people have access to and are able to afford or benefit from government support in education, healthcare, water, sanitation and electricity, in developing cities, the costs of these service are frequently not accounted for in poverty lines (Sabry 2009). The commoditisation of the urban economy means that the urban poor must meet a variety of financial costs stemming from non-food needs such as housing, transportation, childcare and health (Sabry 2009, Satterthwaite 2004). In addition, receiving low incomes thorough underemployment and employment in the informal sector means that many low -income urban households have low purchasing power to meet these costs (Mitlin 2005).

Urban poverty must be viewed in light of the "multiple deprivations" that those with low incomes face, many of which are a result of their "social, economic and political relationship (or lack of them) with the state" (Mitlin and Satterthwaite 2004:4). Living in poor quality and overcrowded housing and lacking adequate provision for water, sanitation and drainage, the urban poor are exposed to high levels of environmental health risk. Many of the underlying causes of urban poverty are local but are also considered to be linked to national and

international factors such as trade regimes, unequal land distribution and tenure, government debt burdens, conflict over scarce resources, civil strife and insecurity in low-income urban communities (Mitlin and Satterthwaite 2004, Oxfam 2009, Sabry 2009). Furthermore, the urban poor experience extreme levels of inequality resulting in negative implications for human security and economic development (Oxfam 2009).

Urban poverty and vulnerability are normally used interchangeably, thus complicating the definition of urban poverty (Moser 1995). Moser (1995) refutes this, however, arguing that the two concepts are different: while poverty is static, vulnerability is a dynamic concept. Vulnerability is a broader term and among the poor may entail "defenselessness, insecurity, exposure to risks, shocks and stress" (Wratten 1995:15). While the "poor are amongst the most vulnerable population, not all vulnerable people are poor" (Moser 1998: 4).

The multiple deprivations facing the urban poor act for many as a poverty trap, thus limiting people's chances for escaping poverty both within and across generations (Moore et al. 2008). Mitlin and Satterthwaite (2004) explain that many of the deprivations experienced by the urban poor in informal settlements like Kasokoso are caused or exacerbated by the unfair relationship with external people or organisations, such as landlords or landowners, employers, government offices and services, that discriminate or exclude the urban poor. This has provided space for NGOs to play a role in urban poverty reduction, as the following section discusses.

2.3 The Role of NGOs in Urban Poverty Reduction

Across the developing world, NGOs have engaged with low-income communities to tackle urban poverty. NGOs or the third sector are considered to play a role in correcting the failures of the state and the market (Edwards 2009) and to "make demands on the State and holding State officials accountable" (Diamond 1994: 5). NGOs are considered to be important players in the field of social development. In some cases, NGOs are expected to be the "Magic bullet" that fixes some of the world's biggest developmental problems, such as urban poverty (Edwards and Hulme 1996: 3). NGOs often engage with local populations – especially the poor and the weak living in underserved areas – and command their trust to find solutions to problems that governments have been unable or unwilling to solve (Clark 1990).

Development professionals have recognised the contributions of NGOs primarily for the ability of NGOs to work directly with low-income communities excluded from services provided by the state and the market (Mitlin 2001, Clark 1990, Mälkiä & Hossain 1998). NGOs have been looked upon as the "new panacea for people-centered, pro-poor development" (Mitlin 2001:2, Edwards and Hulme 1996) and they are increasingly recognised as crucial actors in urban poverty reduction. NGOs may offer alternatives which ensure the participation and mobilization of the poorest, most vulnerable and marginalized communities (Clark 1995, Lawson et al. 2009). NGOs are often familiar with the local environment of the urban poor.

Hossain (2001: 41) notes four arguments in favor of NGOs working within underserved communities. First, NGOs encourage the involvement of the poor and are able to access areas that are neglected by the government, Secondly, NGOs are more economical in service delivery and given they are serving the poor and disadvantaged, are not seeking returns from their actions: they are primarily driven by the act of serving the "poor and disadvantaged". Thirdly, NGOs are "relatively immune from the changing political tides", while public sector policies and agencies are subjected to unforeseen change. Lastly, NGOs are sensitive to local needs and are respectful of informal traditional structures within communities. Furthermore, NGOs have proven effective in finding alternatives to how resources can trickle down to the vulnerable and marginalised (Mälkiä & Hossain 1998). They play important roles in ensuring that "trade, human movement, finance and environmental governance" are fair in combating injustices experienced by poor people (Edwards and Fowler 2002: 2).

As the above section discusses, NGOs play a key role in urban poverty reduction. Ibrahim and Hulme (2010) outline three approaches in poverty reduction used by NGOs: advocacy (pushing for structural social change), policy change (lobbying for pro poor policies) and service delivery (provision of basic needs). As Clark (1995) discusses, these focus areas illustrate that NGOs are moving away from engaging in "supply side" approaches – which offer solutions or service delivery while treating low-income households as "recipients" – to "demand side" approaches in which NGOs engage urban communities in development projects as active participants. This latter strategy ensures community participation in articulating their needs and priorities. NGOs have proven able to mobilise low-income urban households and assist them in pressing their demands for service delivery on the state.

Furthermore, within urban contexts, NGO have been recognised to assist the urban poor in accessing credit, improving their homes and the environment, and providing services, especially through slum and squatter upgrading programs (Ibrahim and Hulme 2010, Mitlin and Satterthwaite 2004, Sabry 2009). NGOs have also advocated for the empowerment of the urban poor in order to challenge the dominant interests and to shift alliances in a way that will facilitate policies and interventions for urban poverty reduction (Hulme and Lawson 2010).

With regards to urban poverty, Mitlin and Satterthwaite contend that NGOs have advocated for "citizens rights and in putting pressure on local authorities or other state agencies to provide infrastructure, services and land tenure (2004: 18)". In Uganda, for example, Jamii Bora is a microcredit program that has been able to mobilise local and international resources to build homes for the vulnerable and marginalised and press demands for service delivery and recognition by the government (Acumen Fund 2010). NGOs often focus on land use rights of low-income households, on structure owner relations, and on the rights of informal workers and women in informal settlements (Ibrahim and Hulme 2010), in the process reducing the "voicelessness and powerlessness" of poor, vulnerable and marginalized people (Mitlin and Satterthwaite 2004: 18).

With regards to advocacy, NGOs have contended that poverty and deprivations have increased regardless of aid provisions, suggesting that the causes of poverty have yet to be fully addressed (Ibrahim and Hulme 2010). Consequently, some NGOs have engaged in advocacy to influence and challenge public policies concerning poor people, and in the process to change the structural relations of society that disempower low-income households. NGOs are well equipped to "act as facilitators to expose relevant decision makers to those best placed to articulate the concerns of the poor: to act, in a sense, as channels for local democracy" (Clark 1990: 59). In most instances, poor and marginalised communities are disconnected from the realm of power. Clark (1995) provides an example in Colombia, where the state responded to popular pressure originating from NGOs that had mobilised communities in advocating for a change in policy to involve community committees in the design and management of community health care programs. NGOs have become aggressive in demanding changes at the urban, national, and even at the global level (Coates and David 2003).

With regards to policy, NGOs are recognised to play a "catalytic or seedling role" in promoting policy change, signifying the effectiveness of a novel initiative, publicizing it and often persuading the state to notice, before encouraging the widespread adoption by others of the idea. (Clark 1990: 59). SPARC in India, for example, is a movement of slum dwellers that engages communities and exposes them to international practice in advocating for their rights to property ownership. This has resulted in policy change and local innovation (Patel and Mitlin 2004). Influencing public policy to address the needs of the poor has been a major way that NGOs have impacted on urban poverty reduction (Sahley and Pratt 2003). The model of SPARC, for example has been replicated with success in several informal settlements across Africa, including Kasokoso (See Retsinas and Segel, 2009).

In urban poverty reduction, Ibrahim and Hulme (2010) question the legitimacy of NGO advocacy campaigns and whether they truly have an impact in poverty reduction. NGO performance in poverty reduction is a difficult task and their contributions can be limited compared to the magnitude of poverty. Edwards & Hulme (1996: 6) state that "it is difficult to find general evidence that NGOs are close to the poor". In a study of NGOs in Bangladesh, Stiles (2002) noted that as most NGOs develop their capacities, they tend to move away from the communities that they serve.

Chapter Conclusion

Defining urban poverty based on income alone does not take into a consideration of the multidimensional nature of urban poverty, and the fundamental living requirements of low income urban households. NGOs have been recognised as important actors in social development, providing services and advocating for policies that address the needs of the urban low-income households. NGOs are able to work with the vulnerable and marginalised sections of society that are otherwise excluded by the government. Questions, however, have been asked as to the scale of their impact and on the extent of community involvement in NGOs operations. Before Chapters 4 and 5 investigate the role of NGOs in urban poverty reduction in Kasokoso, the following chapter discusses the methodology used in answering the research questions. It also presents the livelihoods framework to evaluate the role of NGOs in Kasokoso in poverty reduction.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In investigating the role of NGOs in urban poverty reduction in Kasokoso, a range of qualitative research techniques were utilised. Through interviews with key community respondents and NGOs officials operating in Kasokoso, this research analysed the role and the impact of NGOs working within Kasokoso, as discussed in the analysis in Chapters 4 and 5. As Chapter 1 highlighted, the research asks three specific questions regarding the role of NGOs in development projects in Kasokoso, the extent of community involvement in their operations, and of community perceptions of NGOs programmes. These questions will identify the scale of impact of NGOs, the challenges they face and any areas which could be improved.

The research utilises a sustainable livelihoods framework to answer these questions, as will be discussed in section 3.4. The livelihoods framework is most suitable for this research because of its emphasis on a bottom-up approach to development. This allows the research to investigate whether NGOs are addressing community problems sufficiently, and whether and how they support participatory processes. This framework views the urban poor not as a homogenous group at the mercy of wider social processes, but as active agents who respond to the best of their ability, to social and economic changes (Beall and Nazneen 1999, Rakodi 2002). In addition, the framework recognizes that the poor have certain assets or poverty-reducing factors (Rakodi 2002, Bebbington 1999).

Studying poverty from a distance tends to favor the researcher or institution and may or may not include a context-specific understanding of diverse local situations and communities (Flick 2007). Chambers (1999: 32) notes that "power hinders learning", and that qualitative methods tip the balance of power and expertise away from the researcher towards respondents and community members. Qualitative methods are advantageous in context-specific research, and were therefore utilised to collect data from both NGOs officials and the community in order to understand their perspectives of the role of NGOs in poverty reduction in Kasokoso. Marshall and Rosman (1995) state that qualitative studies are valuable tools in researching complex situations where phenomena are little known, as they provide a deeper insight into complex social structures and processes such as "the 24 myriad personal impacts of impersonal social

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structures and the nature and causes of individual behaviour" (Brockington & Sullivan 2003: 57). Careful use of qualitative tools can establish causality. As suggested by Dudwick et al. (2006), qualitative techniques such as focus group discussions (FGD) and interviews are important tools for exploring complex issues of causality, process and context.

Qualitative research allows the researcher to appreciate, explain and sometimes to depict the social phenomena from the experiences of the people it investigates (Flick 2007). It offers techniques that can provide deeper and contextualised insights into how people construct their surroundings (Flick 2007; Brockington & Sullivan 2003). In ensuring that the research is grounded and led by the participants and communities themselves, qualitative research also amplifies the voice of the community (Chambers 1997). Section 3.2 outlines the research and fieldwork methodology, in which focus group discussions and in-depth interviews enable the research to reveal information, and to corroborate and triangulate the information gathered from different groups and participants.

3.2 Field Work Methodology

Fieldwork was conducted in five informal communities of Kasokoso, and with officials of NGOs operating in Kasokoso. Having lived and worked in Kasokoso for eight years, this experience facilitated the process of fieldwork, and meant that I had both community acceptance and working knowledge of the communities in which I worked.

Two survey instruments were used for data collection: interviews and focus group discussions (FGD). In-depth interviews collected data on the view of NGO officials and community members regarding the role of NGOs in poverty reduction in Kasokoso. In addition, focus groups discussions with residents of Kasokoso revealed in-depth data on the role of NGOs, community and government in poverty reduction within the settlement. Research was conducted in five informal communities, namely Gatwekera, Kianda, Makina, Soweto and Silanga. These communities were selected as research sites because they represent areas that are served by government, and also have multiple NGOs operating within them. Furthermore, the communities were selected as they present different forms of deprivations within Kasokoso.

Before the fieldwork commenced, official approval for the research was received from the Kasokoso District Commissioner (DC) and the Social Development Officer (SDO). These are

government representatives responsible for overseeing social development in Kasokoso. Having worked with Carolina for Kasokoso (CFK) – an NGO operating in 12 of the communities within Kasokoso – meant that I had previously established a relationship with these government officials. After approval, I appointed a research assistant and team of four enumerators. This was necessary to ensure that the research was carried out free from bias. My own work history within these communities meant that my presence would likely be associated with my previous NGO rather than as a university researcher. Sammy Gitau, a resident of another informal settlement in Kampala, was identified as the research assistant. The following two sections describe the fieldwork within Kasokoso, before section 3.2.3 outlines the interview process with NGOs.

3.2.1 In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews were carried out with 10 respondents: one male and one female in each of the five communities. After explaining my research objectives, consent was secured from participants before the interviews, which lasted around thirty minutes, were conducted. These respondents were key informants within their communities and were selected according to their involvement in the communities. They had all been residents of their communities for at least six years and were considered to be key informants by their larger community. They can therefore be viewed as 'gatekeepers' within their respective communities. In-depth interviews with these key informants explored their understanding of poverty, and what could be done about it. They asked what informants considered to be the role of NGOs, government, and communities themselves in poverty reduction. More specifically, the interviews investigated the activities of NGOs within their community, including the type and effectiveness of their operations, and the extent to which they involved the community in poverty reduction.

3.2.2 Focus Group Discussions

In addition to in-depth interviews, four focus groups were conducted to capture wider community perspectives on these issues. These focus groups captured a broad range of perspectives in each community: two focus groups were conducted with adults – one male and one female – and two were conducted with youths aged between 17 and 22, one male and one female. The participants were selected without assistance from the five NGOs 26 interviewed to ensure their neutrality. Focus groups were composed of eight members and lasted up to three

hours. Participants discussed their understanding of poverty in Kasokoso and their perceptions of NGOs operating in Kasokoso. Focus groups were asked who they thought were the main actors in poverty reduction in Kasokoso, and the main areas in which these actors focused on. They also explored their perceptions of the success of NGOs, and whether they involved communities in their operations.

3.2.3 NGOs Interviews

In addition to exploring community perceptions on these issues, interviews were also conducted with NGO officials. This allowed the research to investigate the match or mismatch between NGOs and the communities in which they operate. NGOs were identified through discussions with the five communities and through records held at the DC and SDO. Five NGOs were identified: three had offices within the communities, and two were located in other communities but implemented development activities within the research sites. Interviews with NGOs officials explored the same issues as focus groups and interviews. They asked how NGOs viewed poverty in Kasokoso and which areas they focused on for addressing poverty in Kasokoso, and explored which had been successful. They also explored the challenges NGOs face in implementation, and how they involved communities in poverty reduction programs.

3.3 Challenges Experienced

Good research requires good design, yet the process of the research design is fraught with difficulties and frustrations (Murray and Overton 2003). The main challenge that this research encountered was research fatigue amongst respondents. Residents have become weary of research: it is viewed as time consuming and intrusive, yet provides no returns that assist their daily struggles or improve their livelihoods. Consequently, the research was conducted to minimise the impact on participants and to ensure minimal time away from their daily work. Although initially scheduled to last for one week, this meant that the fieldwork was extended to 10 days so it did not interrupt daily schedules of participants or NGOs. Time constraints were exacerbated by the terrain in Kasokoso and by the forthcoming Kenya constitution referendum. Organising focus group discussions was difficult, with political rallies frequently organised across the communities. Community members demanded payment for their participation in focus groups, and data collection which proved both challenging and time consuming. With some

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respondents, language was problematic, and for those who did not understand English or Luganda, interviews were conducted in their vernacular language and transcribed in English. Certain meanings of words were lost in the process of translation.

3.4 Sustainable Livelihood Framework

As Chapter 2 discussed, the increasing recognition of urban poverty in academic literature and policy emanates from an extensive acknowledgment of the increase in the number of urban poor, and the vulnerability of their livelihoods. A livelihood is generally defined as comprising the capabilities, assets – including both material and social resources – and activities required for a means of living (Rakodi 2002), as Figure 1 illustrates.
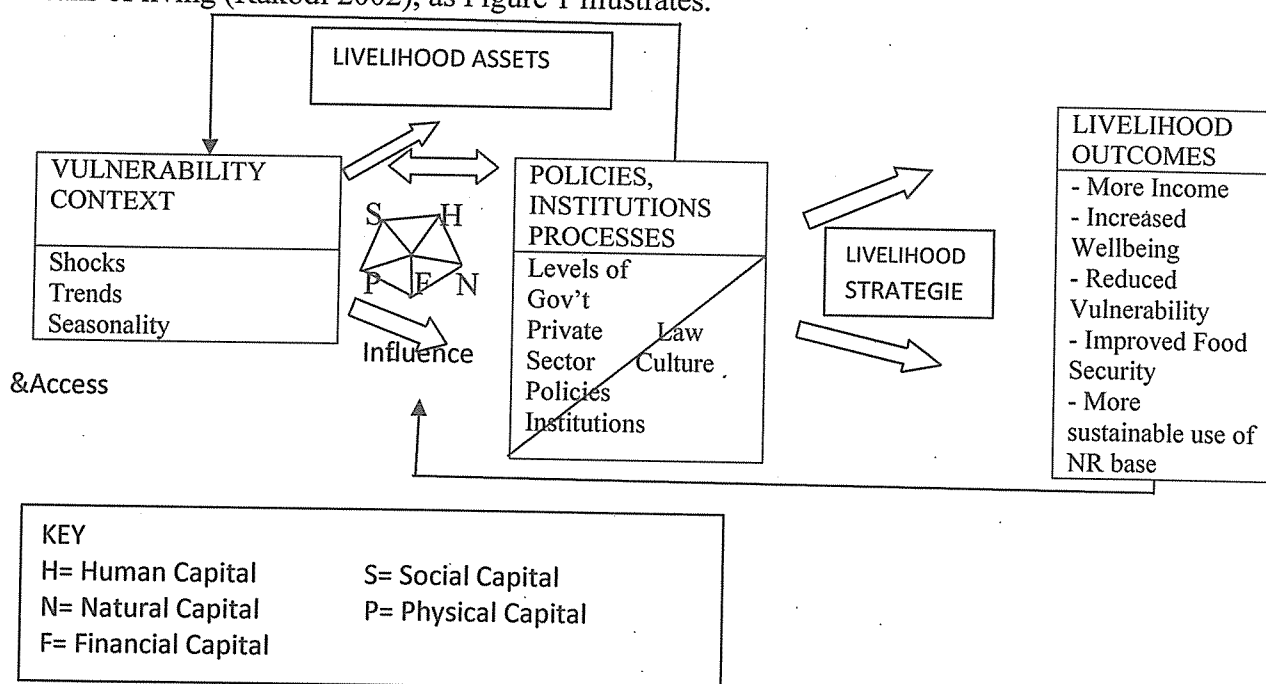
Figure 1. Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (Ashley & Carney 1999:5)

The livelihoods framework can be perceived for planning and designing priorities in order to understand the complexities of poverty. It can be viewed as a means of "understanding the reasons for poverty through a detailed analysis of social relations in a specific poverty context, and providing a means to empirically investigate the conditions of the poor" (Carney 1998: 6, Chambers & Conway 1991). The livelihoods framework recognises that the poor have "possessions of certain assets, both tangible [stores of cash and food, and 28 resources such as

land, physical investments or skills] and intangible" [claims on others and the government, and access to services] (Rakodi 2002: 6).

Ellis further defines livelihoods as "the activities, the assets, and the access that jointly determine the living gained by an individual or household" (Ellis 1999: 2). A mixture of financial, human, natural, physical and social assets are considered to be central to the livelihoods framework. Bebbington (1999) refers to assets as capabilities that enable people to act. The livelihoods framework draws attention to the importance of assets as an entry point for development to focusing on "what the poor have, rather than what they do not have" (Moser 1998: 1)

As detailed in Table 1, seven principles are central to the livelihoods framework. These principles are flexible and guide the application of the livelihoods approach.

Table 1. Showing the seven principles of the livelihoods framework

1. People-centered: the livelihoods approach recognises that the livelihoods of the poor change over time and ensure their participation. It views the poor and vulnerable not as helpless, but as active agents using their assets available to them.

2. Holistic: it acknowledges that people adopt multiple strategies to secure their livelihoods, and that many actors are involved across different levels.

3. Dynamic: it seeks to understand the dynamic nature of livelihoods and what influences them. People's assets are not merely a means through which they make a living, but also reveal how they perceive the world.

4. Build on strengths: it builds upon people's perceived strengths and opportunities rather than focusing on their deprivations. An integral part of the livelihoods framework requires that development interventions support existing livelihood strategies.

5. Micro-macro links: it examines the influence of policies and institutions on livelihoods options, and highlights the need for policies to be informed by insights from the local-level and by the priorities of the poor.

6. Encourage broad partnerships: it draws on partnership from both the public and private sector.

7. Sustainability: it recognises the need for solutions to be sustainable if poverty reduction is to be lasting.

Sourse: (Ashley & Carney 1999, Bebbington 1999, Rakodi 2002).

The livelihoods framework provides an analytical structure that assists development practitioners, theorists and policy makers to understand the realities of the poor (Farrington et al. 1999). Nevertheless, Beall (2002: 73) points out that the livelihoods perspective needs to "embrace both productive and reproductive social activities and the social relations accompanying them, notably gender and generations". This will enable effective planning and development of policies that ensure the needs of the poor are accounted for. Consequently, it has been adopted by many NGOs in developing policies and programs.

Some limitations to the livelihoods framework have been identified, however. This research will identify whether these limitations hold true in planning for urban poverty reduction in Kasokoso. In consideration of the cosmopolitan nature of urban centers, the livelihoods framework is limited in providing clear guidelines about how to integrate the culture and traditions of the low-income urban households. Within the framework, culture is viewed as a process alongside the organisation and institutions. Moreover, Beall (2002: 73) argues that the framework does not address or acknowledge the "social asymmetries" and relations of power pertaining to gender. Beall (2002: 72) cautions the overuse of the livelihoods framework as it can act as a "straightjacket that does not allow the incorporation of complex micro politics of everyday life" experienced by low-income households. In addition, the livelihoods framework is designed on the premise that the poor are at the centre and must be involved in programme design. In practice, however, the framework is complicated to understand, even to contextualize as to how it addresses poverty. Meaning is lost in translation and proves challenging even for implementers of the framework. The framework also views the outcome of intervention through tangible results. Consequently, it can be viewed that the framework is designed to meet the institution's goals – whether private or the third sector – rather than being representative of the wider objectives of the urban poor.

Chapter Conclusion

Qualitative research gives voice to the urban poor in describing and developing strategies for escaping from poverty. A Livelihoods Framework is frequently used by NGOs to understand whether and how to involve the urban poor in poverty reduction programmes. This views the urban poor in context of the vulnerabilities they face in escaping from poverty. Chapter 4 and 5 now present the analysis, to see whether this framework is suitable to meeting the needs of the urban poor and for ensuring their participation. After Chapter 4 presents a more detailed introduction to Kasokoso, it investigates community perceptions on poverty and the role of NGOs. Chapter 5 compares this with the perceptions of the NGO officials, before Chapter 6 concludes.

CHAPTER 4: COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS OF POVERTY AND NGOs IN KASOKOSO: CONTEXTUAL DESCRIPTION, EXAMINATION AND ANALYSIS

Section 4.1 presents a detailed introduction to Kasokoso, the case study area. It presents the deprivations experienced by the urban poor in the five communities. This is followed by an analysis of the perceptions of community members on poverty and on the role of NGOs in urban poverty reduction programmes.

4.1 Introduction to Kasokoso

As Chapter 1 outlined, Kasokoso is one of the largest informal settlement in Sub-Saharan Africa. It was first settled when the colonial government offered it as payment for fighting to the Nubian fighters, who originated from Sudan in the Second World War. The name Kasokoso, pronounced Kasokoso, comes from the Nubian word for 'forest'. Currently, the Nubians claim that Kasokoso is their rightful land and home. While the Nubians constitute the largest proportion of landlords in Kasokoso, they are a minority in terms of residents. Nubians live in houses that are better-located and better-serviced, but own rental rooms throughout the entire settlement. The total community of Kasokoso is divided informally into twelve 'villages' or communities. The populations of these communities are divided along lines of different tribal affiliations, and differ broadly according to economic situation.

Kasokoso is a consequence both of explicit government policy and decades of official indifference. In particular, the land on which Kasokoso sit continues to be excluded from city authority planning, and lacks budgeting, provision of health services, water supply, and sewer and sanitation services. In effect, public policy treats Kasokoso as an area that does not exist. Lacking legal water supply, residents of Kasokoso pay 20 times for piped water that which wealthier areas pay (Amnesty International 2009).

Living conditions in Kasokoso are representative of the state of urban poverty worldwide. High population densities, poor sanitation and water quality, limited access to basic services like health care and education, and income well below the poverty line characterise Kasokoso. Furthermore, residents lack legal security of tenure, leaving them without power to leverage landowners to provide structure maintenance and services. The population of Kasokoso continues to grow at an annual rate of 12 percent (Kramer 2006). The UN-HABITAT contends

that slums like Kasokoso has been epitomized as a failure by the state in provision of service to the people (UN-HABITAT 2007).

Unemployment among Kasokoso residents is high. While the majority of urban poor – 68 percent – are economically active, unemployment stands at 26 percent, with women almost five times more likely to be unemployed than men (World Bank 2006). OXFAM (2009) reports that unemployment rate is 49 percent among women compared with 10 percent among men.

Residents also lack environmental services. Instead of hygienic toilet facilities, residents overwhelmingly rely on pit latrines that are over-used and inadequately maintained, and at night result rely on flying toilets: this refers to the process of defecating into plastic bags and throwing them out, which stems from physical insecurity while accessing pit latrines at night. Most pit latrines in Kasokoso are communal serving between 100-200 people per day (WSUP 2007). A lack of hygienic services results in a high prevalence of disease, especially among children. Kampala has the second highest rate of HIV infection in Uganda, at around 10 percent (OXFAM 2009). It is estimated that between 15 to 20 percent of Kasokoso's population are HIV positive (CFK 2010).

Research was conducted in five of Kasokoso's twelve communities, namely Gatwekera, Kianda, Makina, Soweto and Silanga. Residents of these villages experience multiple deprivations, including poor nutrition resulting from low food quality and the high cost of food, and health burdens arising from low quality homes, limited space and a high density population, unhygienic sanitation, a lack of access to infrastructure and limited garbage removal. In addition to these environmental risks, residents also face limited employment opportunities, high healthcare costs, inadequate opportunities for schooling, the frequent risk of violence, and the threat of eviction. The settlement is also situated on land that is vulnerable to weather conditions, with many rooms situated along a riverbed that is prone to flooding.

This mixture of natural, social, economic and political vulnerabilities mean that the majority of Kasokoso residents face multiple deprivations that prolong their poverty. The following section explores the perceptions of residents regarding the nature of poverty within Kasokoso, through an analysis of interviews and focus group discussions. It also explores their perceptions of the

role and efficiency of NGOs in poverty reduction, before Chapter 5 contrasts these with the perceptions of NGOs officials.

4.2 Community Perceptions on Poverty and Poverty Reduction

Both in-depth interviews and focus group discussions revealed that urban poverty in Kasokoso is considered to be multidimensional and complex in nature. Poverty was broadly defined as an inability to access resources and basic fundamental living standards, namely food, water, and health. The major cause of these deprivations across the five communities was identified as lack of income-earning opportunities and inadequate education. The multidimensional nature of poverty was also extended to limited asset bases including house ownership and furniture items, and extending to community assets that included sanitation, drainage, clean piped water, and inadequate access to services such as schools and skills development centers.

The social and political environment was also viewed as a contributor to poverty with the nature of ethnic distribution, local political decision-making structures, and national political issues seen to exacerbate the vulnerability of some residents. Vulnerability was seen as a condition that take into account the voicelessness and powerlessness of certain groups against these deprivations. Voicelessness and powerlessness, residents recognized, result in political and economic marginalisation by the state, private sector, and NGOs. Some groups were viewed as more vulnerable than others, especially with regards to gender. Female-headed households, for example were viewed as experiencing more severe poverty than male-headed households.

Poverty was further defined based on a household's assets. A household equipped with furniture and with more than one room – including living and separate bedroom space – was considered to be non-poor in comparison to a household that shared one room with no furniture. In addition, education was strongly agreed to be a factor in determining whether a person is poor. Literate people were perceived to be equipped with the necessary skills and information that enable them to seek employment that allows them to transit out of poverty. As Wambugu revealed, 'My parents are not educated and that's why we live in Kasokoso and are poor. I would not want the same for my children and need them to be well educated'. From observation and personal experience as a former resident of Kasokoso, this was not the case in reality, as both skilled and

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unskilled workers from the five communities were exposed to the same environmental risks and defenselessness against these deprivations.

Overwhelmingly, the research revealed that current poverty reduction programs were not considered to be successful. The major criticism both in interviews and focus groups was that residents are excluded from the design and implementation process of the majority interventions. As noted by Mama Awinja, 'NGOs have built drainage just outside my house. I know they want to improve our environment but they have made my life worse. When it rains the water overflows into the house and my children can get sick'.

Limitations of current interventions were also exacerbated by Kasokoso's history and the ethnic and political community structures across the five communities. The current distribution of government poverty reduction programs reinforces and exacerbates existing inequalities. The majority of programs are implemented in areas inhabited by the Nubian and Luo tribes, who constitute the largest landlords and are represented in national politics. Other communities are excluded from programmes due to their political and tribal affiliation, and this exacerbates tensions across community. Irungu explains that, 'Since my tribe and community have no representation in political leadership, we don't see any water or even schools being constructed by the government'. NGOs were not viewed to distribute programmes along lines of ethnicity or tribal affiliation.

Research participants emphasised the lack of social networks in Kasokoso in comparison to rural areas, explaining that they did not benefit from the same family connections and support networks that were prevalent in their villages. This was exacerbated for certain groups vulnerable to exclusion, namely those who were illiterate, single parents, or teenage mothers. All felt at risk from police harassment and crime and violence (political or tribal), and this sense of insecurity was exacerbated by an insecure of tenure, which residents felt increased their vulnerability. Given the impact of land insecurity on the vulnerability of residents, participants emphasised that effective poverty reduction should prioritise the negotiation of land tenure, whether through formal rights or an increased recognition of the settlement by the municipal authorities and service providers. 'The reason why Kasokoso is the way it is and will not improve' explained Mama Baje, 'is landlords don't have titled deeds and they don't repair the houses. I am not able to repair my house since my income does not even support my family'.

The other interventions that participants suggested should be improved were closely aligned with the main components of poverty they identified, namely the need for food security and employment. Increased foods cost each government budget was reported to have led to the majority of low-income households decreasing the frequency of meals. This has resulted in young people getting involved in high risk livelihood activities such as draining pit latrines without any protection, joining criminal gangs, and illegally cutting firewood in order to support their households. Participants observed the need to provide cash to the poorest households to allow them to meet minimum food requirements and develop their livelihoods. Putting money directly in the hands of low-income households was viewed as a way that the poor can be empowered in transitioning out of their deprivation.

Given the importance of employment to livelihoods, microcredit and skills development were also identified as important. Although microcredit was considered to be effective for addressing poverty within the community, participants also emphasised that the formation of groups for lending resulted in the isolation of vulnerable and marginalised groups who are either not eligible or accepted into groups. Respondents also emphasised that for effectiveness in poverty reduction programs in Kasokoso, loans should be accompanied by business skills training.

4.3 Community Perceptions on the Role of NGOs

NGOs have a huge presence in Kasokoso and are viewed by the community to be important actors in poverty reduction. However, for poverty reduction programs to have an impact within the different villages, eight of the ten respondents emphasised the need for greater participation of residents in program design and implementation, so that NGOs are better aware of the precise nature of their vulnerability and deprivation. Participants categorised different actors with different roles in urban poverty reduction. NGOs were perceived to be facilitators of poverty reduction programmes, the government was perceived as service providers, and community members were viewed as implementers of the poverty reduction programs. Focus group participants agreed that NGOs should be implementers given their capacity to mobilise resources and expertise.

NGOs were viewed more favourably than government given their independent status. Given that NGOs do not represent certain ethnic or political groups and penetrated communities in which

the government has failed to deliver services, they have brought services to previously excluded communities. They are also regarded as more representative and work with marginalised groups such as orphans and vulnerable children (OVC), single mothers, women's groups and the disabled. Interviews and focus groups, however, displayed concerns regarding the number of NGOs registered across Kasokoso. All respondents emphasised that there are over 500 NGOs operating within Kasokoso. -

A further interview with the DC confirmed that these estimates were correct, although there are no records regarding the exact number or names of NGOs operating in Kasokoso, nor the programs they are involved in. In following these issues up with the NGO coordination board, I discovered it was impossible to account for the number of NGOs operating within Kasokoso.

Across all five communities, interviews, focus groups and my own wider observations reveal that NGOs are perceived to fulfill the role of the government in providing services to the community. Service provision was identified to be the primary role of NGOs in Kasokoso, primarily in the field of environmental services and social services of health and education. In their approach to service delivery, NGOs have focused in mobilising and sensitizing the community. Policy formulation, service delivery and advocacy were three areas that NGOs focused in addressing poverty in Kasokoso, to different degrees. In service delivery, participants reported that NGOs mobilised the community in environmental cleanup campaigns addressing environmental risks. One NGO highlighted by respondents was UT, which addressed inadequate water and sanitation provision through the construction of bio-latrines. These latrines, pictured in Figure 4, were viewed favourably by respondents for having taken community needs into consideration, as their designs ensured privacy for different genders. Respondents reported that the bio-centres have improved livelihoods and reduced crime in the community, reducing instances of rape. Previously women were attacked at night while accessing pit latrines located far from their homes. In comparison, bio-latrines are closer to residences and well-lit.

All research participants suggested that there was a reduced prevalence of cholera where bio-latrines were located, and this was confirmed by discussions with the community health clinic in one village. These latrines gave residents a hygienic option for sanitation, leading to a reported reduction in 'flying toilets'. Residents had previously defecated in plastic bags at night, which were then thrown away given distance to pit latrines and threat of crime. As noted by Amwai a

community elder, 'Bio-latrines have brought pride and dignity to the poor. I can now even tell people that am from Kasokoso and am no longer associated with flying toilets'.

Education and health were identified as two other services provided by NGOs. Reports from the DC and feedback from focus group discussions estimated that around 15 percent of NGOs were providing education either through offering scholarships or through operating informal schools within the community. Respondents emphasised the lack of government schooling in comparison with the rest of the city, however. Participants also suggested that educational programmes could be improved by extending opportunities for vocational training. A greater number of skills training centres and partnerships with government were requested by respondents, to allow them to acquire necessary permits that enable them to legally register their small business. Such programs were necessary, they reported, to improve livelihoods and income security.

Interviews and focus group also identified some NGOs that provided free medical services. In comparison, they noted, there was only one government health clinic in Kasokoso. This, participants emphasised, was disconnected from the community and too far away to address emergency medical needs. The provision of free medical health enabled households to spend more money on securing other basic livelihoods costs, namely food and other necessities, or monthly rent. One NGO was also identified as the only organisation that provided free anti-retroviral drugs to more than 40,000 HIV/AIDS patients, who are otherwise excluded from government programs. Moreover, NGOs conducting free medical care were viewed favorably for offering follow-ups and home visits, unlike the government clinic.

Alongside service provision, some NGOs were also identified to be engaged in policy advocacy. In policy, an NGO affiliated with Slum Dwellers International (SDI) was identified as having negotiated for the community in a slum-upgrading programme. The Uganda Slum Upgrading project is a government initiative funded by UN-HABITAT. It was designed to take a holistic approach to improving conditions in informal settlements through the upgrading of houses and infrastructure services, water, sanitation, and access to roads. Although respondents recognised the community needed these programmes, they emphasised that the government approach and policies did not represent the voice and needs of the community in the initial housing design. The NGO was viewed more favourably through its interactions within affected communities throughout the upgrading process, even ensuring the involvement of the community in policy

formulation regarding rent after construction was completed. As noted by Mama Zuhura, 'Even though upgrading has taken a while to implement, at least now we have our own representatives'. Respondents noted that the NGO provided a voice for the poor in the upgrading project by involving them in the development of policies that met their needs.

NGOs were also seen to be active in advocacy work to promote community peace and conflict prevention across Kasokoso. One NGO had trained 30 community mediators in peace and conflict resolution skills that enabled them to conduct barazas, or village meetings, for community healing and reconciliation. NGOs were also viewed as proactive in ensuring media coverage in areas worst hit by violence resulting from the government provision of security and relief aid to selected communities.

4.4 Community Perceptions on the Effectiveness of NGOs

Although respondents noted a wide variety of NGO focal areas in Kasokoso, they estimated that only 10 percent of NGOs involved the community in programme design and implementation. Residents reported the fact that NGOs followed a group-based approach to poverty reduction, that was not considered to be inclusive, nor to meet the needs of the minority. Where NGOs did interact with community members, respondents emphasised a conflict with NGOs, which were seen to operate with individuals who are 'sensitised' and easy to work with, and who often involve themselves with multiple NGOs. Participants also suggested that NGOs have adopted workshops and training approaches that focus primarily on literate residents, thus excluding the poorest and most vulnerable within the community. As noted by Mama Jacky, for example, 'My immediate neighbour is a disabled mother, single and with two children. She survives by selling sweets and cigarettes on her doorstep. I have never witnessed any NGO inviting her for training or meetings and yet they usually invite me. I am not sure why. Maybe NGOs don't know how to work with disabled people, or they feel it is a burden and cost to organise transport'.

All respondents emphasised that NGOs utilise a top-down approach. While residents are involved in attending community activities, they are not involved in planning them. As noted by Agunda, 'With regards to cleanup, the community are not involved in selecting the locations for cleaning. This is the prerogative of the NGO organising the event. They are interested in cleaning by the roadside so that they are seen to be doing something for the community. But this

means cleaning does not penetrate deeper in the community where sewers are blocked and penetrate into our houses the most. Their mobilisation is a failure since it does not consider the community's goals and needs'.

Respondents emphasised that NGOs 'owned' poverty reduction programs, and that the community was involved in neither the planning nor design of programmes. Instead, their only participation was as a formality in implementation. As Agunda's quote illustrates, this caused tension with some residents, who were expected to sacrifice their time for programmes that did not meet their needs or agendas.

In health programs, individual and focus group participants pointed out that it was difficult to involve the community, as health programs require certain expertise that is not available in the community. Participants did, however, express a criticism that NGO health 42 programmes were reactive rather than proactive. A 'better' example of dealing with cholera outbreaks was presented whereby, instead of treating the patients after the occurrence, health centres focused on increasing awareness and prevention techniques in the community.

Respondents reported that NGOs encouraged the community to monitor government effectiveness in poverty reduction programmes. By exposing the weakness in government service provision, they viewed NGOs as successful in creating and legitimising space for their involvement in the community. Respondents, however, expressed some concern at this, and highlighted the need for this role to be extended to ensure accountability amongst NGOs in meeting community needs. As argued by Leonida, *'There are so many NGOs in Kasokoso and yet the number of poor people seems to increase every day. What are they doing? Are they addressing our needs or their needs?'*

Alongside emphasising a lack of community involvement in NGOs programs in Kasokoso, respondents also highlighted that those poverty reduction strategies that were initiated by the community were those that have proven effective and sustainable. As noted by Irungu, one young entrepreneur, *'Our car wash business has proved successful in improving our living standards. Furthermore, my colleagues with families can now take their children to good schools and not worry about what they are going to eat in the evening'.* While such initiatives were

identified as successful, respondents said that NGOs were not interested in them because ownership lay with the community.

Income-generation programmes facilitated by NGOs were generally viewed to be successful. In community infrastructure programmes, for example, two NGOs had involved the community in procurement, bidding and construction committees and, in the process, had paid residents for their services. Alongside meeting environmental goals, these also had direct economic impact on livelihoods for those households involved in the construction of sanitary toilets and a community health clinic. For the construction of the health clinic, 90 percent of the labour force was mobilised from the community, 60 percent of whom were women that did not belong to any women's group. Construction also extended other income-generating activities. Women's groups developed food businesses for construction workers that lasted throughout the two years of construction. Consequently, the programme was viewed as building social and financial capital of the poor and enabling them to improve their livelihoods.

NGOs that did operate in business skills development were seen to be successful at equipping poor businessmen and women with necessary skills. As noted by Clara, 'Many of the women involved in our group have been able to learn new skills and develop our businesses. Even though at the end I will only earn 50 cents selling a necklace, it is far better than relying on my partner who thinks not about the family but about drinking'. Poverty reduction programs were viewed as empowering women, and in certain areas women noted a decrease in the number of rapes and violence. Women are equipped with skills and information by attending trainings and development centres within the community. Education and feeding programs have also supported young girls to ensure school completion.

Community and national political structures were identified as a challenge to many NGOs in designing and implementing poverty reduction programmes. NGOs did not want to operate in areas with high a political presence, both of local and national political leaders. Although highly political communities provided well-connected residents with some form of security, this meant that the other communities in Kasokoso did not benefit from NGO programmes. Although safety to operate in such areas was the reason given by NGOs for not extending programmes in these areas, from personal observation and past working experience, NGOs prefer to operate in areas where community structures are not politicised.

Chapter Conclusion The community perceives NGOs to be a major stakeholder in poverty reduction in Kasokoso. Although there have been successes in service provision, skills training and female empowerment, a lack of accountability and community participation limits the impact of NGOs in Kasokoso. NGOs programmes that involved the community in design and implementation were viewed as being more successful in poverty reduction. The following chapter contrasts these community perceptions with that of NGOs officials in Kasokoso.

CHAPTER 5: NGO PERCEPTIONS ON POVERTY REDUCTION PROGRAMS IN KASOKOSO: EXAMINATION AND ANALYSIS

This section examines the role of NGOs in poverty reduction in Kasokoso through presenting the perceptions of NGOs officials operating in the five research communities.

5.1 NGO Perceptions of Poverty

Interviews with the five NGOs revealed two major dimensions of poverty in Kasokoso. Firstly, it was viewed to be multidimensional, with the multiple dimensions of poverty reinforcing each other. NGOs also spoke of 'poverty of [government] policy' that excludes the poor and vulnerable, and does not institutionalise good governance in delivery of services to the communities. Respondents emphasised that poverty in Kasokoso should therefore not be viewed only as an experience faced by residents, as it cannot be viewed in isolation of the wider institutional arrangements that have resulted in bad governance, corruption, limited government budgetary allocation for the urban poor, policies that favor the wealthy, and a lack of land tenure. As noted by one NGO official, *'poverty defined on income brackets is not realistic in Kasokoso, where the community defines poverty based on a lack of food, clean water, shelter, and health and education infrastructures. Poverty line definitions ignore the shock and stresses of the urban poor and vulnerable, as Kasokoso is a contested urban space'*, referring to the fact that the land has no ownership and is therefore unsuitable for housing security.

Poverty was further defined as a 'poverty of information', with 90 percent of the community not belonging to groups. Given the group-based approach to NGO programmes, those households who are not members of any group are excluded from the benefits of membership. Information was considered vital in enabling households to engage with and benefit from training and programmes organised by NGOs to improve their livelihoods. Respondents emphasised that groups are considered to act as information centres, but that this is not widely accessible. *'Only ten percent are able to access the information and be involved in NGOs interventions in addressing poverty in Kasokoso'*, revealed one NGOs official.

Poverty was further defined as a lack of basic needs that includes food, shelter and infrastructure services. NGOs officials revealed a lack of food security and limited service provision such as

clean water, sanitation, education and health facilities all contributed to poverty in the five research communities.

5.2 Role of NGOs in Poverty Reduction

Respondents considered NGOs to be important actors in urban poverty reduction, that are recognised by the communities in which they work, the government and the private sector. NGOs officials suggested that they were viewed favourably for understanding and respecting existing community structures. This agreed with perceptions of residents, which revealed that NGOs have firsthand information of the vulnerabilities of the urban poor. NGOs officials also emphasised that for poverty reduction programs to have a greater impact in Kasokoso, NGOs had to increase partnerships with government, both to influence policy and to improve service provision. NGOs believed that they were better-placed to distribute resources equitably across communities, given that government programmes distribute resources along lines of tribal and political affiliation. This also confirmed community perceptions.

Most officials could not determine how many NGOs worked in Kasokoso, although four of the five noted that there were as many as 500 NGOs registered to operate in Kasokoso. Participants also indicated, however, that only 20 percent of these NGOs were considered actively engaged in poverty reduction programmes: 70 percent were regarded as briefcase NGOs – which solicit funds without serving the community – and a further 20 percent, although operating with the intention of assisting the community, were not able to sustain their activities due to a lack of funding, and were therefore considered not to have an impact in poverty reduction. A breakdown of NGO programmes across officials estimated that 40 percent of NGOs operating in Kasokoso focus on education, 20 percent on sanitation, 30 percent on HIV/AIDS awareness and 10 percent in health interventions. These programmes were most prevalent due to the available funding from international NGOs within these areas.

NGOs officials revealed their perceptions that current poverty reduction programs run by legitimate NGOs were considered to be successful. NGO programmes focusing on microcredit, education, water, sanitation, and HIV/AIDS are experiencing success in assisting poverty reduction in Kasokoso. The interviews revealed, however, that NGOs have developed a mindset that these programmes are the only route through which poverty in Kasokoso can be addressed.

Given recent experiences of post-election violence, officials also noted that there had been a gap in the current focus of programmes for peace building and conflict prevention, confirming the perceptions of community members that NGOs are reactive rather than proactive. Consequently, the five communities have witnessed an increase in the number of NGOs initiating peace programmes in the five communities. This was not seen to be the most effective method of identifying and addressing problems in Kasokoso. As one NGO official explained, *'NGOs react to problems rather than being proactive with the community and developing programmes that can address poverty directly. We are involved in treating the symptoms rather preventing the disease'*. Officials suggested that NGO approaches to poverty reduction prioritised achieving their core objectives rather than addressing community needs.

Although NGOs also spoke of criticisms in the way programmes were implemented. as will be discussed towards the end of this section, they also named a number of areas in which NGOs have been successful including solid waste management, microfinance, sanitation, community health, and education

Officials agreed that solid waste management programs have been successful in addressing poverty. Programs have been designed to address environmental risks facing the residents, and in addition, have built the assets base of youths through creating recycling enterprises in the five communities. Officials indicated a surge in areas where youth enterprises were established as a result of income generated by engaging the community in garbage collection. They viewed the success of these enterprises as indications that NGOs were building social capital through community ownership of the programmes.

Alongside solid waste management, three respondents noted that NGOs had impact on poverty through microcredit programmes. Two specific NGOs were named for having provided loans that enable business development in the five communities. Microcredit programmes were, however, also discussed in light of their problems. Daily savings was preferable to meet the needs of the residents, but was not available to residents in the five communities. Two officials identified that NGOs preferred working in groups to ensure that loans are repaid. This practice excludes residents excluded from or unable to join 47 groups. Ethnic violence was also identified as another barrier to the success of microcredit, resulting in the relocation of residents to

different communities. This provided a challenge to NGOs to track them and follow up on loan repayment.

Community health was another area in which NGOs were considered to be successful. Two NGOs were identified that provided free medical treatment to the communities. These programmes also created employment through hiring residents to conduct follow-up meetings and to track patient's homes. In an effort to secure community ownership, respondents noted that when health clinics initiate community health programmes, they first secure consent from community elders regarding the area and issue to be addressed. As noted by one NGO official 'Living in Kasokoso does not mean the poor people are not aware of what is happening or what they want'. Success in these interventions was also attributed to government inefficiencies in providing health services. The director of the health clinic noted that, *'Free medical treatment has enabled parents to spend more money in buying food for the children and has therefore reduced malnutrition in the community'*. There were, however, few NGOs offering medical services given the high costs involved. Medical licenses, land, construction costs, medicine and technical expertise all attributed to the high costs of health service delivery that prevented more NGOs from operating in this area.

Participants identified one NGO as addressing problems in sanitation. This NGO is involved in the construction of sanitation centers that provide the community with dignified access to sanitation and clean water. In addition, the sanitation block generates revenue by charging residents a small fee to utilise the facility. One official explained,

> *'One sanitation block can generate between 400-600 US dollars per month and the money is used by residents to improve their livelihoods. Out of this money, 60 percent is channeled back to members [residents of the community where the sanitation block is located] for starting business, paying education, and paying rent. A further 30 percent is channeled back to maintenance of the facility, and 10 percent is given in the form of loans to members'.*

NGOs were also identified to be involved in education, and this had impacted on gender equality in education. Two NGOs were identified that had partnered with schools in Kasokoso to provide scholarships for girls. One of these worked with the community to map safe spaces for young

girls within the communities. Reproductive health clubs were developed and managed in these spaces by girls, ensuring community engagement in design and implementation. As one community member had highlighted, *'Now I know where my girls are and what they are doing. The safe spaces program has helped us to gain courage in talking to our girls and has seen a reduction in young girls getting raped now they are aware of places where they should not be'.*

NGO officials noted that they have consolidated existing networks in Kasokoso that target groups. Four of the five respondents emphasised that they work with groups to address poverty in the community in order to avoid being viewed as favouring particular ethnic groups. They all noted, however, a concern that this approach meant they can only reach a minority of residents, and that consequently, their interventions tended to exclude the vulnerable and marginalised. As one official stated, *'Programme impacts only benefit the cream of the people who can be in groups'.* Only one NGO was identified to be working with disabled people who are not members of any group.

Overwhelmingly, officials revealed that community involvement in design and implementation of poverty reduction programs was lacking among NGOs in Kasokoso. Four of the five respondents noted that NGOs programmes are designed based on their own interests, rather than representative of the community's interests. An estimated 60 percent of NGO interventions are designed based on the funding agency requirements in order to qualify for grants, they revealed. This meant programme sustainability was questionable, since communities lacked ownership in the process. Respondents further indicated that coordination and partnership amongst NGOs is a major challenge. This means that the minority of NGOs who are successful in involving the community in poverty reduction programmes are overwhelmed by the number of poor that they serve.

Another criticism of existing NGOs programmes was that methods for training and organising workshops were not considered to be effective in addressing poverty. NGO officials indicated that since they rely on community leaders to mobilise participants for training, the same people always benefit from NGO programmes. This, however, benefits NGOs who prefer to train the same group, as this utilises less time and resources. This behavior was widely criticised by officials. Four of the five interviewed indicated that NGOs in Kasokoso operated like 'cartels' competing for space and beneficiaries. One argued that 'this can be viewed as a poverty of

coordination among NGOs'. Consequently, they all viewed the majority of NGOs to be 'agents of underdevelopment' within the five communities. The larger and active NGOs, however, were viewed positively, and were perceived to fill the role of the government in providing services to the five communities.

Problems in coordination were exacerbated by fact that 80 percent of the NGOs registered to operate within Kasokoso did not operate from the community. Respondents emphasised that this makes it difficult to coordinate programmes or to form partnerships with other NGOs. One NGO official explained that, *'Some NGOs don't even have offices in Kasokoso. They are only visible once a month when they pitch tents and organise health camps. How are we to improve the health of the people when we are not aware of who does what?'* Officials emphasised that for effective poverty reduction programmes, NGOs must share and develop partnerships to minimise the duplication of resources in one community. Participants also noted that the government should play a role formulating policies that force NGOs to be accountable to residents of Kasokoso.

NGO officials highlighted that NGO interventions in poverty reduction lacked accountability across the settlement's communities. Although research participants emphasised that government programmes were not accountable, four of the five respondents estimated that close to 80 percent of NGOs in Kasokoso were also not accountable to their communities. Participants highlighted the fact that NGOs spend a large proportion of funds on administration costs rather than developing the capacity of the urban poor. Officials noted that for the effectiveness of NGOs to be improved, there is a need to ensure that NGOs provide employment for locals to develop programmes rather than relying on consultants detached from the communities. One official noted *'NGOs programmes are centered on developing strategic plans that do not consider the community first. Strategic plans are a cause of poverty in the community: they are not developed to improve relationships with the communities but merely to enforce administrative structures'.*

Limitations of current interventions were also exacerbated by ethnic and political divisions Kasokoso's different communities. Respondents indicated that security is a major concern and that poverty reduction programmes are less likely to be implemented in insecure areas as a result. In Kianda and Gatwekera, two of the five researched communities, for example, there were fewer NGOs operating there. Only two of the NGOs interviewed had programmes operating in

these communities, and respondents revealed that since poverty reduction programmes were less likely to be implemented in violent and political areas, they preferred working in less risky non-political communities.

Chapter Conclusion

NGOs programmes that involve and work directly with the urban poor were considered to be effective in poverty reduction in Kasokoso, although group targeting mean that only a small proportion of residents benefit from these programmes. The large number of NGOs operating in Kasokoso proves challenging with a lack of coordination of poverty reduction programmes leading to duplication of services. The large number of ineffective and briefcase NGOs and a lack of accountability to residents is also a concern. The following section presents conclusions from the research and implications for policy for NGOs in urban poverty reduction.

CHAPTER 6: MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

6.1 Research Findings

NGOs have been regarded as the as the new 'panacea for people centered pro-poor development' in urban poverty (Mitlin 2001). Given the nature of poverty in Kasokoso and the exclusion of the communities from government services, NGOs are critical to the success of poverty reduction in Kasokoso. The research finds that without the assistance of NGOs, the low-income households would remain marginalised and lack the capacity to negotiate for programmes to address the deprivations.

In defining urban poverty, both NGOs officials and community members corroborated that poverty definitions based on conventional income-based measures fails to recognise the multidimensional nature of urban poverty. The urban poor are a heterogeneous group, and located primarily in informal settlements like Kasokoso. The multidimensional nature of poverty faced by low-income households in Kasokoso encompasses the physical, social, and psychological deprivations they experience, including both tangible deprivations - in terms of low income, poor shelter and living environments, and limited assets - and intangible deprivations, such as voicelessness, powerlessness and neglect by government. In-depth interviews and focus groups with community members and NGO officials investigated, in light of these definitions of poverty, the role that NGOs played in poverty reduction in five communities in Kasokoso.

Given the multi-dimensional nature of urban poverty, all respondents viewed urban poverty reduction to be complex, requiring tackling a number of different deprivations including a lack of service provision, low-quality shelter, poor health and educational systems, poor environmental conditions, land insecurity, insecurity resulting from ethnic and political violence and insecurity from government neglect. Not all of these deprivations were addressed by NGOs, however, with both community members and NGO officials recognizing that NGO interventions focused on service-driven interventions, while doing little in the way of advocacy or policy-related programmes. In Chapter 2, Ibrahim and Hulme (2010) illustrated the role played by

NGOs, which are serviceprovision, advocacy, and policy. This research has shown that NGOs have primarily focused on service provision aspects of poverty reduction.

One major problem with current NGO operations in Kasokoso is that of accountability and duplication. Both community respondents and NGO officials emphasized that while there are over 50 NGOs operating in Kasokoso, only a small proportion of these were viewed to be effective. There was, therefore, a large difference between 'good' and 'bad' NGOs, but little means through which accountability could be enforced to regulate them. While some NGOs did not have an impact because they could not manage sufficient funds, a large number were also viewed as 'briefcase' NGOs which did not utilise the funds they generated for the community.

Those NGOs that were considered to be effective by both NGO officials and community members were seen to assist in poverty reduction by empowering the community, primarily through service delivery. Given that communities demonstrated a weak social capital base that resulted in a lack of voice and an inability to engage with the government in accessing services, NGO programmes that worked with the community to overcome these deficiencies were viewed favourably, and demonstrated their ability to develop trust and enhance the social capital of communities. Out of the five researched communities, three of the five with NGO presence in the community were considered to be 'better-off' than the two that had limited interaction with and little benefit from NGO poverty reduction programmes.

Community members emphasized one important characteristic of NGO poverty reduction programmes: only those that engaged with the community were successful. Bio-centers and the medical clinic were perceived to enable the community to escape other forms of deprivations in the community. NGOs providing free medical treatment allowed residents to improve their vulnerabilities, and through cost-saving, to enhance their asset base. Mapping programmes improved the social capital and security of young girls and women in the community. Social capital such as kin, networks, group membership and relationship of trust was evident in the five research communities. Social capital was considered an important asset on which low-income households draw on in pursuit of their livelihoods, given that residents have reduced connections with extended families in rural areas. Success of these programmes was the result of community acceptance, with programmes designed based on the needs identified by local residents, who were involved in different stages of the process. This reinforces the basic premise of the

livelihoods framework, as outlined in Chapter 3, which emphasises a bottom-up approach to development that places the livelihoods of low-income households at the centre of programme design and implementation. This research finds that people-centered and participatory processes in service delivery was visible in successful programmes, although it can be viewed to enhance the dependency of communities, and in doing so, preventing residents from developing skills with which they can escape poverty.

In general, NGOs officials viewed their work in poverty reduction to be successful. Nevertheless, given the density of poverty in communities it was evident from observations and in-depth interviews with community members that NGOs were not reaching a significant number of low-income households. One factor that prevented NGO programmes from reaching a greater number of low-income households is their utilization of a "group approach". This "group approach", as discussed in Chapter 5, although the preferred approach to all of the NGOs interviewed, was, paradoxically, one of their greatest weaknesses. This meant that only a small proportion of low-income households benefited from NGO programmes, who were in many cases beneficiaries from multiple NGOs. At the same time, it excludes the vulnerable and marginalised from programmes. Furthermore, from personal observation and experience, a group approach does not take into consideration the cultural and political dimensions of members. In many instances, female participation in groups was limited: they did not want to be part of a mixed-sex group because this would limit their involvement. Given that NGOs preferred working with mixed groups, this limited the involvement of women in NGO programmes. In addition, NGOs placed emphasis at the household-level, thereby ignoring other crucial characteristics, such as the social relationships between low-income households and the wider community. In line with the livelihoods framework, programmes tend to focus more on the technical nature of development that result in tangible outputs, but fall short in recognising the wider structural relationships, such as unequal power relations that result in the exclusion of certain households or groups of household.

Although NGO programmes that engaged communities in the design and implementation of poverty reduction programmes were considered to be effective, a number of limitations were identified. Firstly, NGOs need to better understand the community's history, including the formation of local and national political structures that impact on local power structures and

relationships within and across the different communities in Kasokoso. This would enable NGOs to identify vulnerable and marginalised communities, and to recognize the underlying causes of their marginalization and deprivations. Ethnic distribution in Kasokoso, for example, proves a challenge for NGOs that are actively involved in poverty reduction. This meant that in two communities, the politicization of their leadership, as discussed in Chapter 4, was seen as a barrier to successful NGOs programme, and meant that fewer NGOs operated there. Highly political areas were considered insecure, and NGOs were unwilling to initiate poverty reduction programmes there. In addition, where a small number of NGOs did operate in political areas, they utilised a top-down design and implementation programme to minimize risks. This meant the communities were less involved in the design and implementation of interventions. This, community members revealed, meant that NGO programmes were inconsiderate of their needs.

6.2 Conclusion and Policy Implications

This research has important implications for policy. The multiple deprivations of urban poverty experienced by the communities cannot be eliminated through one-off single sector projects, but require the adoption of a more integrated approach rather than the current needs-based approach utilised by NGOs. For poverty reduction programmes to experience greater success, especially in increasing their scale of impact and incorporating vulnerable groups, requires that NGOs adopt a more integrative approach that instead of the current focus on service delivery complements this with a greater emphasis on policy and advocacy.

NGO-Government partnerships were also identified as a facilitator of sustainability and stronger service delivery to wider communities, but were rarely undertaken. A focus solely on service provision, however, does not necessarily engage the community to demand services, rights and recognition from Government. In addition, there is a need for greater accountability and regulation of NGOs operating in urban poverty reduction.

Community participation was also identified as integral to the success of urban poverty reduction programmes operated by NGOs, both in design and implementation. As promoted by the livelihoods framework, solutions cannot be imposed from outside but must be negotiated through partnership with the urban poor. The research revealed, however, that for many NGOs officials,

programmes were not developed based on theories such as the livelihoods framework, as their understanding of the framework was limited.

Moreover, the livelihoods framework operates on the assumption that the urban poor are a homogenous group. This research, however, identifies that Kasokoso is a heterogeneous community with different income levels, assets, tribal affiliations, local and national political structures, and different relationships with land owners and government officials. While the livelihoods framework has proven to be a useful analytical tool for certain purposes, in terms of understanding poverty in Kasokoso, it can become a rigid straitjacket rather than a tool to understand different deprivations within and across communities. Given its inability to capture the more intangible deprivations faced by the urban poor, the livelihoods framework does not provide alternatives as to how NGOs can improve livelihoods by addressing these wider structural, rather than household-level, constraints to poverty reduction, such as through resolving community politics and relationships with government and informal land owners in different communities.

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1.Appendix

Interview Questions

In-depth Interviews

1. What is poverty to you?

2. What can be done to help reduce poverty here?

3. And who should do that? Community / NGOs/ Government?

4. What role do you think NGOs play in poverty reduction?

5. Which areas have NGOs been working in?

6. How do you view NGOs working in Kasokoso?

7. Have they involved the community?

8. Are the NGOs meeting the community needs

9. Are there any particular areas in which NGOs are particularly successful or unsuccessful?

10. Are poverty reduction programs working in Kasokoso? Why and why not?

NGO Interviews

1. What/ how do you consider poverty in Kasokoso?

2. What are the areas that NGOs focus on in Kasokoso in addressing poverty?

3. Why are these the most frequent areas of intervention by NGOs in Kasokoso?

4. Have programmes been successful? Which ones?

5. What challenges do NGOs face?

6. Are the communities involved in poverty reduction programs? How?

7. What was the project design based on?

8. Are poverty reduction programs accountable to the community? How and why not?

9. How do you think NGOs role in poverty reduction can improved?

Focus Group Discussions

1. What is poverty in Kasokoso?

2. What can be done to help poverty reduction in Kasokoso?

3. Who is the main actor in poverty reduction in Kasokoso?

4. What is the role of NGOs in poverty reduction in Kasokoso?

5. What are the areas that they are focused on?

6. Are poverty reduction programs successful? Why or why not?

7. Are the communities involved in poverty reduction programs?

8. Any specific examples?

9. How can the role of NGOs be improved?

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE STUDIES

September 10, 2017

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: INTRODUCTION LETTER FOR MR. HABARUHANGA KAREBA JOHN
REG NO. BPA/45324/143/DU

The above mentioned candidate is a bonafide student of Kampala International University pursuing a Bachelor's Degree in Social Work and Social Administration.

He is currently conducting a field research for her dissertation entitled, **"THE ROLE OF NGOs IN URBAN POVERTY REDUCTION: A CASE STUDY OF KASOKOSO, KAMPALA UGANDA"** Your organisation has been identified as a valuable source of information pertaining to his Research Project. The purpose of this letter then is to request you to accept and avail him with the pertinent information he may need.

Any data shared with him will be used for academic purposes only and shall be kept with utmost confidentiality.

Any assistance rendered to him will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

Mr. Muzaare Gerald
HOD, Department of Political & Administrative Studies

"Exploring the Heights"