DPRN REPORT NO. 1

Regional expert meeting
East Africa 1
Final report
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Report of the DPRN East Africa regional expert meeting

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Organising institution: African Studies Centre, Leiden

Venue: Poortgebouw, Leiden

Introduction
In line with the objectives of the Development Policy Review Network (DPRN), the purpose of the first East Africa regional expert meeting was fourfold:

• To facilitate and stimulate an exchange of information and experiences among a wide variety of experts on East Africa, including researchers, policymakers and practitioners from academic institutions, ministries, co-financing organisations, embassies (embassies from the region in the Netherlands and vice versa), thematic co-financing (TMF) organisations, consultants and representatives from the region in the Netherlands;
• To present an overview of who’s who and who is doing what in the region, including presentation of outputs;
• To present an overview of current relevant political, economic, social and cultural issues and developments in the region that deserve attention from the policy, scientific and practical points of view;
• To generate a discussion on, and provide an insight into, the challenges development policy and practice offer to research and vice versa, with particular attention to the relevance of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for the research agenda in the region and the extent to which this does match with the agenda, expectations and plans of researchers.

57 people attended the meeting, 25 per cent of which were researchers, 5 per cent policymakers and embassy staff, 32 per cent consultants or affiliated to development organisations and other NGOs, and 38 per cent belonged to other groups (media, students, Diaspora, etc.). See Appendix 1 for a list of participants.

Reports of plenary session and thematic sessions

Plenary session: Perspectives on developments in East Africa

– Presentation ‘Economic trajectories in Eastern Africa: diversions and dilemma’s’ by Dr Deborah Bryceson

It is quite difficult to present a general assessment and overview of economies in East Africa as the situation there is changing rapidly. The impact of HIV/AIDS is, for example, causing enormous changes.
History
1970: In the period after independence each of the three countries (Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya) believed industrialisation to be the main driver of development, based on a peasant agrarian economy. East Africa was in its development heyday and the future looked very bright. Investments were made in social services and the primary achievement of this first decade was the dismantlement of a racist system (involving administrators, black peasants and intermediate traders).

In 1971, Idi Amin's coup in Uganda led to a breakdown of the East African community. During the 1970s the economies were rocked by the oil crises (73–74 and 79). Peasants were no longer able to transport their surpluses and corruption became rife. The first debt and donor conditions were imposed and, from this time on, the three countries started to diverge politically and economically.

The situation today
The general picture using world development indicators from the World Bank:
- The agricultural base has decreased considerably both in terms of its contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and as a proportion of the total active population. There is also a trend towards urbanisation and migration from rural to urban areas. In Uganda this development started later. It is also the most rural country of the three.
- The decrease in agricultural activity has been replaced by tourism activities in the case of Kenya (which flourished particularly during the 1970s and 1980s). A lot of donor money was invested in Uganda in the 1990s because it was a favoured recipient. Tanzania endured two decades of civil strife and an expansion of the mining industry (2000–today).
- People became disillusioned with industrialisation as a driver of development as South Africa became more important.

Current and future directions
- Tanzania has diverged radically from the Nyerere model and nowadays there is increasing income differentiation exacerbated by mining.
- The regional importance of Kenya is declining and the country lacks clear economic direction because it has become overshadowed by the strong South African economy.
- Uganda will have to find a way of diminishing its donor dependency and military instability, which is a huge threat to its economy and future generations.
- A GDP comparison between 1995 and 2003 shows that Uganda’s GDP is in decline, Kenya bottomed in 2000 and is resurging again, and Tanzania is growing steadily mainly thanks to its mining activities. Uganda's Export Index declined substantially while Tanzania’s and Kenya’s are on the increase.

Contrasts between the countries
- Uganda and Tanzania obtained debt reductions from the Paris club, while the Kenyan debt is considered sustainable by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).
- HIV prevalence is highest in Kenya (15%), followed by Tanzania (7.8%) and Uganda (5%), but it should be noted that these statistics are not completely reliable!
- As regards urbanisation, Kenya and Tanzania are involved in a neck-and-neck race and seem to have the same dynamism since only 40% of the population is still living in rural areas.
- Development in Uganda is slower and continues to be more agrarian given that the bulk of its population is in rural areas.

**Shared trends**

There is rapid mobile phone acquisition in all three countries and an unprecedented dynamism of the informal sector, which is a challenge to the various governments. Furthermore, South African investment in all three countries is increasing rapidly (tourism, mining, cigarettes, etc) and the regional East African Community (EAC) customs union is also being re-established.

**Question for the future**

As the agrarian foundations disappear, what are the viable economic labour trajectories for each of the three East African countries?

- **Presentation ‘Political development in Eastern Africa’ by Peter Vermaas**

  Journalist Peter Vermaas was suffering a malaria attack and unfortunately could not attend the meeting at which he was to give his lecture on political developments in the region.

- **Plenary discussion convened by Jos van Beurden**

  Jos Van Beurden highlighted two points for discussion:

  1. As regards content, the aim is to start a real discussion on public perspectives of the four different categories (researchers, policymakers, NGOs and MFOs, and journalists and others interested in the region) and the debates they are particularly interested in.
  2. As regards the process, the aim is to establish a dialogue amongst participants in which there is mutual understanding of each other’s different viewpoints and interests. The differences in approach between the four identified groups should be seen as assets from which all parties can benefit if a real dialogue is established.

**Politics or economics:**

**CQ:** To develop a country should we first favour good governance instead of favouring a growing economy or the other way around?

**Van Thiel (NGO/MFO):** There should be more attention for international political responsibility and its influence on local economies.

**Akwero (Researcher):** International politics should be directed towards peace building in the case of Uganda. The war in the North East is a heavy burden on the whole country’s economy. More attention should be paid to conflict and corruption prevention.

**Allertz (NGO/MFO: SNV):** But peace is not the only condition for economic development. Example: There is peace in western Uganda but this did not prove to be a sufficient condition for economic development.


**Buwembo** (NGO/MFO: Great Lakes Organisation): Uganda is politicising economics: 50 % of the economy is in the hands of the political elite. Conflict can only be solved by increasing the income base of people. It is easier to convince people that they should not engage in war when they do not need to fight over food.

(**Student**, RUG): The issue of ownership: Ugandan politics has grown up and the more donor pressure there is on the government the more the violence will increase. It is better to leave politics to Ugandans and allow them decide on their own.

**Micro-macro level**

**Akwero** (Researcher): There is this strange paradox. Statistics from the World Bank and others show that the Ugandan economy is growing and although Uganda is a preferred destination for donor funding, in reality poverty is increasing. 75% of Ugandans live below the poverty line. How is that such unrealistic statistics exist? They paint a picture of Uganda in the West that does not correspond to real developments in the country itself. How can we make good policy if this is the case?

**Van Eeckhout** (Policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs): Research conducted by us shows that macro performances and micro level poverty are not linked in statistics. This is an explanation for the paradoxical figures. Macro performance in Uganda is positive but does not translate into poverty alleviation at micro level.

**CQ**: What is the researcher’s answer on how to fill this gap?

**Veld** (Researcher, ISS): We have just started a project with the statistics institute and the ministry of finance in Uganda to use their data on macro economics and see what the effects are on micro economic livelihoods. There are no results as yet.

(**Student**, RUG): There is no real infrastructure between the micro and macro economics. Economic development could be stimulated in the first place by the development of the infrastructure since this constitutes an intermediate level between micro and macro.

**Van der Zijpp** (Researcher, WUR): Infrastructure is indeed important to improve, for example, agriculture as a commercial activity. However, Kenya, for example, has a strategic position, good infrastructure and local agricultural knowledge but is still not competitive enough because of power politics and conflicting interests between different actors. New social organisations are required that are of a more cooperative nature.

**D.F. Bryceson** (Researcher, ASC): Agricultural issues and infrastructure are indeed major problems for all three countries. Tanzania has a strong government which has formulated some agricultural specialisation priorities, and this is a very positive development.

**Allertz** (NGO/MFO: SNV): Another example of an intermediate level between micro and macro are civil society organisations. E.g. consultation took place between civil society organisations regarding the formulation of PRSPs with a view to trying to influence the macro
level and thus have an impact at micro level. Civil society organisations are good mediators, provided they are not too controlled and oppressed by a censuring regime.

Barmentlo (NGO/MFO: CORDAID): Uganda civil society is strong but cannot speak out about sensitive political issues. They constantly ask backing from us as international organisations.

**Q:** How then can the strength of civil society organisations be improved?
(NGO/MFO + Researcher): the proportion of donor money should be lowered or translated into other kinds of help which, for example, focus on conflict resolution. Now everyone is seeking employment in the donor sector and Ugandan population is becoming more and more dependent. We should encourage and use local research and education. Another approach would be to enable local dialogue between different parties so that cooperation becomes possible. Farmers can also become involved in local development through active consultation. This is easy to achieve done and yields a lot of results.

Van de Kraaij (Policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs): Policy making is about choosing between conflicting interests. Micro-evidence should be translated into policy decisions. This is a major challenge.

Dietz (Research, CERES): Most of the macro economic data says nothing about grassroots economics. Micro level data should be linked with research into how people become rich. The livelihood strategies of the rich should be put into perspective. They have different strategies in primitive accumulation economies through religion, politics, education and health care. We know too little about how poor people become rich. If we want to link research and policy, this is a first important step to take.

**Thematic sessions**

In the thematic meetings scholars, policymakers and development practitioners exchanged views and opinions on selected issues which are currently relevant in East Africa. The starting point for each session were the results and conclusions of publications which provide new and/or provoking insights into the theme being discussed and which are relevant to policy. It was hoped that in this manner the sessions would generate insights into possible synergies between research and policy, the implications for the research agendas, and how this relates to current research agendas and preferences. The objective of the sessions was to generate concrete suggestions on how to improve mutual links and exchange.

**Thematic Session A: Donor Policies and Rural Poverty Reduction**

**Convener:** Dr André Leliveld, African Studies Centre  
**Speaker:** Mr Jan Sterkenburg  
**Discussants:** Ms Hinke Nauta and Mr Paul Sijssens  
**Chair:** Prof. dr. Leo de Haan
Two recent IOB evaluation reports formed the input for this session. One of them deals with Dutch support for local governance in Uganda (2003) and the other with Dutch aid to two (former) District Development Programmes in Tanzania (2004). Although written from different perspectives, both studies evaluate programmes supported by the Netherlands which are aimed at rural poverty reduction. Jan Sterkenburg, an independent consultant involved in both evaluations, introduced the reports.

The reports make it clear that the focus of Dutch aid has shifted during the last decades from macro-oriented to decentralised rural development programmes, in the expectation that this would reduce poverty more effectively. The effects in terms of rural poverty reduction have, however, been disappointing. Dutch support for decentralised rural development programmes in practice meant the strengthening of local governance and related capacity building. This, in turn, led to a shift away from democratisation and empowerment of the local population towards capacity building of the state, and to a shift away from economic development towards social development issues. Moreover, the district-based programmes supported by the Netherlands paid little attention to poverty analysis and monitoring at micro level, and linkages between micro, meso and macro levels.

Introduction by Dr Jan Sterkenburg

In his introduction, Jan Sterkenburg addressed the following questions:

1. How should poverty reduction as the main objective of Dutch development aid policy be pursued in order to support district development in Tanzania and Uganda?
2. What were the poverty reduction achievements and which factors were responsible for the results?
3. What has been the role of research in supporting district development and how did this affect the orientation on poverty reduction?

Before dealing with the support for district programmes in Tanzania/Uganda he first provides some information on the overall policy context for these programmes.

Policy reduction as an objective in Dutch aid policies

Direct poverty reduction became the explicit aim of Dutch development co-operation policy in the early 1970s. It was decided that aid should focus on the poorest groups in poor countries with policies conducive to poverty reduction. The project was the preferred modality, as it could identify the needs of the poor in the geographical pockets of poverty.

During the 1980s, the focus of aid shifted towards economic reforms and structural adjustment. In addition, macro-economic aid became the main instrument. Poverty reduction received attention particularly through so-called safety net constructions, i.e. programmes to reduce the disadvantageous effects of macro-economic reform for the poor.
During the 1990s there was a renewed focus on poverty reduction. Policy was characterised by:

1. a broadening of the concept of poverty with a clear distinction between the economic, social and political dimensions;
2. an intention to link the micro approach (projects) with the macro context (policies of recipient countries); and
3. a renewed interest in project modality.

The focus on poverty reduction was strengthened by international developments, and particularly the formulation of the Millennium Development Goals. The attainment of these goals was linked to debt relief. Developing countries could qualify for debt relief under the so-called Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative.

Qualification required that recipient countries designed policies at overall macro–economic and sector level that were beneficial for the poor. These were labelled pro-poor policies. These policies were to be laid down in Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) and the design of these papers required broad consultation in society. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund assessed the PRSPs before debt relief was agreed.

Sector aid became the preferred modality. The defining characteristics of what became known as the Sector-wide Approach (SWAp) are:

- A single sector policy and expenditure programme under government leadership;
- All significant public funding is channelled through this programme;
- Common approaches are adopted in support of the programme through intensive donor coordination;
- Donors progressively rely on government procedures.

In the late 1990s, the Netherlands adopted the SWAp in its bilateral development aid as a suitable modality for creating the conditions for effective poverty reduction.

Against this background, the support for district rural development programmes as instruments for poverty reduction must be analysed.

**Poverty reduction in district development programmes**

The origin of this type of programme dates back to the 1970s with the so-called Integrated Rural Development Programmes or Area Development Programmes. The main characteristics are:

- multi-sector coverage;
- a geographical focus on pockets of poverty, mostly administrative areas;
- a process approach instead of a blueprint;
- an emphasis on participation of target group.

In the 1970s there was a heavy investment of Dutch aid in this type of project, and implementation took place in a wide range of priority countries.
Final assessment: Area Development Projects were a dismal failure. Many donors terminated this type of support.

This type of project experienced a revival in Dutch aid in the mid-1980s as a result of renewed interest in rural development. The main differences with the past were the close link to decentralisation policies and attempts to strengthen district administrations, as well as support for the strengthening of civil society and the private sector.

In Tanzania support started in 1987 with the initial selection of 4 districts, later expanded to 14 districts, most of which were located in the northern part of the country. In Uganda the process started in 1992 in 3 districts, and later expanded to 9 districts in northern Uganda.

The programmes in both countries went through three phases:
1. A focus on productive infrastructure and activities, chiefly agriculture.
2. A shift towards support to social infrastructure.
3. An emphasis on capacity building in district administration and on increasing people’s participation.

Subsequently, when SWAp was introduced, these district programmes were selected for sector support under local governance sector in the wider context of Local Government Reform Programme (Tanzania) and Local Government Development Programme (Uganda). With the reduction of sectors under Dutch support to 1 or 2 per country in 2003, the programmes were no longer labelled as sector support but were included in the aid programme under good governance as a crosscutting theme.

Funding modality: sector budget support.

There is a difference between Tanzania and Uganda in the provision of Technical Assistance at the level of the district. TA has been terminated in Tanzania but is ongoing in Uganda.

The above changes in focus and funding modality had consequences for the poverty focus of Dutch aid.
1. The strengthening of local governance instead of rural development has caused the economic/production dimension to almost disappear. This may have reduced the effectiveness as regards poverty reduction.
2. The shift to local governance had made the district administration the main target group instead of the poor. This is based on the assumption that good local governance is a major factor in creating an enabling environment for poverty reduction.
3. Sector budget support tends to strengthen central government with little opportunity for local governments to communicate district–specific, poverty–related problems upwards.
4. Budget allocations to districts are not related to poverty indicators, although discussions are going on in both countries on whether and how to include the poverty criterion in budget allocations.
Achievements for poverty reduction

Conclusions in the reports about the effectiveness as regards poverty reduction are:

Tanzania:
Despite 10–15 years of support and considerable achievements in various fields of activity, the impact on the poverty of rural households has been limited. Districts experienced an increase rather than a decrease in poverty. People also perceived their situation as one of increasing poverty and the government policy and practices as the main cause.

Uganda:
Evaluations which refer to the period during which separate projects were implemented (1992–97) and during which the focus was on rural development, detail a reduction in poverty and an improvement in living conditions for 20% of the population. There is no evaluation data for the period of local governance support (1998–2002). However, the evidence does not favour poverty reduction. A specific anti-poverty strategy for the rural areas had not been drawn up for the districts and literature refers to insufficient productive investment in the agricultural sector and stagnant agricultural productivity. Moreover, household surveys indicate an increase in poverty in northern Uganda during the 1990s (from 60% to 65% of the population living below the absolute poverty line).

What were the main causes for the disappointing impact on poverty?

1. The refractory socio-political environment and the non-conducive government policy in both countries. In Tanzania the heavy state intervention in the economy and social life, the continuation of a de facto one-party state and the absence of a comprehensive poverty reduction strategy until the mid-1990s. In Uganda the continuation of civil war in the north and the Cinderella-like treatment of this part of the country as regards public expenditure.

2. Deficiencies in the aid approach, including the non-identification of the basic problems of the poor and several changes in the focus of the programmes during implementation. These changes were largely inspired by Dutch development co-operation policy and not by increased insights into the nature and magnitude of the poverty problem. They were ordered by the head quarters in The Hague and went against the advice of the Embassy, at least in the case of Uganda. In addition, the support was characterised by a fragmentation of activities, a low coverage of households for production-oriented activities and low rates of expenditure per capita.

In the case of Tanzania it must be added that most districts had limited development potential due to low and erratic rainfall and rather infertile soils. In both countries, districts were located in rather remote parts of the country and were characterised by subsistence agriculture on small farms with a low level of technology and the absence of dynamic urban centres. In these respects the districts are quite similar to district development programmes supported by Dutch aid in other parts of Africa (See Integrated Area Development, Experiences with Netherlands Aid in Africa; Focus on Development No. 10).
Research and district development programmes

The district programmes were not characterised by a substantial research component. The programme in Tanzania was to some extent a sequel to Dutch support for agricultural training and research institutes, and more especially for two agro-technical projects, namely the national soil survey project and the farming systems research project. The relevance of this connection was reduced when the focus of activities shifted to the social sectors and local governance.

In addition, baseline surveys have been undertaken in most districts, but these were of a rather general nature and did not include a detailed poverty analysis. In any case little use has been made of these surveys in the context of further planning.

A more research-minded approach was adopted in the districts in Tanzania in which the implementation was sub-contracted to the Netherlands Development Organisation SNV. The implementation of pilot activities was started on the basis of a rapid rural appraisal. At the same time, further studies were undertaken to identify structural development constraints and potentials. Profiles were drawn up for agro-ecological zones which specified resources, population and farming system characteristics. The profiles also indicated the viability of interventions in agriculture, agro-forestry and non-agricultural economic activities, and compared these with the priorities identified by local communities through participatory planning exercises. However, the effect of this research was seriously hampered by the low degree of participation, and lack of capabilities and shortage of funds for the implementation of village plans. Both district councils and villagers perceived village planning as a bureaucratic exercise and a method of executing projects rather than a means to democratise village structures.

There is no information on the role of research in the district programmes in Uganda.

It is interesting to compare this situation in Tanzania and Uganda with the extensive research component in Dutch support to the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands programme (ASAL) in Kenya. After a few starter activities in selected sectors had been introduced, a team of geographers from the University of Amsterdam in association with the Institute of Development Studies in Nairobi carried out four types of study:

a. Research in the archives to identify past development-oriented local initiatives;
b. Mapping the districts’ current government and NGO facilities and history;
c. Analysis of the population supporting capacity of the land resources;
d. Assessment of the people’s livelihood strategies.

This last type of research had a clear focus on poverty and the poor segments of society. The research generated a wealth of data and resulted in a thorough analysis of the development constraints in certain fields. It did not, however, lead to the drawing up of a long-term development strategy and it certainly could not prevent the ASAL programme from causing serious controversies between Kenya and the Netherlands as regards expenditure levels, accounting practices, and financial mismanagement, resulting in a temporary discontinuation of Dutch support to several districts.
Conclusions

1. The district programmes in Uganda and Tanzania had only a limited impact on rural household poverty. This was partly due to insufficient poverty analysis during the preparation phase. The aspect of direct and sustainable poverty reduction was, in fact, gradually reduced during the programme implementation period with the emphasis shifting towards strengthening local governance.

2. Moreover, under the sector–wide approach, little specific attention is paid to direct poverty reduction because funding is channelled through central government and because capacity development in local government is a more urgent problem.

3. Poverty–oriented research during the preparation of district programmes and in the context of sector support for local governance is valuable as it increases insight into the nature of poverty and the constraints on poverty reduction. It does not, however, provide any guarantee for successful poverty–reducing interventions, as illustrated by the ASAL.

4. Research may contribute to more effective poverty–focused aid programmes at various levels: (i) policy–relevant studies of the implementation of SWAp and PRSP as undertaken by ODI (Booth; Foster) and on the relevance of budget support for poverty reduction (Unwin); (ii) methodological studies of approaches to poverty analysis (e.g. De Herdt and Bastiaensen; Neubert; and Ellis and Bahiigwa); (iii) country studies (Saasa and Carlsson on Aid and Poverty Reduction in Zambia); and (iv) comparative analyses of case studies on sectors, themes and issues.

Reactions from Hinke Nauta and Paul Sijssens: see PowerPoint Presentations.

Discussion convened by Leo de Haan

The conclusions of both reports raise interesting questions for further discussion between policymakers, development practitioners and researchers:

1. How can poverty analysis and monitoring become an integral part of policy and programme formulation and implementation and what role can (local) universities and researchers play in this respect?

2. To what extent do sector–wide approaches (SWAp)s aimed at rural poverty reduction create better opportunities for integrating micro, meso and macro linkages in, for instance, local governance and agriculture, and how can (academic) research contribute insights into this question?

3. How do the roles of the state and the private sector relate to each other in rural development programmes? Should the economic dimension of rural development be made more explicit in policies and programmes and how can this be done? What role can research play in clarifying these questions?

1. About the relationship between research and policy formulation and implementation:

Van Dijk (MDF): With regard to the conclusions of the evaluation, the research results had shown that there was development potential in the chosen districts in Tanzania. The
evaluation (deliberately) ignored the influence of those at HQ back in the Hague. The people in question had turned the district programme into a bureaucratic one with little room to adapt to changing circumstances in the districts. The big question is whether policymakers are engaging in research or whether policymakers do not actually know how to deal with research findings?

**Dietz** (CERES): what type of political research is needed?

**Nauta** (Ministry of Foreign Affairs): research on decision-making powers, in particular intra-household, research into political election systems, relationships between local governments and central government and how these influence beneficiaries of district programmes.

**Dietz** (CERES): researchers are trapped between local perceptions and local and central governments being unwilling to accept what is really happening. There are different mind frames.

**Sterkenburg**: Mind frames are linked to the roles and positions people have in society.

**SNV**: Although mind frames are important, there is too much emphasis on the mind frames of civil servants.

(anon.): We should not overplay the role of research in development cooperation. The potential of research is limited, but what is important is the approach that is adopted in the research and whether research is able to identify the relevant stakeholders. The research structure is also important. We need to make sure that those who are involved in programmes are involved in designing the research.

(anon.): The evaluation in Tanzania has overlooked the role of SAPs in rural development, which has been mainly of a negative nature. The district programmes are not responsible for the lack of effect or impact and the causes should be sought at higher levels.

(anon): Whatever the research, the different mind frames of Europeans researchers and African researchers and policymakers should also be taken into account. There is no adequate framework which can effectively link Euro-oriented and African-oriented research.

**Huisman**: DRDPs were applying a process approach and there was a long-term learning curve. Stopping these programmes has meant losing a lot of expertise, knowledge, and so on. Was it wise then to stop the programmes?

**Sterkenburg**: Opinions may differ on enough has actually been done. To come back to earlier remarks, not all research was western and local researchers participated in many of the teams. Concepts of poverty and the situation in areas change and this has an effect on the evaluation conclusions and the research into development programmes that were set up ten years earlier. On the subject of the IOB study, it is clear that it is an evaluation which made use of research findings based on experimental research methods used to measure
perceptions. It could well be the case that other, later evaluations could reach different conclusions. As regards the topics of research which are important for policies one can state that in Anglo-Saxon world a lot of attention in research is paid to SWAps. However, this is not the case in the context of research in the Netherlands. The question is whether this is because the Dutch Ministry is not interested or because Dutch researchers are not interested?

Sijssens (CDP): It is a pity that programmes were stopped because this meant the loss of expertise and knowledge. The orientation towards Europe or Africa is not an important issue because everyone has his or her own perception which has to be weighed against the perceptions of others. Current practice shows that the afro-centric perception has become increasingly important.

2. About SWAps as integration model for micro-macro linkages

Bryceson (ASC): SWAps are long-term processes and not enough evaluation and monitoring takes place during the development of the projects. SWAps were quickly changed to serve social services goals and their quick introduction introduced new forms of bureaucracies.

Dietz (CERES): The social sector is dominant in SWAp, especially in the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and there is a heavy emphasis on education and basic education. However, hardly any research has been carried out into what happened with the children who finished their schooling. SWAps do not offer follow-up for what happens afterwards.

Nauta (Ministry of Foreign Affairs): This concern is shared within the Ministry. The donor community adopted results-based management and this means that sectors are chosen which show quick and easily measurable results. There is an international commitment to spend 15 percent of the money in basic education.

(anon.): SWAps are a technocratic illusion and exercise. Research into SWAps needs to involve a lot more political scientists. We also need much less policy relevant research and more independent research instead. This can be achieved by supporting research institutions in the developing world.

Sterkenburg: The SWAp is a change of paradigm, which is another aspect of the discussion.

Zanen (MDF): Dutch policies did not adapt flexibly to changing situations in which people (farmers) emphasised more marketing in the future. Instead, donors switched to Local Governance and started to support SWAps related to Local Governance. They ignored recipient government wishes to include agriculture. There is not a problem with research in itself but has to do with how research is used by policymakers and donors. That is the real question we have to address.

The session ended without the third question being addressed, due to lack of time.
**Thematic Session B. Humanitarian Aid and Local capacity building in East Africa**

This session was cancelled.

**Thematic Session C: Land Policies and Rural Development Programmes**

**Convener and Chair:** Prof. Dr Han van Dijk, African Studies Centre  
**Speaker:** Dr Marcel Rutten, African Studies Centre

In East Africa, like elsewhere, land policies are a government-owned domain in which donors generally have little say or abstain from interfering. Nevertheless, existing and changing land policies play a crucial role in the success or failure of donor-supported rural development programmes. Based on evidence from Kenya, several aspects of the land question (land conflicts, land policies, land conservation, etc.), their relationships with rural development efforts, and their implications for donor policies in the area of rural development will be discussed.

Leading questions for this session were:

1. To what extent are land policies taken into account in the formulation of donor policies and in the implementation in rural development programmes? What constraints do donors face in this respect?
2. How, and to what extent, can land issues become part of policy and programme formulation and implementation and what role can (local) universities and researchers play in this respect?

**Introduction by Dr Marcel Rutten**

Marcel Rutten, senior researcher at the African Studies Centre, carried out extensive research into land policies in Kenya in the last ten years. In his lecture ‘Selling wealth to buy poverty’ he argues that the land question is a sensitive issue for many as land touches the core of livelihood strategies of people. The land division matter becomes more complicated as there is intensified competition for resources because of increasing population growth. The case study focused on the Maasai and the selling of their land. Between 1890 and 1990 most Maasai lost and/or sold their land. The researcher elaborated on the role of politics, age groups and e.g. rainfall and climate variability resulting in unequal subdivisions of the land. The Maasai opinion regarding the sale of the land was initially very positive, but has become much more negative in recent years. Some promising developments are the digging of wells, hay collection and the discovery of Napier grass. When fed to cattle this grass increases milk production about fivefold while at the same time allowing milk production to continue longer into the dry season.

The main conclusions were firstly that land policies are often forgotten but are crucial for Poverty Reduction Strategies and secondly that one should identify both positive and negative, direct and indirect effects of individualised landownership and balance them appropriately (see sheets in attachment). In the third place, selling land means buying poverty, a poverty which is of a more structural and irreversible nature because once sold, the land is gone forever.
Discussion led by convenor Prof. Han van Dijk

CQ 1: What lessons we can learn from land policies in other countries? One might ask whether land policy leads to development or whether development pushes land policy in a certain direction? Either way, one should realise that the land sale trend is unstoppable and the main question is, therefore, how to go about it?

One important aspect is informing the people about the consequences of selling land (e.g. by billboards) at an early stage. However, on the other hand, the question is whether poor people will change their minds when offered an amount of money for their land that they could not even earn after working for years and years.

Land policy can be implemented by starting at state level (instead of grassroots level). However, it should not on the whole be nationalist. As different communities have different customary right systems and other priorities and needs, it would seem to be more effective to opt for so-called area-fit legislation (e.g. decentralising between urban, peri-urban and rural areas). This might, however, generate the following new problems which should be considered in advance:
- On the one hand, moving people means having to adapt to the different regional policies time and again and, on the other hand, some groups of people might move exactly because a certain policy suits them better.
- Recognising cultural difference might lead to cultural sameness and national coherence being overshadowed. This might generate ethnic problems or tense situations due to deciding about who is entitled to the specific rights accorded to a specific group.
- Interaction between customary and state law remains a problem. It needs to be clear which laws apply to which issues.
- The international lobby and pressure on national ministries is so high that international organisations mostly get what they want. The ‘ownership’ of national governments should therefore be enforced and questioned at the same time.

CQ 2: How can researchers and policymakers help each other to gain valuable insights which will help them deal with land issues?
- One effective initiative was the 1995 conference on land issues at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which was an opportunity to share thoughts and research findings concerning land policies. Another good example was set by the DFID which created a ‘land network for West, East and Southern Africa’. This approach works in the sense that researchers involved in offshoots of this initiative are now discussing a new land policy in Kenya.
- As regards research, it is probably worthwhile focusing on one or two countries to identify what kind of research into which core issues is required by policymakers. Research should identify, on the one hand, which issues can be implemented for the country as a whole (top down) to serve national interests and, on the other hand, which issues are only applicable regionally and should be dealt with from a bottom up perspective. One should, however, realise that there is no single answer because there is always tension between national and communal/regional interests.
African policymakers often have less capacity and fewer people for policy-making activities. As such they need to oversimplify some problems and are forced to avoid complexity. This means that capacity building is required in local policy circles.

Accounting for local traditional custom and cultural change (new social dynamics) in national and area laws is a difficult exercise. Things are always changing and are never static. Maybe ‘moments in process’ evaluations are a viable option to account for this change.

**Conclusions of session C**

- Social reality is always complex, especially in this case land is a crucial asset for all actors.
- There should be a national and regional level land policy so that local variety is accounted for.
- Vesting rights in communities makes membership questions sensitive issues with possible negative side effects. It is therefore essential to act with caution.
- The problem is to translate everyday life complexity into general policy measures and to establish an interconnection between the micro and macro levels. A viable way out of this conundrum might be a constant re-enforcement and evaluation of policy through ‘moment in process evaluations’ by researchers, so that cultural change on a micro level is accounted for at the macro level.

**Plenary closing session: evaluation**

A brief meeting was held at the end of the day to share opinions and experiences and to gather ideas for future East Africa Days. Many people also filled in the ‘Tips & Tops’ evaluation form and provided all kinds of suggestions and ideas for future events and submitted some useful critical comments. These are included in the overview below.

*What did participants like about the East Africa Day 2005:*
- The speed dating approach used to get to know each other;
- The variety of the programme;
- Exchanges with people with different professional backgrounds;
- The time and opportunities that were available to network (long breaks);
- The discussion led by Jos van Beurden in the plenary session in the morning;
- The introduction by Deborah Bryceson in the plenary session in the morning.

*What suggestions were made for coming East Africa Days:*
- More thematic sessions and smaller discussion groups;
- More time for debate (introduction in Session C was too long);
- Presentations from different perspectives and various angles in order to facilitate and stimulate the debate;
- Bring conclusions to the audience and discuss follow-up;
- Avoid specialist topics with lots of jargon (like Session A), but identify common areas of interest;
- More input from people from the East African region itself. Would form a counterbalance against Dutch views which were dominant now;
• Invite representatives from the private sector and international organisations (World Bank, IMF, UN agencies, etc.) active in or on the region;
• Make the programme set-up a more participatory process;
• Organise mini-workshops at which people from different backgrounds work on a case to create a joint agenda feeling;
• Look for more active forms for the SOKO, more information about activities and publications by participants.

_Suggestions for topics to be addressed at future East Africa Days_
• Democratisation processes
• HIV/AIDS
• Gender
• Natural resource management
• Governance / decentralisation
• Education (its impact)
• Trade
• Physical and food (in)security
• Urbanisation
• How the rich get rich

**Approach used to stimulate dialogue between the sectors**
A ‘speed dating’ method was used to stimulate interaction between the participants. This approach was presented as ‘Meet the people whose names you know but whom you have never met and have always wanted to meet’. This approach divides the participants into three groups (policymakers, practitioners and researchers). During the first ten minute dating session, half of each group remains in a specified location so that they can be found by those who want to ‘date’ someone from that group. After exchanging experiences, the other half of each group remains at the location assigned to the group and the first group can then go for a ‘date’. The approach led to lively conservations and was highly appreciated by the participants. Furthermore, participants were able to meet and discuss informally at the soko (market) over a cup of (East African) tea, coffee or milk and a sandwich, and during the time provided for refreshments and drinks after the afternoon sessions.
## Appendix 1 – List of participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Profile</th>
<th>Institutional affiliation</th>
<th>E-mail address</th>
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Appendix 2 – The programme

09:30 a.m. – 10:00 a.m. Arrival of the participants

10.00 a.m. – 10.15 a.m. Opening and welcome by the Director of the CERES Research School, co-founder of the Development Policy Review Network (DPRN) and the regional expert meetings initiative, and today’s Chair Ton Dietz.

10.15 a.m. – 11.15 a.m. (plenary session)
‘Speed dating’
Meet the people whose names you know, whom you have never met but have always wanted to.

11.30 a.m. – 12.45 p.m. (plenary session)
Perspectives on developments in East Africa.
In their opening addresses, Deborah Bryceson, economic geographer at the African Studies Centre, and Peter Vermaas, a journalist who has wide-ranging experience in East Africa (Uganda and Kenya in particular), are going to focus on the actual situation in the region. After their presentations, the participants will be given the opportunity to react. Investigative journalist Jos van Beurden will lead the plenary discussion on relevant trends in development in the East African region. During this plenary session, the participants will also reflect on the themes they suggested at an earlier stage. The aim will be to optimise synergy between policy, science and development practice.

12.45 p.m. – 1.45 p.m. (plenary)
Soko. Participants can meet and discuss informally at the soko (market) over a cup of (East African) tea, coffee or (Dutch) milk and a sandwich. The market place will be officially opened by Mirjam Ros-Tonen, who will briefly introduce the database plans (Global Connections) of the DPRN. Participants are invited to bring posters, documentation and publications relating to their own or their organisations’ work in East Africa.

2.00 p.m. – 4.00 p.m. (parallel sessions)
Thematic sessions.
In the thematic meetings scholars, policymakers and development practitioners will exchange views and opinions on selected issues which are currently relevant in East Africa. The starting point for each session will be the results and conclusions of publications which provide new and/or provoking insights into the theme being discussed and which are relevant to policy. Ideally, the sessions will then generate insights into possible synergies between research and policy,
the implications for the research agendas, and how this relates to current research agendas and preferences. The objective of the sessions is to generate concrete suggestions on how to improve mutual links and exchange.

**Session A. Donor Policies and Rural Poverty Reduction**

Two recent IOB evaluation reports form the input for this session. One of them deals with Dutch support for local governance in Uganda (2003) and the other with Dutch aid to two (former) District Development Programmes in Tanzania (2004). Jan Sterkenburg, an independent consultant involved in two evaluations is going to introduce the reports.

**Session B. Humanitarian Aid and Local capacity building in East Africa.**

This session has been CANCELLED!

**Session C. Land policies and rural development programmes**

The session is to be introduced by Marcel Rutten, senior researcher at the African Studies Centre who has carried out extensive research into land policies in Kenya in the last 10 years.

4.15 p.m. – 17.00 p.m. (plenary session)

Refreshments and thoughts on the future. While enjoying a glass of beer, wine, soda or juice, a brief evaluation will be held with the participants. What is the participants’ assessment of this first East Africa Day? Two other East Africa days are going to be organised in 2006 and 2007 respectively. What are the expectations of the participants regarding these two days? What topics and issues should be on the agenda of the future events?

5.00 p.m. – 6.00 p.m. (plenary)

More refreshments
Appendix 3 – PowerPoint presentations

"Economic trajectories in East Africa: Diversions and Dilemmas"
By: Deborah Fahy Bryceson, Afrika Studie Centrum, Leiden

Economic Trajectories in East Africa: Diversions & Dilemmas

Deborah Fahy Bryceson
Afrika-studiecentrum, Leiden

East Africa in its Post-colonial Heyday, 1970
- Similar national economic trajectories - peasant agriculture foundation
- East African Community
- Industrialization goal
- Social service investment
- 3-tier racial system restructured

Economic Shocks of the 1970s
- 1971 - Idi Amin’s coup
- Breakdown of the E.African Community
- Oil crisis 1973-74 & 1979
- Debt & donor conditionality
- Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda diverge politically & economically

Fast Forward to 2005
- Agricultural base shrinking
  - as % of GDP
  - as % of total population
- replaced by:
  - Kenya - tourism (1970s-1980s)
  - Uganda - donor darling (1990s)
  - Tanzania - mining (2000s)
- Industrial disillusionment
- Informalization of the service sector - burgeoning African trade

Future Directions?
- Tanzania divergence from Nyerere model - increasing income differentiation which will be exacerbated by mining
- Kenya - declining regional economic importance & lack of clear economic direction
- Uganda - donor dependency & military instability

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<th>Rural Population (% of Total)</th>
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<td>Uganda</td>
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Source: World Development Indicators 2005
Differential Rates of Change

- Uganda & Tanzania debt reductions through the Paris Club. Kenyan debt is considered ‘sustainable’ (OECD)
- HIV prevalence: Kenya (15%), Tanzania (7.8%), Uganda (5%)
- Urbanization - primate vs. secondary city growth
East African City Populations as % of National Urban Total

- Dar es Salaam
- Kampala
- Nairobi

Source: UN Population Division, 2004

Shared trends
- Rapid mobile phone acquisition
- Dynamism of informal sector
  - Challenge for governments to harness revenue
- Rapid expansion of South African investment in import substitution industry, tourism and mining
- Re-establishment of EAC customs union in 2004

The Future?
- In view of their shrinking agricultural foundations, what is a viable labour-absorbing economic trajectory for each of the three countries of East Africa?
The IOB evaluations - implications for policy & research

Hinke Nauta
Department for Effectiveness & Quality (DEK) - DGIS

Three main conclusions for DGIS

• Poverty analysis and monitoring
• Political Economy Analysis
• Micro-macro relations

Poverty Analysis & Monitoring

• Structural causes and processes vs static needs assessment
• Stakeholder involvement in analysis, policy and monitoring
• DAC-dimensions: economic, human, socio-cultural, protective and political + GE

Political Economy Analysis

• Drivers of Change; which institutions and actors promote or block poverty reduction?
• Dialogue between stakeholders with different interests on poverty (reduction)
• Basis for Multi-Annual Strategic Planning

Micro-macro relations

• Challenge to analyze and address problems at different levels (SWAps)
• Courage to look beyond levels, sectors and traditional partners
• Assumptions which call for context-specific research

Mutual Interests, Mutual Responsibilities

• Political dimension of Development Cooperation
• Partnerships & division of roles
• Good governance
• Enabling environment for private sector development
Challenges for policy-oriented research

- Topics:
  - Poverty (//DAC and at different levels)
  - Political economy analysis
  - Good governance incl. decentralization
- Methods to maximize policy relevance
  - partnerships
  - stakeholder involvement
  - baseline research and development of indicators
Perceptions of poverty and DRDP

1. The IOB report “Poverty, policies and perceptions in Tanzania”
   - Evaluation or experimental research
     - Innovative approach
     - Recording of perceptions
     - Objective/subjective
   - Conclusions valid for DRDP or other aid modalities (SWAP, budget support)?
     - Overall goal / long-term objective

2. Evaluation of DRDP in Tanzania
   - Evaluation report of the DRDP, December 2003
   - Focus on:
     - Local Government capacity building
     - Service delivery
   - Successful integration of DRDP in LG system
   - “Improved capacity building of LG has influenced service delivery in a positive way”
   - “Overall positive impact on the average livelihood of the population living in the districts”

3. Poverty perceptions
   - Important, interesting concept
   - Recording and interpretation of perceptions...
   - Statements on impact difficult to attribute to one programme
Linking development expertise

Development Policy Review Network (DPRN)

By: Mirjam Ros-Tonen, DPRN

DPRN Report of the East Africa regional expert meeting 1 - 30

Linking development expertise

- By bringing together scientists, policymakers and development practitioners in
  * regional expert meetings
  * thematic meetings
- By developing a web portal and database of development expertise

Global–Connections.nl

A service that provides access to development expertise of researchers, policymakers and development practitioners affiliated to organisations dealing with international development and cooperation and based in the Netherlands or Flanders

One entry, five sub-sites

Based on the architecture of Connecting-Africa searching facilities for:
- Researchers by name
- Thematic expertise
- Geographical expertise
- Organisations by name
- Publications by keyword
- Records containing a specific word

Second phase: contacts with partner org’s

Implementation in stages

- Design and launching of Global–Connections website;
- Registration form for regional expert meetings on-line in format that will be used to store data in G–C;
- Connecting–Africa as a pilot for including ‘non-scientific’ expertise;
- Writing up of a project plan to expand to other sub-sites & pool data from existing databases (WOTRO, NIWI, others).
Appendix 4 – Pictures
Made on the East Africa meeting by Marije Schoonen
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