

Mission of the Centre for Basic Research

To generate and disseminate knowledge by conducting basic and applied research of social, economic and political significance to Uganda in particular and Africa in general, so as to influence policy, raise consciousness and improve quality of life.

**Civil Society, Empowerment and Poverty Reduction:
A Review Essay**

**Bazaara Nyangabyaki and
Kintu Nyago**

Workshop Report No.11/1999

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Civil Society, Empowerment and Poverty Reduction: A Review Essay

1. Introduction

This workshop was convened to disseminate the findings of a review essay on "Civil Society Empowerment and Poverty Reduction". The state-of-art review project was commissioned by the Council for the Development of Social Research in Africa (CODESRIA), a Pan-African research organization. The project is being implemented in collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The entire project covers twelve countries and has three component parts, namely:

- i) Civil Society Analysis Cell: This component has gone a little ahead of the of-art review falls under this component of the project. The research that is undertaken is supposed to be made available to civil society activists, who are expected to use it to improve their work.
- ii) National Observatory: This component is supposed to be a meeting place for civil society organisations in the participating countries. It is yet to be established in Uganda.
- iii) Training: This component is also yet to be implemented in Uganda.

The dissemination workshop was held on 2 September 1999 at the Centre for Basic Research, Kampala. The outcome of the dissemination exercise was intended to create a lead in the debates on civil society and poverty eradication. Ms. Charity Kyomugisha from the Centre for Basic Research chaired the workshop. A list of civil society actors who attended has been appended.

This literature review was undertaken and presented by two researchers. Dr. Bazaara Nyangabyaki presented the first part of the paper which focussed on the civil society conceptualisation, while Mr. Kintu-Nyago made a presentation focussing on empirical issues about the nature of the civil society in Uganda.

2. Civil Society, Empowerment and Poverty Reduction: Conceptual Issues

2.1 The Conceptualisation of Civil Society

Dr. Bazaara in his presentation observed that civil society as a concept was a new notion, which came up in the late 1980s, at a time when the state had been discredited as a guarantor of human well-being. As a result, much of the literature available was of recent origin. This made it necessary, at the outset, to explore the different meanings attached to

the concept, and how it had been conceived in relation to both the state and poverty reduction. The objective would be to map out common grounds as well as differences as we prepared to discuss the empirical trends highlighted by the writings on Ugandan 'civil society'.

To understand the nature of the civil society and the role that it played in combating poverty, Bazaara noted that it was important to put the notion of civil society in its proper historical context. To begin with, in the available literature, the notion of civil society was an imported, Western one, which had come with a lot of baggage. It was basically essentialist and, therefore, needed to be re-conceptualised and re-packaged in order for it to make sense in an African context.

2.2 The Composition of Civil Society

Bazaara observed that on all the literature in civil society in Uganda, it was generally agreed that civil society constituted the arena between the public (state) and family (private) spheres. It was also agreed that voluntary associations and organisations, which were autonomous of the state, occupied this arena. These, among others, included trade unions, co-operatives, professional organisations, youth and women organisations, manufacturing and commerce organisations, etc. Bazaara argued that there were, however, disagreements on the composition of civil society. Some writers had argued that certain organisations excluded from the definition of civil society should be included, since they had a potential of participating in civil society.

According to Bazaara, in Uganda where political party activities had been banned, it was increasingly being argued that political parties should be (or that they actually are) part of the civil society. Oloka and Barya (1997), had argued that the ban on political party activities had transformed the political parties into something like civil society organisations. Bazaara argued, however, that in the Ugandan context the critical issue was not whether or not political parties were part of civil society. What was critical was what should be the relationship between political parties and other non-state organisations in order to strengthen civil society so that it contributes to poverty reduction.

Scholars like Jjuko had argued that political parties (including DP and UPC) were splintering into smaller groups because of lack of internal democracy. These smaller splinter groups had hence become civil society organisations. This controversy was vague and required more empirical data to be resolved, but it was important to note that these civil society organisations did exist in reality.

Citing Hearn (1999) who had argued that political parties had historically used civil society organisations as recruiting grounds, and Mamdani (1992) who had argued that the social base of the multi-parties after world war II was in the nationalist movement, Bazaara observed that the vibrancy of civil society was aborted by policies that separated the civil society from the political society.

On this note, he also raised the question of whether civil society on its own without political parties could reduce poverty; and if it would not be erroneous to presume that all

political parties not in government would necessarily champion democracy and development and thus contribute to poverty reduction.

The liberal conception of civil society required that any civil society organisation had to operate within a legal framework. He wondered what would happen to organisations which operated without legal registration while pursuing legitimate goals about justice? Didn't they qualify to be part of civil society? These perspectives were used in a way that made civil society a buffer against the state and all other illegal social movements.

Bazaara noted that the history of Uganda showed that the birth of civil society was a product of social movements that were operating outside the law. The NRM itself could be said to have been a product of civil society operating outside the law. Besides, operating 'within the law' did not necessarily create an environment of democracy and poverty reduction, like apartheid South Africa had taught us. During the apartheid regime, an unjust law was used to deprive a population of more than 3.5 million blacks and coloured. It was also erroneous, according to Bazaara, to presume that all political parties not in government would champion the cause of democracy and poverty reduction. The NRM had been using this very idea to discredit political parties. While there had been a concrete historical experience of political parties in Uganda, it was wrong to discredit political parties on account of their previous experiences. Depending on the historical context, political parties evolved to advance or curtail democracy and development.

2.3 Are Local Councils part of civil society?

Bazaara argued that the NRM had used the Local Councils (LCs) to advance the cause of civil society. LCs had become the preferred institutional basis for popular participation, decision-making and, ultimately, poverty eradication. The NRM had given LCs powers to make decisions on certain issues, and it was assumed that this would help in poverty eradication. But the first critical issue, argued Bazaara, was whether LCs qualified to be part of civil society? While LCs needed to be construed as being autonomous in as far as they were able to make decisions and policies at the grassroots independent of the state, they could not automatically qualify to be part of civil society in as far as they were legislative. According to Bazaara, this called for a need to rethink the relationship between non-state and state organisations, and their roles in poverty eradication. This was simply because state organisations such as LCs did a lot of things which promoted the civil society agenda.

2.4 Civil Society and the 'Rustic' Society

Bazaara observed further that many scholars had viewed civil society as existing apart from other "rustic" society in order to justify the argument that civil society was distinct from other society. Mamdani (1996) talked about civil society organisations in the colonial period as existing only in an urban context, where the population could organise

to protect their rights. He argued that there was no civil society in the rural areas where the people were subjected to the arbitrary powers of the chiefs. To Bazaara, the above suggested that civil society was "civil" because it was aware of its rights. And to agree with it would be to suggest that the bulk of the Uganda society was outside civil society, which had serious implications for the discussion of how civil society could be used to reduce poverty. According to Bazaara, such conceptions could lead to the empowering of the rich because they were conscious of their rights, to the exclusion of the poor who had no ability to enforce their rights.

The above prognosis, according to Bazaara, meant that civil society should not be seen in essentialist perspectives. There was no single organisation in Uganda which had the inherent qualities of reducing poverty and promoting democracy. Civil society had to be seen as a process, as a space, that was created by the interactions of non-state organisations with the state, as the non-state organisation pursued their interests, and where on a regular basis, new actors came into play and others went off the scene. This meant that civil society needed to be understood as a historical process.

2.5 Civil Society and the State

Bazaara pointed out that the relationship between the state and civil society organisations was least conceptualised in Uganda. At one extreme, the state was portrayed as a set of institutions with inherent weaknesses as far as poverty reduction was concerned, while civil society was conceived as being the sum and substance of what was good. In this conception, those who viewed the relationship between the state and civil society organisations as being conflictual considered the emergence of civil society as a direct challenge to the state. Hence the state was considered incapable of delivering its people out of poverty and deprivation, which role was arrogated to civil society. Civil society, therefore, emerged as a reaction to state failure. In this perspective, no room was left for dialogue. According to Bazaara, it was erroneous to construe the state as being inherently incapable of spearheading a poverty reduction agenda. It was also not correct to assume that all civil society organisations arose to fill the gap created by state failure. Many organisations were formed to serve different purposes.

What eventually emerged was whether or not it was really necessary to empower associative life because of state failure? Would it not be rather natural to reform or rebuild the state? In this case, what should the relationship between the state and civil society organisations be? Could civil society eradicate poverty without the state? If not, what kinds of relationships were possible within the historical and contemporary Ugandan context? A critical discussion of these and other such issues was lacking in much of the literature on the civil society in Uganda.

2.6 Poverty in the History of Ideas

With regard to poverty, Bazaara argued that it was important to locate the concept in a history of ideas. In the 1950s, it was thought that poverty was a product of traditional

society resisting modernisation. The solution was seen as modernisation through the diffusion of technology from the West. By the late 1960s, the modernisation project, whose benefits had been assumed would 'trickle down' to the poor, had led to unimaginable inequalities and increased poverty. Then emerged the dependency school which, using historical materialism, argued that the social and political structures of the state in the third world countries, which were appendages of Western capitalism, were responsible for poverty in the third world.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO), on the other hand, saw the problem of poverty as arising from the unemployment problem. However, the ILO approach to fighting poverty through employment-oriented strategies left the power structures in the state which reproduced the poverty intact. Then came the urban bias thesis, in which some analysts (including the likes of Michael Lipton and Robert Bates) argued that people in urban areas were better off because they were favoured by state policies. This deprived the rural people of resources, hence condemning them to poverty. Then came the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund which supported Structural Adjustment Programmes. Emphasis was that poverty could be reduced by rolling back the state and liberating individual initiative.

Starting in the 1980s, the problems of market-driven development led to the rise of the notion of the third sector or the non-profit sector, in which the civil society was organised. It was held that market and state failures could only be corrected by this third sector. The realisation by the donor community in the 1990s that Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) that were being implemented by the NRM government accentuated poverty and increased marginalisation of certain categories of people, led the donors to question the SAPs. This was when donors, and especially the World Bank, started talking about adjustment with a human face. It was in such a context that poverty alleviation programmes should be understood.

2.7 How to Measure Poverty

With regard to the measurement of poverty, Bazaara noted that there were different approaches used. Poverty measurements based on incomes relied on the Household Budget Surveys. This approach assumed that all incomes were monetized and that all people derived their livelihoods from monetised or monetized sources. It did not recognise the role played by non-monetized community and/or state resources, which were an important source of survival for many households. It also viewed the household as being homogenous, ignoring the fact that sometimes poverty, even at the level of the household, had an underlying gender dimension.

According to Bazaara, the per capita income approach, which was sometimes used to determine changes in poverty, was silent about class, gender and regional differences. For example, high per capita income figures, per se, did not mean an absence of large numbers of the absolute poor because per capita figures did not tell us much about the distribution of the income. Even the poverty line based on a food basket, which was used to determine the minimum food basket based on amount of food calories consumed, was

incapable of generating universal indices, especially across cultures and regions where food availability and eating habits might differ radically.

Bazaara noted that an attempt to use the possessive score indices, which measured improvement in peoples living standards using property (on assumption that if incomes increase, people will acquire property), was even more problematic. This was because people might acquire property without working for it, or their incomes might increase without a corresponding increase in property acquisition. Even then, the real question was not about who owned property, but how this property was distributed. In the activists' literature, it was always reported that poverty had a feminist face. But was it true that all women were poor? Such universalistic assertions could lead us into forgetting other disadvantaged categories of the poor.

2.8 Poverty Reduction

Apart from Structural Adjustment Programmes and Decentralisation as poverty reduction reforms, Bazaara also talked about government credit schemes which included the Uganda Rural Farmers Scheme, the Co-operative Credit Scheme and the Entandikwa Scheme. These were justified as being mechanisms for poverty reduction as they would enable the rural poor have access to capital - a factor whose shortage was deemed to be the bottleneck to improving rural production and hence being responsible for low living standards of the rural people. It was, however, noted that these credit schemes achieved very little with regard to poverty reduction because the beneficiaries were the non-poor, the rural notables who used money to monopolise rural resources - land and labour- of the vulnerable poor. In thrust, the credit schemes posed the problem of poverty in rural areas as a technical rather than a political issue.

To appreciate the role of civil society in poverty reduction, Bazaara examined government initiatives aimed at reducing poverty with a point of exploring whether or not state policies could be used to complement those of civil society organisations in a very creative and enriching manner. On poverty reduction programmes, he also noted that the belief of government and donors remained that poverty would be reduced through economic growth induced through Structural Adjustment Programme reforms. He thus concluded that these projects treated poverty as a residual or as a political safety valve issue and that government did not treat poverty as a structural issue. That was why poverty was never integrated in plans developed by line ministries. However, it was noted that the most innovative institutional reform was the decentralisation of policy-making, which reform was best understood by examining the centralisation of policy-making by the central government at the expense of the local areas. Yet, it was argued that in as far as decentralisation was pegged to Local Councils, formerly known as Resistance Councils, there was need for more reforms to transform these organs into an arena where alternative ideas about poverty reduction could thrive.

Lastly, civil society was not civil society unless it had a relationship with the state. This meant that it was important to review government programmes intended to reduce poverty. The country's economic crisis had been due to both internal and external factors.

There had been programmes to alleviate poverty such as the Veterans Assistance Programme, NURP, PAPSCA, PAP, etc. Most of these programmes had been channelled through civil society organisations because the donors thought the state was incapable of executing them transparently. But it was important to ponder what these programmes had achieved. PAPSCA programmes benefited only a few, targeted a few people, and were for a brief period. These programmes were micro-focussed in the sense that they covered a few areas. The majority of these poverty alleviation programmes treated poverty as if it were a residual problem, a safety net. The Rural Farmers' Scheme benefited mainly the rich farmers. The majority of these poverty alleviation programmes, as their names suggested, did not tackle the structural causes of poverty. They were intended to alleviate and not eradicate poverty.

3. Civil Society, Empowerment and Poverty Reduction: Empirical Issues

In his presentation, Kintu-Nyago reviewed the empirical findings presented in literature on civil society research focusing on the nature of the civil society and its role in poverty alleviation. Kintu observed that in the literature, three actors in poverty reduction had been identified: the state, the donors and civil society. He noted that poverty reduction was very dynamic and involved broad actors. These included peasant co-operatives which had historically played a positive role in terms of galvanizing local resources for poverty alleviation, trade unions, development-oriented welfare organizations, women and human rights organisations.

From the analysis, it was noted that little focused on the NGO-state relationship and the extent to which it reduced poverty. Kintu set out to examine the NGO approach *vis-a-vis* the state, and the NGO-state relationship, and whether this could, indeed, substantially reduce poverty. Another issue looked at was the discriminatory nature of donor support for 'civil society'. It was noted that when donors claimed to support or empower civil society, what they focussed on were NGOs while they excluded trade unions and co-operatives. The major beneficiaries from the donor support had been women organisations and human rights groups while little or no support had been given to trade unions and co-operatives - organisations with a popular membership base. The point raised was that donor support to civil society was not about changing the dominant ideas on how poverty could be tackled at structural levels. It was further argued that the state capitalised on the NGO's overwhelming dependence on foreign funds to ensure that they did not go beyond this framework.

There was a concrete historical context of the operation of civil society in poverty reduction. Many programmes for poverty reduction had been done in concert with the state. In Uganda, much more than in other East African states, the state, civil society and the donors had had a rather more compliant relationship. Uganda had, for example, been viewed to have been in very good books with the donor community, implying that some qualitative changes could be taking place as a result of the compliancy nature of the triad relationship between the state, the donors and civil society.

There were various categories of civil society organisations involved in poverty reduction. The majority of these civil society organisations emerged in the 1990s, mainly because of pressure from the donor community.

In conclusion, the review captured the major trends in civil society discourse and practices and made it quite clear that there was lack of consensus as to what constituted civil society. There was general agreement in the writings and discussions on civil society that the amount of research on the role of civil society and poverty reduction was limited. Few empirical studies had been sceptical as to whether civil society, especially that which was popular with the donors such as women organisations, human rights groups and economic development NGOs were capable of championing the agenda of poverty reduction. The reasons cited to back this scepticism included the lack of democratic accountability on the part of civil society organisations, and membership not being of those who are poverty-stricken. Furthermore, even if the beneficiaries were poor, activities of civil society involved in poverty reduction dealt with a small section of society and actually could be promoting regional, class, and gender inequalities; which seemed to suggest that that civil society needed a particular kind of environment and support from the state. But the question was how it could be done without compromising the autonomy of civil society organisations. However, it was argued that it was important to point out that in some literature, the autonomy of civil society was confused with independence from the state, yet an organisation could be independent without being autonomous.

4. The Plenary: Discussion of the Presentation

Margaret Kakande from the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning argued that in the past government used to treat the issue of poverty as being residual, but not any more - as shown by the fact that a Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) had been put in place. She also argued that during Household Baseline Surveys when data on household expenditures and incomes was collected, all economic activities including subsistence production were usually monetised. Kakande noted that the review essay had cited shortfalls in using the standard definitions and approaches in measuring poverty used by the government, but had not provided an alternative measure and definition.

On the role of the civil society, Kakande argued that the review seemed to argue that there was no organisation with inherent qualities to reduce poverty or enhance democracy, through the empowerment of civil society, which in essence implied that it was not worthwhile to talk about civil society. She said that if poverty reduction was about delivering services, then both government and non-government organisations had a role to play. The latter were particularly important in areas where they had a comparative advantage over government.

Kakande further argued that in a discussion about the role of civil society, it was better to adopt an approach that sought to find out what government was saying, what it had been able to do and what it had not done in a proper way or not done at all.

Odrek Rwabwogo from the Uganda Revenue Authority observed that the usefulness of Household Baseline Survey data was diminished by the seasonal nature of

household economic activities, which constituted key sources of data for the surveys. For example, it was easy to depict a cattle keeping community as being resource poor during period of serious drought. But the same opinion could not be possibly inferred after the drought period had ended. Kakande, however, argued that to overcome the limitations created by seasonality, Household Baseline Surveys were usually spread over a twelve-month period.

Eric Mukasa from the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning noted that senior technocrats in his ministry were ready and willing to engage in a dialogue on some of the rather controversial issues relating to government programmes and the role of civil society in poverty reduction. Mukasa argued that the review essay conceptualised civil society, but ignored to conceptualise the state. The character that the civil society acquired was usually shaped by the nature of the state, and to understand how this occurred, required a conceptualisation of the state in a historical context. Mukasa agreed with the presentation in the review essay that there were writers on civil society in Uganda who projected civil society in a narrow fashion - that is, that it had to be confrontational with the state. Citing the case of the NRM, he argued that the relationship had been cordial.

On the measurement to poverty, Mukasa argued that there had to be a standard measure to determine changes in the well-being of the population. The Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning estimated living standards using various methods such as Household Surveys based on estimations of household income and expenditure. These were being complemented with the studies undertaken by the Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Programme (UPPAP). He argued that government should be commended for its efforts despite the various shortcomings of the various individual approaches for measuring poverty.

Mwambutsya-Ndebasa from Makerere University argued that in conceptualising the role of civil society, there was need to clarify the meaning of empowerment as opposed to mobilisation. While mobilisation might refer to organising people to support a particular programme, empowerment denoted organising people to support themselves. He observed that organisation and training as forms of empowerment in civil society had not been emphasised in the review of the literature on civil society.

Mwambutsya argued that while civil society in Uganda was apolitical, it was wrong to assume that civil society was positive because it was non-confrontational. He said that sometimes confrontation could be positive. He argued that for the civil society to be political, it did not mean that it should hold onto on an agenda of acquiring state power because civil society could be political by simply influencing political decision-making. He argued further that there was a need for civil society organisations to influence the policies of the state and such other supra-state organisations such as the IMF and the World Bank. The fact that some civil society organisations operated outside the law by not being registered - for example, the Parents Teachers Associations (PTAs) and the Makerere University Academic Staff Association (MUASA) - did not mean they were illegal, he said.

Martin Wandera from the Hotel Workers Union observed that depending on the objectives of civil society organisations, they could or could not stand on their own

without political parties. Those that sought to change government framework could not do so without political parties; and government would take seriously only such civil society organisations that sought to change state power.

On civil society having an urban bias, Wandera observed that as a result of forward and backward linkages, civil society organisations such as Trade Unions that had an urban bias could contribute significantly towards poverty reduction in the rural areas. This was because wages of people in urban areas contributed to the increase in aggregate incomes in the entire economy because of family support systems, which functioned through the African extended family. Therefore, if incomes in urban areas increased, they were likely to lead to an increase in income in rural areas.

Dr. John Jean Barya from Centre for Basic Research cautioned that the paper that had been presented to the seminar was a review essay that tried to look critically at the available literature, and was limited in that sense. However, Barya argued that the review paper had tried to look at so much at the same time.

On the question of the civil society operating within or outside the law, Barya argued that the law did not determine civil society. Civil society organisations could seek legitimacy through various ways, one of them being by operating within the law. He said, civil society organisations could operate outside the law and not be illegal. There were civil society organisations that operated outside the law that were illegal. Therefore, not having a certificate of registration did not make civil society organisations illegal unless declared so by the law. This meant that civil society could exist in a non-legal way by operating outside the framework of the law, but this did not stop them from doing what could be done. Therefore, there was need to differentiate between what was illegal and what was non-legal.

Regarding the role that political parties had played in Uganda's past political history, which the NRM used to discredit political pluralism, Barya argued that NRM used history selectively. Most of the things said about political parties were true, but partial and selective.

As to whether Local Councils (LCs) were part of civil society, Barya clarified that LCs were directly part of the state machinery. He argued that the fact that an organisation did things which were supposed to be done by civil society, did not make that organisation part of civil society. LCs were legislative and had executive powers. On the issue of whether civil society organisations could operate within the framework of the state, Barya said that civil society should not simply be seen as 'organisations', or even simply as being static. It was not the formal existence of an organisation that made it part of civil society, but what it did. The trade unions, for example, could be said to be part of the state, but some of the things which they did qualified them to be part of civil society activities. In law, you could not have a legal strike. The process was so complicated that it was impossible for a legal strike to take place. So some of things they did as legal organisations (for example, organising workers' strikes) qualified them to be part of civil society.

Barya noted that the review essay should show the way forward and the lessons that civil society activists could learn from the review of the literature available on civil

society. For example, the paper should provide some indication as to the nature of environment and support from the state that civil society organisations required, to be able to alleviate poverty.

Sabiiti Makara from Makerere University argued that the concept of civil society had so many definitions depending on the school of thought, whether sociological, political or economic. The review essay looked at civil society as the space between family and the state. He said civil society was supposed to be autonomous from the state. Why should civil society aspire to become part of the state?

Arguing that the concept of the civil society needed to be considered in its most dynamic form, Makara said civil society-like organisations existed before, and included such organisations like the nationalist movements and the trade unions. These achieved so many political objectives. He argued that the civil society notion of the World Bank was an attempt to alienate society from what it wanted. This was because when we talked about civil society, reference was mainly given to women organisations. What then should happen to those civil society organisations which wanted the World Bank to go away?

Angela Nakafero from Forum for Women and Democracy (FOWODE) argued that it was a reality that poverty had a strong feminine dimension because women represented the largest percentage of the poor categories in society.

5. Wrap-up: A Pointer to the Way Forward

Dr. Bazaara, while responding to various comments made during the workshop said the nature of the responses was an indication that there actually was a missing link on the nature and interpretation of civil society and the role of civil society organisations in poverty reduction and empowerment.

On the relationship between the state and civil society and the roles they played in poverty reduction, Bazaara pointed out that it was true that the state and civil society could both deliver certain amounts of services. The point of departure, however, should be to establish how much could be done by either the state or civil society; and this was where governments and civil society organisations differed from one country to another, and one historical context to another.

On the character of civil society in Uganda, Bazaara argued that there was need for more facts, currently lacking in the literature, to demonstrate that actually, civil society in Uganda had neither been apolitical nor non-confrontational. He cited the example of the 1990 student protests in Makerere University which led to the death of two students.

Kintu-Nyango in his response to the comments from the plenary discussion observed that there were many things that the LCs did that posited them in a combative stance *vis-a-vis* to the state, especially in dealing with corrupt chiefs. A reformist state was more able to deal with civil society in a subtle way. There were also militaristic states where the civil society was robust. Hence, the relationship between the state and civil society depended on the character of a particular regime.

Both presenters agreed, following the different views expressed during the workshop, that (a) more needed to be done to conceptualise properly the state because it

had transformed itself considerably; and (b) the issue of the assumed withdrawal of the civil society from public affairs also needed to be addressed a little more critically.

List of Attendance

Name	Organisation of Affiliation
1. Barya, John Jean (Dr.)	Centre for Basic Research (CBR) P.O. Box 9863 Kampala.
2. Bazaara, Nyangabyaki (Dr.)	Centre for Basic Research (CBR) P.O. Box 9863 Kampala.
3. Kabira, R.M.	Directorate of Labour, Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development P.O. Box 7009 Kampala.
4. Kakande, Margaret	Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (MFPED) P.O. Box 8147 Kampala.
5. Kanyesigye, Juliet	Centre for Basic Research (CBR) P.O. Box 9863 Kampala.
6. Katantazi, Patrick	Uganda Martyrs University (UMU), Nkozi P. O. Box 5498 Kampala.

7. Kintu-Nyago, Crispin
Centre for Basic Research (CBR)
P.O Box 9863
Kampala.
8. Kyomugisha, Charity
Centre for Basic Research (CBR)
P.O. Box 9863
Kampala
9. Mangeni, Jobic
Uganda Hotel and Allied Workers Union
(UHAWU)
P.O. Box 3799
Kampala.
10. Matovu-Winyi, Norah
Human Rights Information Network
(HURINET)
P.O. Box 21265
Kampala.
11. Muhereza, Frank
Centre for Basic Research (CBR)
P.O. Box 9863
Kampala.
12. Mukasa, Eric
Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic
Development (MFPED)
P.O. Box 8147
Kampala.
13. Mwambutsya, Ndebesa
Makerere University
P.O. Box 7062
Kampala.
14. Nakafero, Angela
Forum for Women in Democracy
(FOWODE)
P.O. Box 7176
Kampala.
15. Nasali, Maria
FIDA(U)
P.O. Box 2157
Kampala.
16. Ngambi, Innocent Damascus
Scalar Consultants, Kampala

17. Rwabwogo, Odrek
Uganda Revenue Authority (URA),
Kampala
P.O. Box 7279
Kampala.
18. Rubanga, Edward
Uganda Railways Workers' Union
P.O. Box 1996
Kampala.
19. Sabiti, Makara
Makerere University
P.O. Box 7062
Kampala
20. Wandera, Martin
Uganda Hotel and Allied Workers
Union (UHAWU)
P.O. Box 3799
Kampala
21. Wasike, David
Centre for Basic Research (CBR)
P.O. Box 9863
Kampala.

Absent with Apologies

22. Zirabamuzale, J.K.
National Organisation for Civic
Education and Election Monitoring
P.O. Box 9052,
Kampala.
23. Ruzindana Augustine (Hon.)
Member of Parliament
P.O. Box 9503
Kampala.

CBR Workshop Reports

1. **Pastoralism, Crisis and Transformation in Karamoja**; Report of a Workshop Organised by CBR and held at the Faculty of Science Makerere University, August 14 - 15, 1992, by Joe Oloka-Onyango, Zie Gariyo and Frank Muhereza; 26p.
2. **Women and Work: Historical Trends**; Report of a Workshop Organised by CBR, and held at the Faculty of Science, Makerere University, September 7-10, 1992, by Expedit Ddungu, James Opyene and Sallie Kayunga; 61p.
3. **Workers' Education**; Report of a CBR Workshop held at the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine, Makerere University, March 19-20, 1993, John Jean Barya, Sallie Simba Kayunga and Ernest Okello-Ogwang; 47p.
4. **Pastoralism and Crisis in Karamoja**; Report of the Second CBR Pastoralism Workshop held at St. Phillips community Centre, Moroto, January 28-29 1994, by Frank Emmanuel Muhereza and Charles Emunyu Ocan; 19p.
5. **Regional, Workshop on Public Interest Environment Law and Community-Based Initiatives for Sustainable Natural Resources Management in East Africa** held at Colline Hotel Mukono, in August, 1996 by Samson Opolot and James Opyene; 37p.
6. Report of a Workshop Organised by CBR on "**A Dialogue on Gender Dimensions of Agricultural Policy in Uganda**" held at Fairway Hotel Kampala, May 3-4, 1996, by Samson James Opolot and John Ssenkumba; 58p.
7. **Report on the Proceedings of the NOTU/CBR Seminar: Worker' Social Conditions in Uganda Today** held at held at Pope Paul VI Memorial Community Centre on 22-23 July 1997, by John Ssenkumba and Crispin Kintu; 27p.
8. **Report of the ENRECCA Workshop on "Modernity, Development and Institutional Change: A Dialogue Towards the Next Millennium"** held at Lake View Hotel Mbarara, 21 - 28 February 1998, Charity Kyomugisha; 38p.
9. Report of the **Workshop on the Survey: "Constitutionalism Project Phase Three"** held at Colline Hotel Mukono, 29-30 January 1996, by John Ssenkumba; 22p.
10. **Lessons of Constitution-Making in Uganda** by Samson James Opolot and Chrispin Kintu Nyago; 29-30 January 1996. 52p.
11. **Report on A One-Day Dissemination Workshop on the Study "Civil Society, Empowerment and Poverty Reduction: A Review Essay** by Bazaara Nyagabyaki and Kintu Nyago Held at Centre for Basic Research on 2 September 1999, 21p.