



**DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL GROWTH CENTRES IN SOUTHWEST-UGANDA –
Investigating the Effects of Water Infrastructure and other Driving Factors**

**Diplomarbeit
zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades
Diplomingenieur**

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Ländliche Wachstumszentren bergen ein großes Potenzial für die umgebenden Gebiete, da diese in bedeutender Weise von der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung der Zentren profitieren. Entwicklungshilfeorganisationen wie die Österreichische Entwicklungszusammenarbeit, sind daher an der Entwicklung ländlicher Gebiete und dieser Zentren interessiert, da die unterschiedliche Lebensqualität in ländlichen und urbanen Gebieten einen wichtigen Entscheidungsfaktor für die Migration in größere Städte darstellt, die wiederum die Armut in Städten und ländlichen Gebieten verschärft. Es wurden die Ansprüche der Bevölkerung und die Schlüsselfaktoren, welche die ländliche Entwicklung bestimmen, untersucht, wobei von einer sektorübergreifenden Betrachtungsweise ausgegangen wurde. Bedeutend in dieser Studie ist, dass die lokale Bevölkerung direkt befragt und deren Meinung niedergeschrieben wurde.

Die Studie wurde mit Methoden des Participatory Rural Appraisal in drei Kleinstädten durchgeführt, die zum Projektgebiet des Southwestern Towns Water and Sanitation Project (SWTWS) gehören. Den Kern bildeten Semi-structured Interviews, dabei wurde Wert auf Aspekte der Lebensqualität und Fragen der technischen und sozialen Infrastruktur gelegt. .

Das Ergebnis ist die Analyse der sehr verschiedenen Meinungen der befragten Personen. Darüber hinaus offenbarte die Studie die hochgradige Vernetzung der vielen Faktoren, welche die ländliche Entwicklung und den Lebensstandard beeinflussen. Die Annahme, dass ländliche Wachstumszentren potenzielle Migranten aus den umliegenden Dörfern anziehen, anstatt dass diese in größere Städte ziehen, erscheint korrekt. Von grundlegender Bedeutung sind Beschäftigungschancen bzw. Möglichkeiten, ein Einkommen zu erzielen, aber auch die höheren Standards in den öffentlichen Dienstleistungen, wie bessere Schulen und Gesundheitswesen. Dabei stellt die Wasserinfrastruktur einen essentiellen Faktor dar, allerdings nur in Kombination mit Infrastruktureinrichtungen anderer Art. Die soziale Struktur scheint ebenfalls einen erheblichen Einfluss auf die Lebensqualität zu haben.

Weiterhin zeigt diese Studie die Bedeutung sektorübergreifender Herangehensweisen in der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit auf. Idealerweise sollten die Ergebnisse dieser Untersuchung als Basis für eine Sensitivitätsanalyse dienen, wodurch Ansatzpunkte für nachhaltige Entwicklungsprojekte dargestellt und „entry points“ für effektive und erfolgreiche Interventionen identifiziert werden können.

ABSTRACT

Rural growth centres have a great potential for the surrounding areas, as these highly benefit from the economic development. Development Agencies like the Austrian Development Cooperation (ADC) are interested in the development of rural areas since the difference in quality of life between rural and urban areas is a decisive factor for migration into bigger towns, which provokes poverty in both. Therefore a survey was carried out using multidisciplinary perspectives in order to verify people's demands and key factors determining rural development. Significant in this study is that the voices of the people themselves were made heard.

Using methods of participatory rural appraisal, core of the study were semi-structured interviews carried out in three small towns within the area of the Southwestern Towns Water and Sanitation Project (SWTWS), thereby emphasising aspects of quality of life as well as addressing issues of physical and social infrastructure.

Main outcome are the very diverse opinions of the interviewed people. Additionally this study revealed a strong interconnectedness of many factors influencing rural development and the standard of living. The conjecture that rural growth centres could attract potential migrants from surrounding villages instead of them moving to larger towns or cities appears to be correct. Thereby water infrastructure is an essential factor but only in combination with other physical infrastructure, together representing basic conditions for employment opportunities and income generating activities, as well as increased public services standards, such as better schools and health facilities. Also social structure seems to have a significant influence on quality of life.

Furthermore this study draws attention to the importance of multidisciplinary perspectives in development assistance. Ideally, the findings should serve as basis for an impact analysis, which would provide starting points to sustainable development undertakings and particularly identify entry points for effective and successful interventions.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADC	Austrian Development Cooperation
DWD	Directorate of Water Development, Uganda
FAL	Functional Adult Literacy Programme
HDI	Human Development Index
GoU	Government of Uganda
MSMEs	Micro-, small- and medium-scale enterprises
PEAP	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
PRA	Participative Rural Appraisal
SWAp	Sector-wide approach
SWTWS	South Western Towns Water and Sanitation Project
WHO	World Health Organisation

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Focus of this thesis

Rural growth centres have a great potential for the surrounding areas, as these highly benefit from the economic development. Agencies like the Austrian Development Cooperation (ADC) are interested in the development of rural areas since the difference in quality of life between rural and urban areas is a decisive factor for migration into bigger towns, which provokes poverty in both rural and urban areas. Restriction of rural-urban migration is therefore desirable in the perception of the ADC. This study is based on the conjecture that rural growth centres can have a restraining effect on migration to bigger towns by providing basic infrastructure for inhabitants and villagers around. As this would be a basis for evenly distributed economic growth instead of leaving the rural areas behind, this is desirable in the opinion of the ADC.

The purpose of this thesis was to achieve a broadly based community understanding and the understanding of the connections between factors influencing community development, in order to apply this knowledge for the strengthening of rural areas within the framework of prospective development undertakings. Of particular interest were the following questions: Is water infrastructure really so important in the perception of people? What else is important? What do people really want and what do they understand by the notion 'development'? Thereby emphasis was laid on the voices of the people themselves who are living in or around the rural growth centres. This was accomplished by using methods of participative rural appraisal, mainly semi-structured interviews.

The core of this thesis forms a survey, which has been carried out in order to investigate the influence of water projects and other basic infrastructure in three towns within the area of the SWTWS. People's perceptions of 'development', 'progress', 'change' were examined, their priorities and which aspects of quality of life they find lacking. Emphasis was hereby laid on physical and social infrastructure, and its influence on the development of the communities in order to identify key factors affecting the dynamics

of the towns and the surrounding villages. Water infrastructure is an important element in rural development but only besides other infrastructure and social aspects. Therefore other sectors were found important to be included in the investigation. A multidisciplinary perspective was used in order to find out about people's 'demand mix' and the interconnectedness of components determining rural development.

Thereby it appeared significant to put people into the centre and ask them personally. In the author's personal point of view all development interventions should aim to improve the people's standard of living, hence much attention was paid to quality of life aspects. In a second study this analysis shall be applied for implementation of sustainable development undertakings, in particular to identify entry points for effective and successful interventions.

1.2 The Southwestern Towns Water and Sanitation project

The Southwestern Towns Water and Sanitation Project is funded by the Government of Uganda (GoU) with support from the Austrian Development Cooperation. It is part of the Urban Water and Sanitation Programme carried out by the Directorate of Water Development and implements water and sanitation activities in 49 towns in the southwest of Uganda, namely in seven districts: Kisoro, Kabale, Ntungamo, Mbarara, Bushenyi, Rukungiri and Kanungu.

The project serves the towns with potable water through public tapstands, private connections are possible as well. The key goal is to provide safe water supply and sanitation facilities based on management responsibility and ownership by users. Community involvement is therefore emphasised right from design, to operation and maintenance (SWTWS, no date given).

A map of the project area is shown in Figure 1.



Figure 1: Project area of the Southwestern Towns Water and Sanitation Project

1.3 Classification of Settlements in Uganda

According to definition of the Ugandan water sector policy rural growth centres or trading centres are between 500 and 5000 inhabitants. Rural growth centres are small towns which have the potential to provide employment facilities apart from the agricultural sector. They therefore contribute to the development in the surrounding areas as they provide access to markets and public services, stimulate small scale and labour intensive industry, promote agricultural diversification and the production of

surpluses, and have a retentive function for the population which would otherwise migrate to larger towns (Simon 1992). Rural growth centres also provide financial services and education facilities.

The DWD refers to small towns as settlements with less than 15.000 inhabitants, towns with larger numbers are referred to as larger towns (see Figure 2).

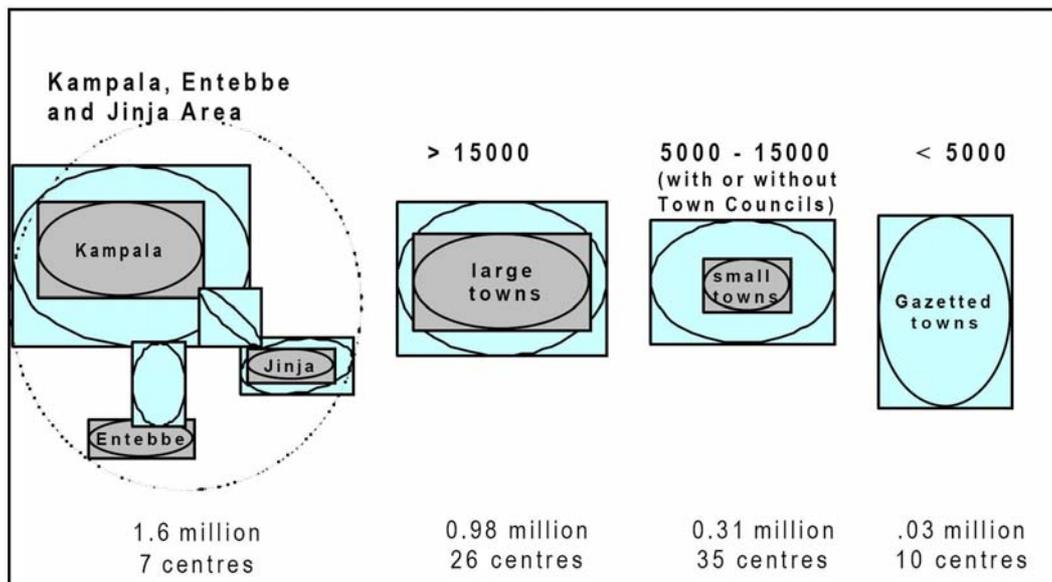


Figure 2: Urban settlement patterns in the year 2000 (Source: DWD)

2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

2.1 Rural development and rural-urban migration

2.1.1 Characteristics of the rural areas

Rural areas are characterised by the following in contrast to towns: more poverty disparities, unemployment and underemployment in correlation with overloading of women, stronger prevalence of diseases, illiteracy, migration of talented and educated people, poor organisation and coordination as well as poor representation of underprivileged persons (ÖEZA 2003). This relates to many other issues like water supply and sanitation, health, education, micro-, small- and medium-scale enterprises (MSMEs), transport infrastructure, migration, energy, culture. Rural development is therefore closely interlinked with other sectors and topics.

In its sector policy for rural development the Austrian Development agency (ÖEZA 2003) classifies rural development as an essential stabiliser for reduction of migration of poorer classes of population to towns. Apart from the difference in living standards the ADC sees the main factors contributing to migration in the lack of access to productive resources and insufficient knowledge about existing opportunities.

2.1.2 Migration

Reasons for migration can be land pressure, poor infrastructure and health facilities, poor employment and education facilities at the point of origin in combination with the expected improvements on the projected destination (Wiese 2000).

The migration decision also depends on other factors like the costs of the migration, the amount of information about the expected situation and the distance of the destination (Todaro and Smith 2003). Therefore the present information and communication system has a significant influence on the migration decision.

Rural-urban migration can have undesired effects. The average education level in towns as well as in the villages declines because in many cases better educated people move to

the towns in order to find better employment but usually have to compete with a higher education level there (Bähr 1983, Oberai 1988). In rural areas this causes a significant 'braindrain', the human capital, which is important for development is transferred to larger towns. Also the age distribution in the rural areas is altered and fewer young people have to support more and more elderly people. Therefore this movement is not only a result but increasingly accounts for rural underdevelopment (Bähr 1983).

Uganda is still a very rural country compared with other developing countries . Only 12% of the total population lives in urban settlements (UBOS 2004). One reason is the decline in rural-urban migration during the 1970s as a result of deteriorating security and economic conditions (Byrnes 1992). Another reason could be seen in the current information and communication system. The majority (53%) of the rural population in Uganda still uses the “word of mouth” as their main source of information, while the radio accounts for only 45% (UBOS 2004). As people do not desire what they do not know this is an important factor.

2.1.3 Measures

Actions taken to decrease rural-urban migration are most effective if they apply in the points of origin. Rural areas benefit if the economy of small towns and trading centres is stimulated (Schindegger 2000). Therefore rural growth centres are a favourable entry point for successful and sustainable interventions.

Rural development is also addressed in Uganda's Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), the most relevant issues are (MFPED 2004):

Agriculture: In the recent years income inequality increased remarkably, the Gini coefficient¹ rose from 0.36 in 1997 to 0.43 in 2003. Agriculture is a critical sector as it accounts for 77% of the total employment in Uganda (UBOS 2004), therefore it requires more focus than in the last years.

¹ The Gini coefficient is a measure of income inequality ranging from 0 (perfect equality) to 1 (perfect inequality) (Todaro and Smith 2003).

Access to public services: The poor are less well served than other groups, improvements therefore must be made to reach the poorest households. While school enrolment has increased in the last years the drop-out rate remains a serious problem, especially for girls which is often associated with poor sanitation and hygiene standards. No or not enough sanitation facilities are not only related with health but also with privacy which is for women in this case a bigger problem than for men.

The health sector does not only include physical infrastructure but also preventive measures like health education and promotion.

Energy: Electricity is a critical factor for the establishment of industries and services. In rural areas thereby the processing of agricultural products plays an important role, furthermore it increases the working hours. Electric power also potentially eases the pressure on the environment as most of the households still use kerosene and cook with charcoal or firewood. A rural electrification programme is initiated by the Government of Uganda.

Micro-, small- and medium-scale enterprises: About 12% of the employment in rural areas is provided by MSMEs. They comprise a variety of activities like retail trade, processing of agricultural products, restaurants and bars, transport and construction. Households whose main source of income are non-agricultural activities are usually better-off than others. MSMEs need more support in gaining business development skills and a sensitive taxation. Bureaucracy can also be an obstacle for their operation.

Financial services: Especially microfinancial institutions fill a gap in the market as they facilitate the establishment of small scale businesses. So far it has been concentrated in peri-urban areas and has tended not to finance agriculture. More funding for capacity-building and loans to encourage expansion in the agricultural sector is needed.

Transport infrastructure: Transport infrastructure is substantial because it links producers to consumers. Good roads connect surplus to deficit areas and also facilitate quick transport for perishable goods like milk or vegetables. Community

access roads especially need more attention as they encourage access to services and markets which stimulates trade.

Family planning advice: People need to know the reasons for the necessity to plan the size of their families as it determines the per capita income and therefore their financial resources. Reduction in the population growth rate would also relieve the strain on natural resources. Land especially is a very short resource in the southwest.

Community empowerment: Communities need to take part in political processes. Attention should be given to representatives of women, youth and disabled people. Communities also play a big role in providing services like preventive health schemes and maintaining water supplies. Therefore the management capacities of communities need to be strengthened. This also includes adult literacy.

Empowerment of women: Women tend to work longer hours than men, although their domestic tasks are often not recognised as working hours. Therefore all measures taken to reduce women's time spent on household activities help to release them from their overload. If women enter into economic activities outside the household, it increases the burden on their time but also leads to greater economic independence. Nevertheless women should become more empowered by equal ownership of assets and the prevention of domestic violence.

Structural Transformation: Production has been shifting slowly towards services and industry which should be encouraged. This fact is desirable as services and industrial production considerably contribute to the growth of GDP.

Decentralisation: Decentralisation means to leave certain political decisions and delivery of services to local governments which increases the efficiency. In this way corruption is reduced and decisions can be taken faster. Fiscal decentralisation facilitates the passage of funds to their intended destinations. Experiences show that decentralisation improves service delivery.

All these components or factors are interlinked which makes rural development a delicate business. Nowadays in international development cooperation it is not considered as an independent sector anymore but rather as a multidimensional field

which has to deal with specific socio-economic conditions and cultural traditions (ÖEZA 2003).

2.2 Infrastructure

Two kinds of infrastructure are distinguished, both of which are needed for development:

Technical or physical infrastructure comprises roads, communication, electricity, water supply and sanitation, communication services and similar artificial structures. Technical infrastructure forms the interface between the natural resources and their utilisation (ÖEZA 2001). Hence there is a necessity to meet the requirements of both sides, the environment and the people.

Social infrastructure stands for services like education, health facilities and social welfare. It should not be mixed up with social structure which comprises factors like community cohesion or the relations among the individuals.

Schindegger (2000) stated that provision of infrastructure has an important influence on the economic development of small towns. He also said, infrastructure alone can not bring about economic growth but would be a crucial factor for development. Therefore issues in development assistance are not only to provide infrastructure but to assess its impact on the lives of the people and the environment.

Concerning migration the experiences in provision of infrastructure are mixed. In contrast to the common belief that provision of services and infrastructure impedes excessive rural-urban migration, many studies show that the availability of public amenities or economic opportunities tend to encourage migration (Beauchemin and Schoumaker 2005). Beauchemin and Schoumaker (2005) found out that in fact many facilities seemed to induce migration for which a stimulated taste for urban lifestyle could be a reason. According to this study only few facilities have a retentive effect like markets and places of entertainment, certain types of economic opportunities, and the existence of large companies.

2.3 The contribution of water and sanitation projects to rural development

Water is essential for life and therefore a basis for human development. The prevention of water related diseases caused by unsafe sources and poor hygienic standards affects the health of people and hence their productivity. Water is also a factor of production, access to sufficient water enforces the establishment of industry and small enterprises. It is particularly important for efficient agricultural activities which has an eminent significance as the agricultural sector in Uganda accounts for 77% of the total employment (UBOS 2004). The water sector is closely related with the cross-cutting issues fighting poverty and gender equality (ÖEZA 2001). In particular women, who are traditionally responsible for water supply in the family, can spend more time on other activities if they have access to a closer and safer source of water. Care for ill family members is also a task for women. Also children have better access to schools because they are released from spending hours fetching water. Sanitation has an influence on school attendance as well, especially girls are affected by missing or poor sanitation facilities. This leads to better education which in turn leads to better chances for employment.

Schindegger (2000) investigated the contribution of water projects to rural development, particularly the rural-urban migration within the Southwestern Towns Water and Sanitation project (SWTWS). He states in his thesis that lacking water infrastructure in general does not seem to be a reason for a person to migrate somewhere else but the prevalence of water related diseases is. Therefore water supply and sanitation as a component of a package of measures like electricity supply or better transport infrastructure contributes immensely to the economic potential of growing small towns.

2.4 Communities and the importance of social structure

Schouten and Moriarty (2003) describe communities as more than a sum of individuals or interest groups. Rather they are complex and dynamic systems which change constantly in their power balances, wealth, size and other aspects. They are also not isolated but are in continuous interaction with other communities or towns, and the

whole system in which they are embedded like the district or country. Therefore communities are strongly affected by development in neighbouring communities or the larger system around.

The SWTWS takes this factor into consideration trying to bring up access to water supply and sanitation equally in a whole region and not in discrete towns far from each other. It seems to have a positive impact, it creates a kind of positive competition and seeing that the neighbours creates trust in the programme. The project even goes as far as to believe communities with a better water supply scheme could possibly not maintain it by themselves because they could feel guilty when their neighbours are still suffering from water borne diseases (Schattauer 2005).

Communities are characterised by heterogeneity, division of interests and differences in power, which are based or rooted on cultural patterns and beliefs, or on economic or political differences. These are elements of social structure which is different for every community and often not easy to understand. Nevertheless a substantial understanding of the community structure and dynamic is vital for sustainable development interventions. Especially in projects which are based on community based operation and maintenance, like the water supply and sanitation projects in small towns in Uganda, depend on the management capacities of communities which for a big part are determined by leadership, gender issues and social cohesion. Social cohesion is essential for the community management capacities as more connected populations may be better able to mobilize their resources, and may be better able to bring diverse perspectives to solve problems (Hannemann 1998).

2.5 The individuals and their standard of living

Even if communities are not only a sum of individuals it is necessary to recognise that the people themselves are the basis of all activities. Besides all efforts to strengthen the economy and boost development it must not be forgotten that after all every intervention aims to improve the quality of life of the people. Therefore participatory approaches must be used in the planning and implementation of development projects which put the individuals in the centre of the process.

The most common Indicator to measure the quality of life is the Human Development Index (HDI). It measures factors like poverty, literacy, education, life expectancy and others. It is a standard means of measuring well-being, derived from social indicators like life expectancy at birth, literacy rate, physicians per 100.000 population (Todaro and Smith 2003). However, these factors might influence or be influenced by the quality of life but say nothing about the individual lives. Quality of life comprises also subjective factors which are difficult to measure like freedom, happiness, mental health, leisure, safety, cultural resources, and social life (Wikipedia 2005). The World Health Organisation (WHO) developed a questionnaire for assessments concerning the quality of life (WHO 1995) which pays attention to these aspects. The actual standard of living can not be assessed only by statistical data as it is a very subjective issue. Nevertheless such assessments are necessary before and after implementation of projects in order to detect drawbacks, adjust planning and monitor the success of interventions.

2.6 Sector-wide approaches and multidisciplinary

Many development agencies and government policies nowadays favour the sectorwide approach (SWAp). It is mentioned in the sector policies of the ADC as well as in Ugandas Poverty Eradication Action Plan. It mainly means a method of working in order to achieve a sustained partnership between all 'development partners' within one sector, which are the government, the donors and all stakeholders. The working principles include: developing a single sector policy and strategy, coordinated management and monitoring, and necessary institutional reforms and capacity building within medium-term projections. Sector-wide approaches promise more efficiency in contrast to single development projects due to better coordination among donors and actors, a greater planning focus, avoiding duplication and decrease corruption (SDC 2004). Compared with the former approaches this is a step towards more complexity in order to achieve more efficiency and effectiveness.

However, the issue of sector-wide approaches is currently under controversial discussion, especially concerning the agricultural sector. First experiences in complex topics pose specific problems (ÖEZA 2003). Particularly in the agricultural sector the

interests of the several stakeholders are very different and often contradictory. Also the size of farms and the types of production are very diverse, which requires adjusted local strategies. Furthermore the structures of cooperation within this sector are highly complex with many partners and participants on different levels (national, regional and local). In such a case complexity exacerbates the approach to development projects as apparently for the planners it is not easy to deal with. Dörner (1996) states in his book about strategic thinking in complex situations that people tend to think in linear structures but complex thinking can be learned.

However, the sector-wide approach is a kind of vertical coordination as institutions and stakeholders on different levels are linked. The question is whether a kind of lateral coordination is needed as well. Dörner (1996) also writes that an insufficient analysis of all components leads to a 'quick fix' rather than addressing the root-cause. Deficiencies and drawbacks might not be present at the time of planning but develop later. This means that they remain undetected until they are manifest. Deficiencies must be regarded in relation to the system in which they are embedded, in order to recognise developing imbalances early. This shows that the systems regarded in development assistance are not only complex but also dynamic, they change over time, which means that the future also has to be considered in the planning.

The 'sustainable livelihoods approach' copes better with the linkages among the several components and sectors. This perspective pays attention to all components which are part of the basis of existence in the micro scale, the so called livelihood assets (natural, physical, human, financial and social capital) putting the people themselves in the centre of development (DFID 1999). This again refers to the ADC's sector policy for rural development in which is mentioned that monosectoral approaches in this sector are rarely sufficient for fighting poverty. Rather an integrated analysis of the general local conditions must generally precede any intervention, which leads at least partially to a multisectoral strategy (ÖEZA 2003).

Tiberghien (2002) investigated this topic thoroughly and showed that the interactions between factors traditionally associated with distinct disciplines are significant. He states that the outcome of his research “...*strongly suggests that interdisciplinary*

teamwork, notably through the use of holistic approaches, would make development projects more sustainable.”

As already mentioned communities are complex and dynamic and are embedded in larger, again complex and dynamic structures. So we have to deal with an interconnectedness of not only one but several complex systems, which are not even static but change continuously. The recognition of this fact makes successful and sustainable interventions in development assistance a big challenge.

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Approach

Besides an extensive literature and secondary data review methods of participatory rural appraisal (PRA) were used. The core of this study consisted of semi-structured interviews with inhabitants and key informants of three rural growth centres and the surrounding villages in Kabale (Muhanga) and Ntungamo District (Rwashamaire, Rwentobo), three project towns of the SWTWS project. In contrast to questionnaires semi-structured interviews have the advantage of revealing and focusing on new topics which would have been left out otherwise. The participants have the possibility to talk freely and emphasise issues important for their personal life and are also allowed to ask questions by themselves (Schönhuth und Kievelitz 1993). For this a list of key topics was produced which is attached as Appendix 1. Besides general points like age, occupation, home and family, this list contained questions about whether the person thinks or thought about leaving and her/his possible reasons and issues concerning infrastructure and the general life within or around town. Aspects of quality of life were particularly emphasised in these interviews.

It shall be pointed out that this key topic list was not a questionnaire. The interviews were designed to be more like a conversation and personalised. Apart from the key topics prepared before the interviewees were always free to say what they find important. Due to this flexible approach (action research) the key topic list was modified during the course of the interviews and adapted to the local conditions.

Before starting the interviews in the respective towns observations were made to map the existing facilities/amenities and time lines worked out which show when these facilities were established.

3.2 Selection of towns and interviewees

For both, selecting towns and the interviewees, the method of stratified random sampling in a disproportional way was applied, which is described in Robson (2002). In

order to investigate the influence of water infrastructure on the development, three towns were chosen: one which has the water scheme constructed by the SWTWS a long time ago (Muhanga), one which had it for a shorter time (Rwashamaire) and one which had no improved water supply and sanitation by the time of the study but is already in contact with the SWTWS (Rwentobo).

The people chosen for the interviews represented different groups within the towns. It was made sure that all groups were represented with at least one person (men/women, old/young, poor/better-off, different religions, educated or not, underprivileged people, people with a house water connection). People from the villages around were also interviewed. The first persons approached were key persons like the community or parish chairperson and the water scheme operator or the chairperson of the water and sanitation committee. These persons helped to identify the different groups present in the town and to find interview participants. A list with the characteristics of the interviewees is attached as Appendix 2.

3.3 Procedure and data analysis

With the semi-structured interviews emphasis was laid on a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach. It was made sure that every group was represented with at least one person interviewed in a personalised style instead of questioning as many people as possible. Therefore in the results such expressions like '80 percent of the interviewees said' are avoided because the numbers interviewed did not match the sizes of the represented groups and hence are not representative for such analyses. Rather shall be highlighted the existence of certain opinions and perceptions and/or their variety.

Most of the interviews in Muhanga and Rwashamaire took place in the town water offices; in Rwentobo nearly all interviews took place at the people's houses or shops as a town water office was not yet existing there. Altogether 38 people were interviewed. It was also planned to interview people who have already left the towns about their reasons but it seemed to be impossible to find suitable persons. The people found had left the towns too long ago and did not reveal anything new, thus are not included in the study.

The interviews were translated by a staff member of the SWTWS project. Though probably not always translated accurately, the results might have not been affected. No tape recorder was used but notes were taken during the interviews in a field diary. An example of a typical interview is given within this thesis (see next page); the full interview diary including notes and description of the surveyed towns is attached to this thesis as Appendix 4 on CD.

To make sure that the participants feel as the owners of the data and for avoiding the situation of taking away something without giving something in exchange, the people were promised to be informed about the results of the study. After finishing the thesis reports will be produced for every town and sent to the respective town water offices or the water committee chairperson. This was regarded as important as it would facilitate later studies in the same areas if people know what happens with the time and effort they dedicated to the surveys.

The obtained data was analysed in a qualitative and descriptive approach, namely the Miles and Huberman approach as described in Robson (2002). The results were cross-checked with the translator and people from the SWTWS project, and a student of social sciences which were mostly local people. Data triangulation was used to verify the validity (interviews, observations, literature and documents).

This thesis is written completely from the point of view of an engineer, even if it relates to a great extent to a social topic. A collective work together with a social scientist as it was planned at the beginning would probably have brought deeper insights in the communities. Nevertheless, this study shows that engineers are and have to be able to deal with social issues.

The Interview Diary

This document, which is attached to this thesis as Appendix 4 on CD, contains notes taken during the interviews and the description of the survey towns. As an example one of the interviews is given below.

Jennifer Kagole

40 years, divorced, 2 children, in primary and nursery school

place of interview: her shop

(How much do you spend on school fees?) 160 000 per year for both children.

(Do you find it difficult?) Yes, I do.

(What are you living from?) I operate a small bar and have some cattle but the income is still not satisfactory.

(Did you ever think of leaving this place?) No, because I own this house and cannot go elsewhere to rent one.

(Did members of your family or friends leave?) No.

(How do you think will you benefit personally from the water supply?) It saves me time and money because when my children are in school I pay people to fetch water for me.

(What will the water supply bring for the town?) It will bring the new phenomenon of safe water.

(What will it change?) There will be a population increase, hotels will increase, infrastructure.

(How long have you been here?) 4 years.

(Where have you been before?) In Ntungamo.

(What do you think about electricity?) It makes the town more lively.

(What would you find more important, electricity or water?) Both, but water is more important. Instead of electricity you can use paraffin or candles, for water there is no substitute.

(Why did you come here and did not go to another place?) I wanted to be nearer to my ancestors home.

(How long did you spend in Ntungamo?) 8 years.

(What does your family do?) They cultivate.

(How do the surrounding villages benefit from the development of the town?) The town provides local market, social amenities, medical services and education.

(What do you really like about this town?) It is near my home so I can manage activities on my farm easily

(What do you think is lacking?) Better looking buildings, the population is not enough to sustain development

(Is there a difference between the problems of the villagers and the town people?) Yes, in the villages is a lack of transport services.

(Any other problems?) The villagers do not have electricity.

(Do you have leisure time?) Maybe on Sundays but not during the week.

(Do you miss the free time?) Yes.

(Do you have a lot of work?) I am not overloaded, i can cope.

(Are you satisfied with your quality of life?) It is difficult paying the school fees.

(Do you have any dream about your life to make it better?) If I had enough capital to expand my business to look after my children better.

(Couldn't you get a loan?) I can but I fear it because of the interest rates involved.

(Are there any money generating projects you are involved in?) Yes.

(Apart from that which other groups do you join?) A welfare project.

(Are you independent?) Yes and I do not even have a husband to order me around.

(Do you think women here are generally independent?) Yes, it has basically improved.

(What education do you have?) Senior 2.

(Do you think this town needs an adult education facility?) Yes, but it does not exist.

(How do you imagine Rwentobo in 5 years?) It will be more developed, people will have bought plots so they will build and if the airport is constructed so she hears, people will settle down here and development will naturally take root.

(How was the town in former times compared to now?) There are schools now, increase in population, development of milk processing industries.

(Are there any public services in the town?) Maybe clinics (Author's note: The clinics are private, not public, the next government hospital is 7km away.)

(Do you see any negative aspects of the ongoing development?) Maybe pollution.

(What do you think about all the litter and rubbish scattered in the town?) I think this is very unhealthy.

(Do you have a mobile phone?) No.

(Do you find it important?) Yes, but it is too expensive for me, it would help me to keep contact with my relatives.

(What else do you find important for development apart from water and electricity?) Improving transport network, provision of a college, university, milk processing centres.

(Is there anything what I did not ask but what you find important to say?) Will the water be nearby or in households? (Author's note: Dennis explained everything, which means that the SWTWS project will construct tapstands, but private connections are feasible for a certain connection fee.)

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF THE SURVEY

4.1 General findings

The three towns do not only differ in the time when they got the water supply but also in the whole stage of development. However, the sequence of when they got certain infrastructure was more or less the same. First police posts were established after the new government took place (1986) which raised the security immensely. People said with the establishment of the police posts the villagers would have started to move towards small towns. This verifies that safety is one of the basic needs and obviously a reason to migrate. Later an improvement of roads followed which facilitated movement and brought even more villagers to town, at least for trade. Electricity also had a big impact and with this amenities which were not possible before. New businesses sprang up like the hairdressers or welding, entertainment facilities like video halls, and shop owners were able to use fridges and sell cold drinks and also locally produced drinks like juices which can now be kept fresh. Also the communication network could be established. In this way electricity had a very big impact on the development, it boosted business and also increased safety tremendously. The water supply schemes also had a big impact, water-borne diseases decreased and so the productivity of people was raised. With electricity the establishment of factories was possible, but they were found only in Rwashamaire. The correlations of the infrastructure with development is very complex and it is impossible to explain everything within this thesis but a few linkages are already mentioned and some important examples will be described further down.

4.2 Specific observations

As much as the towns have in common, they also differ in population size, their location on important roads or other facilities like schools or health facilities and many other things:

4.2.1 Muhanga

Muhanga is situated on the road from Kampala to Rwanda 36km before Kabale. It benefits a lot from this location and has therefore always been a trading centre. Despite of this it is a very small town, by time of this survey there were about 900 inhabitants.

Most of the houses are concentrated along the road to Kabale and Kisiisi. The market in the centre, some are on the hills which rise to the left and right to the town. Waste could be seen lying around on the streets; a waste disposal system does not exist. It is fairly busy, a lot of people and boda-boda drivers (motorcycle- or bicycle taxis) were seen in the town.

Muhanga was the first town in which the SWTWS project implemented a water supply structure; the scheme started its operation in January 1999. By the time of the survey 15 private connections were established. Electricity was established in 1994, apart from that there are a lot of lodges, a village bank, primary schools and a secondary school, and a family planning advice service.

4.2.2 Rwashamaire

Rwashamaire is a bigger town, with by time of this survey about 5000 inhabitants according to the interviewed people. It is also situated on a quite important road which connects two district capitals (Ntungamo and Rukungiri) and connects further to the Republic of Congo. The road is under construction, being tarmacked for the first time. The buildings concentrate mainly along this road. Under the ongoing road construction project financed by the European Community it was made very wide and straight. Some people called it a "highway". Rwashamaire has a lot more facilities than Muhanga, there is a bank, a post office, factories (maize, coffee, timber), primary and secondary schools, some of which are private, a public health centre and county headquarters.

Rwashamaire looked very clean compared with Muhanga, a waste disposal system is established. The water scheme started operation in August 2002 with by the time of this survey 3 household connections. Electricity was established in 2000, the communication network followed immediately.

The people living in and around Muhanga and Rwashamaire are Bakiga which are traditionally farmers. They cultivate mostly matooke (cooking bananas) and sweet bananas, sorghum, sweet and Irish potatoes and several vegetables.

4.2.3 Rwentobo

Rwentobo is the smallest of the three towns. The population figure could not be ascertained but according to the inhabitants themselves they are more than 500. Considered this figure Rwentobo takes a large area, the houses are very scattered compared with Muhanga or Rwashamaire. It is situated on the same road as Muhanga, the road from Kampala to Kabale on the junction to Rwanda via Runara. In contrast to Muhanga it did not benefit till now from this location. However, Rwentobo seems to have a great future because an international airport is going to be built next to the town as the inhabitants said.

The town has applied for a water supply system and is currently trying to fulfil the requirements SWTWS is requesting to enter the program. Population data is inaccessible because the town lies in two sub counties, a responsible office could not be identified.

The monthly market was changed to weekly after the supply with electricity (2000), there are some primary schools and a high school. The people in Rwentobo are mainly cattle farmers because the area is too dry for cultivation. They are also a different tribe, the Bahima, which were nomadic pastoralists in former times.

4.3 Results of the interviews

The interviews were initially focused on some factors which were regarded as important concerning the development of the town. During the course of the interviews more factors influencing development were revealed, which closely relate to the issues addressed in Uganda's Poverty Eradication Action Plan. The most important ones are explained below.

4.3.1 Water infrastructure

The water scheme is considered to be “a good thing”, it is important, facilitates life. In Muhanga and Rwashamaire water related diseases have decreased, people save a lot of time because water is nearby and they also save a lot of money if they previously bought it from vendors. In Rwentobo people expect this, whereby the diseases seemed to be the most important factor, time and money was mentioned only after direct questions.

Muhanga had long queues at the water source before the project was implemented. In Rwentobo people still have to queue for water, sometimes for 2 or 3 hours which can mean closing their shops and making children late for school. Therefore people really appreciate the supply. Apart from that for many people the water supply is a reason to stay in town because they contributed with money to its installation, which was a challenge for most of them.

“Instead of electricity you can use paraffin or candles, for water there is no substitute.”

Jennifer Kagole (40), shop owner, Rwentobo

Sanitation was mentioned only by some people in Muhanga, it was said that sanitation was very poor. By the time of implementation of the water scheme 100% sanitation was not yet a requirement of the SWTWS project. A reason could be that it was the first town completed and because of lacking experiences the requirements were not that high in this time. However, it was said that sanitation has improved. It was also related with security, to have the toilet in the house is very safe, especially at night.

“If you have water in your house at night, you are comfortable, you are safe. It has brought security at home.”

Joy Kanyabwera (44), has a private connection, Muhanga

4.3.2 Electricity

Electricity is mostly related with security, especially in the streets after dark. In Muhanga most people have electricity in their shops and homes; in Rwashamaire many people could not afford the establishment. In Rwentobo electricity was only in a few shops and in nearly no homes. The bills are high compared with the incomes but it depends what people use it for. Just two bulbs were not found expensive but running a fridge all day in a shop is. In Muhanga people leave their shops open longer. In former times they closed at 6 or 7 pm because even if they used paraffin or candles it was very dim and the customers could cheat easily. In Rwashamaire many shop owners still live in outside villages and they go home before dark, therefore many shops close early despite of availability of electricity.

Three shop owners who already had their shops before the establishment of electricity, said that even if they leave their shops open for longer, they would not make an extra profit because of the electricity bill. Despite of this they prefer electricity, it is just more convenient. It also has a benefit for health because paraffin lamps produce smoke which causes dizziness, one person mentioned.

It was said that the working hours have generally increased (e.g. light in offices). A significant effect in all three towns was that the land prices rose tremendously. The houses built after the electricity supply were permanent buildings, not the temporary mud houses anymore. It was said that “people are settling down”.

4.3.3 Security

Security was improved a lot with the establishment of the new government (1986) which set up police posts in all towns. It was said that at this time people started to move from the villages to the towns. Electricity also had a big impact. If the town is light at night the inhabitants do not fear to be on the street after dark.

Some people see a relation between population growth and a decrease in security, only one person said it would be safer in bigger towns. However, a growing town does not only attract good persons. In Muhanga some people were concerned about security

while in Rwashamaire and Rwentobo nobody sees any problem with it. A reason might be that the police in Muhanga is corrupt, as it was mentioned, but it rather seems to be related with the stage of development.

“There are some bad people. Not everyone can be good, they do not work, they want to steal something.”

Mary Rujabuka, water scheme operator, Muhanga.
After the question whether she sees disadvantages of the ongoing development.

4.3.4 Business

Microcredits are available in the towns but one has to provide securities which many people lack. The interest rates are very high; it can be up to 3% per month. Saving groups have been formed, many people are members of one of these groups (Which means, everybody saves for instance 1000 Shilling per day and at the end of the week one person of the group gets everything.). Borrowing from friends or relatives can be an option as well but mostly they have not enough money for themselves.

“It was difficult in the start, paying it back, having a balance for eating.”

Rehema Mujuni (30), shop owner, Rwashamaire.
Got a loan to expand with her shop.

“I can but I fear it because of the interest rates involved.”

Jennifer Kagole (40), shop owner, Rwentobo

The differences between the three towns are very big: Muhanga is very busy and business seems to be the most topic of interest. Some people first refused the interview because they did not want to be kept away from their business. In Rwashamaire the

people were more relaxed; they were even keen to talk to us and did not mind to close their shops to come to the water office for the interviews. Possibly they would not have earned that much during this time. It was said there was no money in Rwashamaire, which means that people just can not afford all the things provided. In Rwentobo this situation was even more extreme. There were some shops but not many customers, which is one barrier to expand. For instance there was no restaurant which could provide a lunch because there are no or not enough customers who were financially strong enough to use this facility.

The proportion of shops owned or at least run by women was very high which is an indicator for their empowerment.

4.3.5 Land

Land is short and expensive, it became dramatically expensive after electricity came to the towns which makes the town more inaccessible for the poor. The land is also fragmented which is a common problem, many people have not enough for subsistence farming. One person said that only the uneducated people would stick on the land, the educated people would get a job (e.g. in offices) or work in other businesses.

In Rwentobo the situation is a bit different from the other towns as the climatic conditions there do not allow extensive agriculture. It is a very dry part of Uganda suitable for cattle farming. Still they mentioned to have the same problem with land fragmentation.

4.3.6 Health facilities

In Rwashamaire is a public health centre with dispensary which provides good medical treatment at fair prices. All the asked people there were content with it but most of the medicines must be bought from expensive drug stores because the medication is not available in the required amounts. In Muhanga and Rwentobo are only private clinics. A person said that in Muhanga the clinics would take advantage of the people and some people would have to go home without treatment because they can not pay. Most people there indicated that they prefer to go to Kabale town for medical treatment which can be

very inconvenient by public transportation. In Rwentobo the next public health centre is 7 km away and there the transport is a problem as well because many people can not pay it. Most people in Muhanga and Rwentobo find a hospital lacking in the town.

“Here is no good hospital, we have to go to Kabale with every simple disease. Transport is easy and cheap but if you have to transport a sick person it is very inconvenient. At night you would have to get a special hire which is very expensive.”

James Banamba (42), water scheme chairman, Muhanga

4.3.7 Communication

Mobile network is available in the towns; it facilitates business because people do not have to go to Kampala anymore to increase their stock. They can call and ask for prices and the goods are delivered everywhere. In this way it saves a lot of time and money.

People also indicated that it is convenient to stay in contact with their relatives. While in Muhanga nearly everyone had a mobile phone in Rwashamaire many people could not afford it. In Rwentobo there were only a few.

Internet is not yet available for the public in any of these towns but in Rwashamaire it was mentioned as one of the things they desired. In Rwashamaire was even a fixed network phone before the mobile network was established around the year 2000, but due to poor maintenance it broke down and was not repaired again.

4.3.8 Education

There are some primary schools in all of these towns, in Muhanga the first secondary school was opened in 2004. In the other towns are several secondary and high schools. In Rwashamaire some of the schools are private and possibly provide better quality education. Some of them have been there for a long time. Parents struggle a lot with the school fees, especially for the secondary school as it is much more expensive. It has an

eminent importance for the parents that their children get education. Some of them send their children to boarding schools in other towns because they think the education provided in their own town is no good quality.

Some of the interviewed people have no or very little education. It was indicated several times that some adult education facilities would be appreciated, even if they would have to pay. All the interviewed people without any education would go back to school if they had the opportunity. One woman even pays somebody privately to teach her how to read, write and calculate. The Government of Uganda (GoU) initiated the Functional Adult Literacy programme (FAL) (MFPED 2004) but it has so far obviously not reached the towns investigated in this survey.

In Uganda it still happens that some children can not go to school because they have to care for their families, for instance if the parents die young.

4.3.9 Transport

Transport is considered very easy; there are 'boda-bodas' (motorcycle - or bicycle taxis), 'matatus' (minibuses), and buses from and to Kampala or Mbarara all the day. Transport at night is very expensive because the only possibility would be a special hire. In Muhanga means of transport are used very much and people find it cheap, in Rwashamaire they find it very costly. Many of them can not even pay a boda-boda from their villages to the town and walk every day back and forth. One of the interviewed persons was on the way for six hours everyday. Also the shop owners there are not able to go anytime to Mbarara to refill their stock, they have to wait until they have saved enough money. In Rwentobo money is the limiting factor as well, even more than in Rwashamaire, which does not mean that it is more expensive, there is simply no money in this town.

The improvement of the roads facilitated transport, the mobility increased, which has an influence on the economy (trade, markets) but also on migration. In Rwentobo it was said that the prices went down generally in the town when the roads were improved, possibly stimulated competition due to facilitated transport.

4.3.10 Family planning

Polygamy is still existing, some people say it is decreasing, others say it would increase. In Muhanga it was present to a large extent, in Rwashamaire with fewer cases, in Rwentobo nearly not at all. In Muhanga some people were found who support it, which does not necessarily depend on the religion or gender. None of the interviewed Moslem women supports it, some of them were even divorced. However, it happens not only among Moslems. To most of the people it is clear that having more wives means more children for which school fees have to be paid. It can also cause family conflicts.

Nevertheless, it seems that with the growth of the towns more men can afford to have more wives. One person in Rwashamaire stated that men from the villages would open a shop in the town, when they have become better-off they move to the town permanently and take another wife there. So they live in two households.

Finally it can not be said whether it increases or decreases, the effects are known but many people take another wife if they can afford it.

“There are more women than men in Uganda, they all want to get married.”

Mary Rujabuka, water scheme operator, Muhanga

“People do it because they can afford it, I would like to have more wives”

Rashidi Kanyarutokye (47), butcher, Muhanga

“Many people have more than one wife, then they realise that it is very costly and dangerous. They think they would have more peace if they would marry a second wife but then they realise that they do not have more peace, it is a source of poverty and family conflicts.”

Eric Kubiriba (64), teacher and chairperson of the water board, Rwashamaire

Some people planned their number of children beforehand, they planned a number which is “enough to manage”. In this regard there were no differences between the towns.

In Muhanga an AIDS and Family planning advice service is available. HIV was not even once mentioned during the interviews. In Kabale and Ntungamo districts are only few AIDS cases compared with other districts (MoH 2003), which indicates a low HIV prevalence. It might therefore not be an issue.

4.3.11 Social relations

The good cooperation within the community was mentioned from several persons in Rwentobo, new people are not segregated but they are also not many. This cooperation is something particularly appreciated within this town. Financial help can hardly be found within families and friends but the reasons are not lacking social relations but simply a lack of money.

In Muhanga there are tensions between the original inhabitants of the town and the villagers who come or came in. There are not really problems but one person said that the population is very local and new people somehow “misfit”.

Rwashamaire is neither of both cases. People just get along with each other but this town is also much bigger than the others, it has already been bigger for a very long time. Possibly in Muhanga the situation some years ago was very similar to Rwentobo, that people were sticking together but integrating new people. If this is the case then in the authors opinion conflicts are likely to increase in Rwentobo as the town grows. It could also be assumed that with a certain size of the town such problems disappear (like Rwashamaire). However, solid conclusions in this matter can not be drawn.

4.3.12 Poverty

“Poor people can not afford to live in the town.”

Statement of my translator Judith Orishaba

In the towns there were some poor or underprivileged people but they were actually living in the villages. The ongoing development makes the life in the town more expensive, in the villages it is possible to survive without any money for months, just because of the subsistence agriculture. The only case of underprivileged persons staying in the town known to the author is a single old and handicapped woman in Rwentobo, living from the goodwill of other people. This means that those who benefit most from the development are those who are already better off, the ones which can afford to live in the town.

For underprivileged people there is little support by the government. Affected are mainly widows with children and disabled people. The former could benefit a lot from e.g. an improved water supply as long as they are living in the town because this would release time for money generating activities.

The differences between poor and better-off people seemed to be the biggest in Muhanga, the least in Rwentobo, which basically means that in Muhanga there were a lot of well-off people (compared with the others), in Rwashamaire some better-off ones, in Rwentobo nearly all people were poor. The poor do not get poorer but some people get the chance to make money with the growth of the town. This shows the relation with the fact that the Gini-coefficient rose in the recent years, the development of rural growth centres obviously increases the inequality of incomes.

The financial status of a person depends to a high grade on the number of children and which kind of school they attend. Some parents live on the lowest level of subsistence just to provide their children with (good) education and look forward to them finishing.

“This place is overpopulated, we are poor, we cannot produce more children. The major problem is land and money, I cannot send my children to the secondary school, there is an economic crisis.”

“I miss a school for orphans, or an organisation which supports orphans and widows.”

Christine Matsiko (28), peasant, widowed, Rwentobo

4.3.13 Empowerment of women

All people except for one agreed that women in Uganda have become more selfconfident and independent in the recent years and most of them find it important or like it, except for one interviewed man in Muhanga. A reason for this improvement is the current government which released women rights and information campaigns. Also education is a factor. Women can now compete with men, they have their own shops and contribute to the income of the families. In former times they had been completely dependent on their husbands.

“In some way women have become more confident, but I don't like it. They respond. In old days they just did what you said, now they ask: “why?”.”

“It is the government, they came up with women rights, now women sometimes don't respect their husbands anymore and they do not care very well, you can not beat her, then she runs to the police...”

Rashidi Kanyarutokye, (47) butcher, Muhanga

“Yes, they are getting more independent, women are empowered in this town. There are local counsellors which are women, even chair persons. There are no difficulties in this issue, there are no rapes, no harassment, women are free.”

Imaam Babigumura (57), parish chief, Rwashamaire

There are still some men who restrict their wives. This can lead to women having to break their education or not being allowed to have shops. Theoretically this is against the law but not all women take their rights. However, some of the interviewed women were divorced because of problems in their marriage.

Women in Muhanga made a more independent impression than for instance the ones in Rwentobo.

As already mentioned water infrastructure saved a lot of time and effort. Women put this time into their businesses, other household activities or simply take some time for themselves. Also the women in Rwentobo indicated that they would use the saved time “for other development”. Regarding this every component of development which saves time, be it the water supply, cooking with electricity instead of charcoal or just using a means of transport instead of walking, encourages the empowerment because saved time and strength are a potential for further development.

It was mentioned that there could be more self-help projects like special loans for women or loans with lower interest rates.

In interviews with women the leisure time question usually caused at least a smile if not laughter. Most women have not got any leisure time in contrast to the men. In this matter there are no differences between the towns. If they have some more time they simply do something else, preferably something with economical benefit.

“You can relax at night, during the day there is no time to relax!”

Mary Rujabuka, water scheme operator, Muhanga.
Said it laughing.

“If what you are doing has an economic value, then free time is not so important“

Agnes Tushabe (26), farmer, Rwentobo

4.3.14 Migration

There are mainly three reasons to leave the town for a bigger one: further (or better) education, to find a job or to expand the business. Only two young persons, from Muhanga and Rwentobo, just want to go “to a bigger place” without giving further explanation, both of them have lived in bigger towns before. This links to the

“No, never, I will never leave, I like it very much. I am developing here, I will stay, I want to expand with my saloon”

Siyaani Namusake (31), has a hair dresser business, Rwashamaire

assumption made in the study from Burkina Faso (Beauchemin and Schoumaker 2005) that more infrastructure could stimulate the taste for urban lifestyle. In Muhanga many people said that they would like to leave for one of these reasons if they got the possibility. Generally most of the people prefer to stay and watch the development which is taking place. They are very curious and excited about it. The information standard must play a role as well, as already mentioned in chapter 2.1.2.

There is also an in-migration from the villages around. In Rwentobo this is not so strong yet, but Rwashamaire and Muhanga grow explosively. Before people move to the town they open a shop and still stay in the village. When they have earned some money they move in, when they have saved enough money to expand they move to bigger towns because there are more customers. Two of the three interviewed villagers in Muhanga said they would like to move into the town.

In the diagram about the population growth of Muhanga (Figure 3) can be seen that the town grows rapidly. Unfortunately data from the time before the water supply was established is not available, so it can not be seen which influence it had on the growth rate. It was also not possible to find out what happened in the year 2003 when the population decreased. The data originates from the public health office and is based on household surveys.

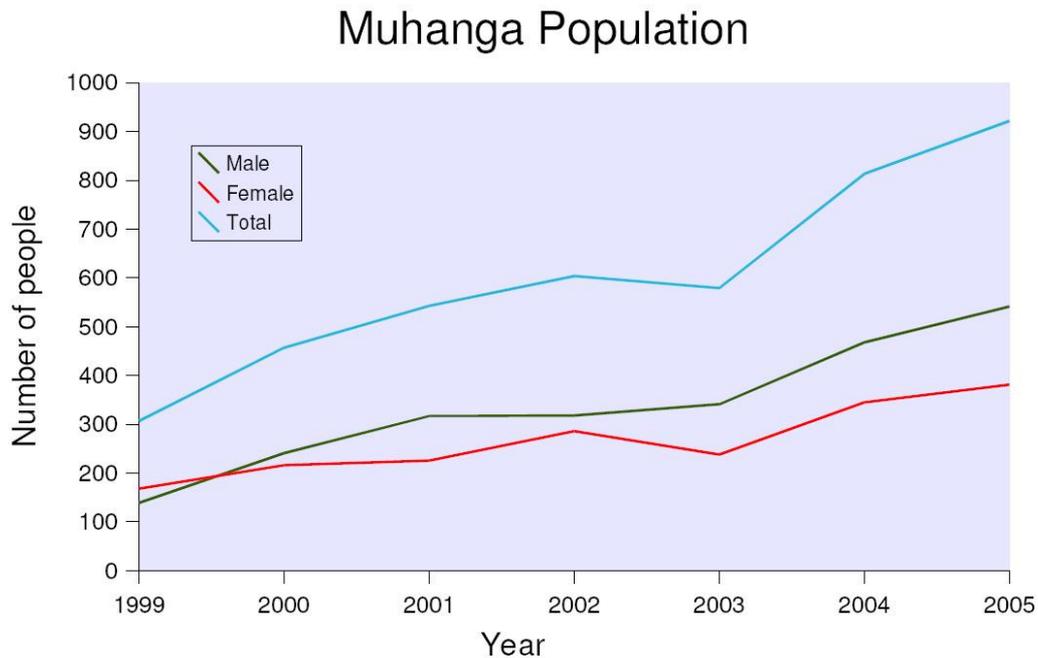


Figure 3: Population data for Muhanga trading centre
(Source: Public Health Office, Bukinda)

Interesting is the fact that the proportion of men overtook the women a short time after the water scheme started to operate. This is not necessarily related with the water scheme but possibly with the whole development. As already explained it happens that men from the villages move to the town and marry another wife after some time. This 'overtaking' could be an indicator for migration from the villages to the town and that more men than women migrate.

In the Rwashamaire population data (Figure 4) is recognisable that the town is growing with an increasing rate. Particular incidents can not be seen, at least not with immediate reaction. Interesting is the fact that the proportion of women decreases when the men increase. A reason for this could be found in birth rates but is actually not clear. Rwashamaire got electricity in 2000, the water scheme started to operate in 2002. It can be assumed that these incidents had an influence on the growth rate.

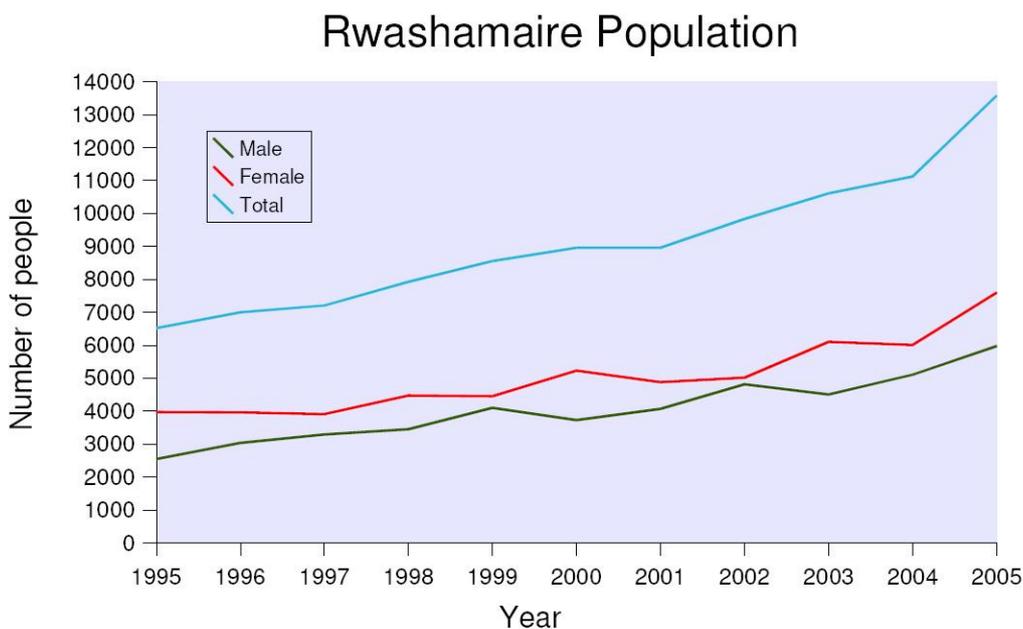


Figure 4: Rwashamaire population data
(Source: Kajara County Office)

It was said that currently about 5000 people are living in the town. There are some boarding schools which are probably included in this data and other institutions as well. This fact could conceal a trend that men are overtaking the women, possibly it also did not happen so far in Rwashamaire.

The diagram shows that there are more women than men which is usual for Uganda.

It must be mentioned that migration from bigger towns to rural growth centres happens as well, for instance if a family member falls ill and needs help or even dies and somebody is needed to care for the family and the household. Also some people who have left intend to come back when their contracts end or when they retire.

4.3.15 Other desired improvements and priorities

Most people did not give a particular priority to only one facility, they said that for development everything is important. Despite of this security, electricity and water was emphasised in many interviews. In Rwentobo the expected water supply was the biggest topic of interest which does not mean that it is really more important. Before the town was supplied with electricity this was the most important subject.

“We were crying for electricity!”

Dick Mwebaze (38), farmer and shop owner, Rwentobo

“ Electricity and water are the most important things in my life”

Joy Kanyabwera (44), shop owner, Muhanga

In Muhanga people worry about the corruption of the police, in Rwashamaire about the intermittent water supply. There the pumps are run with solar panels which do not provide enough energy when it is cloudy. The electricity is also intermittent but this was only mentioned after asking about it. In this matter the water supply seems to have a greater significance.

Some people missed entertainment facilities, particularly music and sports facilities. In all three towns was a video hall, apart from the football pitches this is the only entertainment.

4.4 Summary - What does development mean to people?

Most important for the people is the fulfilment of the basic needs and services. Primarily they need a job or another opportunity to earn money, then they can afford the essential things like food, clothing, housing. For a good job they need education, so they need good schools in their towns. Currently parents who can afford send their children away to expensive boarding schools, as already mentioned. They also need safety, good and affordable health services nearby as well as water and electricity. Social relations are important for the people but were only mentioned in Rwentobo, in fact social relations in Uganda are generally very close. Despite this fact people talked more about the material things and the standard of living which they desire. Either people only appreciate good social relations if they are present and pay more attention to material things if not, or they just did not mention it. This aspect could be of interest for further investigations.

However, people's desires and ideas of their future orientate a lot on the 'first world standards'. When they were asked how they imagine their town in five years, they saw

people living in flats instead of houses, big shops, stores and shopping centres, entertainment facilities which they described in the way like we know them from the western lifestyle. They saw also a lot of things which are simply essential like better and

“There is a change, what we have never seen is available now, they see what is happening outside, in the States, in the UK...”

Imaam Babigumura (57), parish chief of Rwashamaire.
After the question how TVs and other information services would influence the life and peoples attitudes.

more roads, more employment facilities. A detailed list of people's perceptions of development is attached as Appendix 3.

Population increase was mentioned by every person, some people think this could have an adverse effect on security. They also think that people with different backgrounds and beliefs would move to the towns which could cause conflicts on the one hand but would also establish a demand for more services and therefore more business.

Apart from this people do not see any negative aspects of the ongoing development. On the question whether they would find the “imported development” artificial and whether they could imagine to develop in another way, most people answered with no. The change of the culture is mostly appreciated.

“Development destroys our culture but in a good way. It has changed the culture of the community but it is mostly appreciated. It changed the way we live, the way we dress, the way we communicate, even marriage. It has changed it in a better way.”

Eric Kubiriba (64), teacher and chairperson of the water board,
Rwashamaire

It is worth to mention that no diversification and specialization took place, i.e. each shop offers the same goods, thus decreasing the incomes. Copying is a common practice instead of developing new ideas. Reasons for that could not be identified. This would also be an interesting issue for further investigations.

4.5 What does development really look like?

Out of the interviews a lot of factors can be identified which influence the activities and processes within a community. These factors are interlinked to a great extent. It is impossible to change one element without influencing the others. Hence they form a complex system.

Figure 5 illustrates the high degree of dependency among the elements. In nearly all cases one factor changed affects more than one other factors. For instance a good education broadens a person's opportunities for employment, it also has an effect on women because they are able to compete with men. Furthermore it improves the management capacities of a community as with better education they are more capable to organise themselves and define goals. In turn this assists in community self help projects like establishing and maintaining an improved water supply. An improved water supply affects positively the financial resources of people, as the water then is cheaper than bought from vendors. This in turn can help to provide better education, because school fees are costly for most of the people. An improved water supply also raises the health status of people by reducing water-borne diseases, which again affects the financial resources by raising the people's productivity on the one hand and on the other hand because they save money which they otherwise would spend on medical treatment and transport to a hospital.

It would go beyond the scope of this thesis to explain all relations shown in this graphic. It is not exhaustive either, there are probably additional factors and it is meant to be exemplary because every community is different. Rather shall be illustrated how complex the system is and that it continuously changes. It shows the necessity of holistic approaches in development assistance.

With the green and blue arrows in Figure 5 is indicated that there are direct and reverse effects, although this is not always clear-cut. For instance increasing financial resources can give people the possibility to move to another town, which is a direct effect, on the other hand can also financial difficulties lead to the thought that in another town might be better opportunities and thus influence the migration decision.

As already explained in chapter 2.4 the communities are not isolated but interactive with the surrounding villages and with other towns as well. Roads, transport and communication are three elements which connect communities, the villages and bigger towns. The individuals are put into the centre in order to illustrate that the development is for the people, they are the stakeholders and beneficiaries of any interventions.

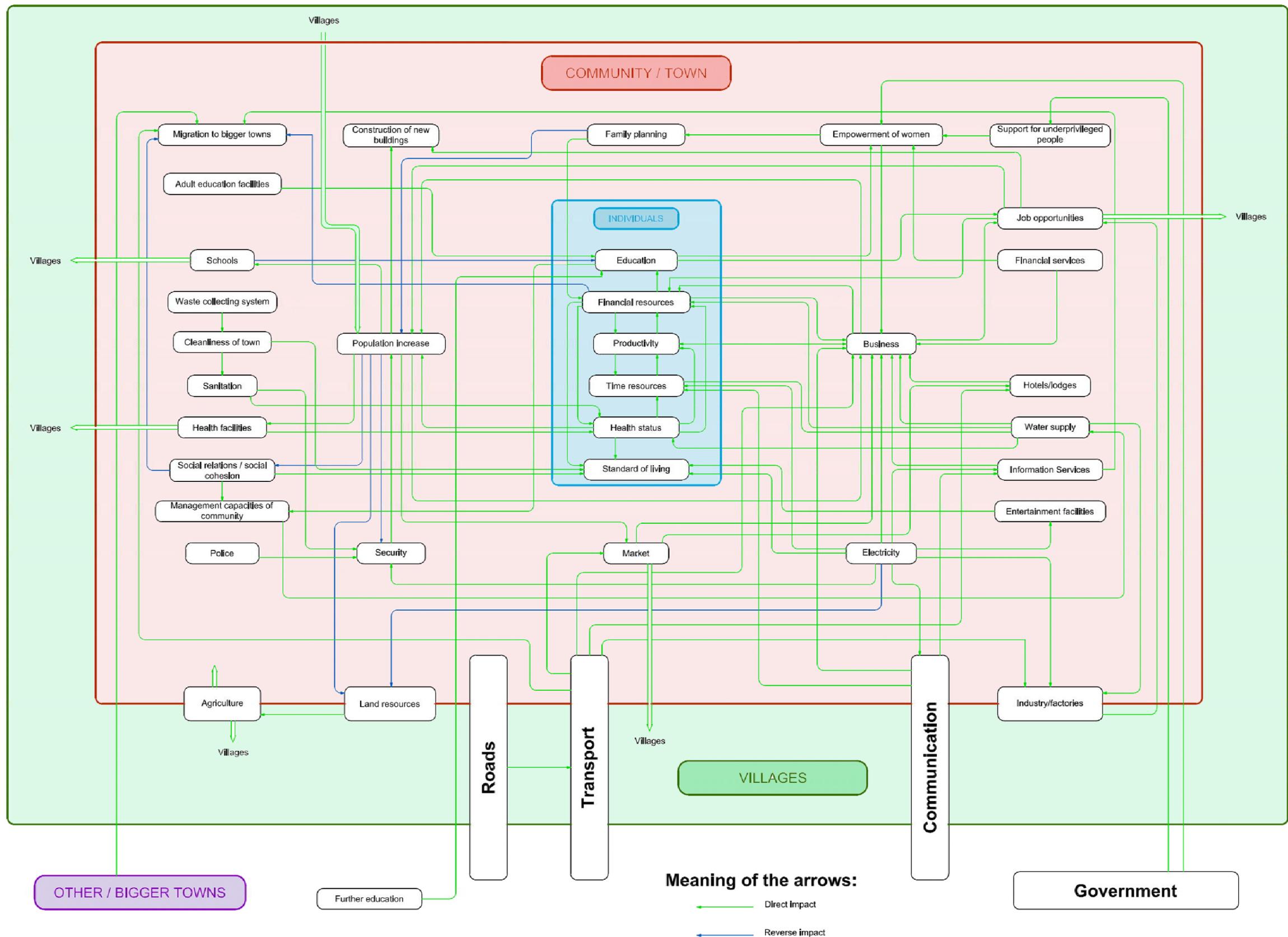


Figure 5: System of components influencing the development of rural growth centres

5 CONCLUSION

People's desires are very similar to those of the western lifestyle and they hope that their towns develop in this direction. Thereby quality of life seems to be mostly related with material things which are provided but need the people financially strong enough to be purchased. Aspects like leisure time and social well-being seem to be secondary in their opinion but would possibly become important as soon as people get more facilities for leisure time, like entertainment or sports facilities.

It can not be verified that providing technical or social infrastructure prevents or decreases a migration to bigger towns whereas a lack of it appears to have an encouraging effect. Social structure can have a very positive influence on the quality of life and hence the potential to discourage migration. The assumption made that rural growth centres could have a retaining effect seems to be true. People from the villages prefer to move there instead of bigger towns, although for some of them this is only an intermediate stay on the way city-wards. Thereby water infrastructure is an essential factor but only in combination with other physical infrastructure which set a basis for developing employment opportunities and income generating activities, and public services like good schools and health facilities. Water infrastructure has a direct retentive effect on the people who made a financial contribution to its establishment.

However, the development of small towns does not reach the poorest people depending on agriculture. This shows the necessity of more focus on the agricultural sector which is addressed in the PEAP.

With this study was verified that all facilities which save time encourage development, because people have time to do something else. As a big proportion of the ongoing development is based on women's activities, it is necessary to pay much attention to gender aspects. However, the basis of development are the people themselves, they are the greatest potential. Technical infrastructure is just a tool, a means to facilitate life and in this way to set free potential for development. Therefore the importance of participative approaches must also be emphasised.

Multisectoral perspectives are essential in development assistance because all components are interlinked. This does not mean that all sectors shall be developed but in any case regarded in the planning of interventions. Thereby not only the intended changes must be considered but also the conditions which shall be sustained. Multisectoral approaches could be a booster for development but also a barrier because of their complexity. The handling of complex structures is possibly an interesting direction for further research.

6 RECOMMENDATIONS

The study raised some questions which should be further investigated, preferably from experts in social science or in cooperation with them. Especially as the impression arose that social structure has a significant influence on the reduction of migration, effective starting points for sustainable rural development could possibly also be found in social sciences.

The advantages of multidisciplinary approaches are emphasised but it is also shown that there are problems. As some development agencies seem to go into this direction the future will show their success. Despite of this the close interconnectedness between the components playing a role in development shall be pointed out again because it must not be neglected.

Finally, as already mentioned, the findings of this study should be applied in a following study in order to find effective entry points for successful development interventions. In this thesis it was investigated which components interact with each other, the next step would be to find out the way they interact. By means of a sensitivity analysis it can be determined which factors are most reactive and most interactive with others and which function as buffers. Feedback loops need to be identified as well. This could give information about where the most effective entry points are and which components need special attention.

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APPENCICES

Appendix 1: Key topics of the interviews

List of topics:

- General (Name, age, gender, occupation, family)
- About home and income
- Is or was the person thinking about leaving and why?
- Did members of the family or friends leave and when and why? Do they intend to come back?
- Did the water supply and sanitation change something in the person's life? (Or something else, road, electricity or so...)
- How important was it for the person before implementation and how is it now?
- Where does the person see problems in the existing infrastructure? Does it work well/bad, what could be better?
- What else does the person miss or like?
- About health, time resources, productivity
- Do you have more work because your children are in school?
- About powerlessness, vulnerability, social isolation, risk and insecurity, empowerment of women?
- About transport facilities
- Land
- Are you satisfied with your quality of life? What has changed (why) and what do you miss?
- How affordable/accessible are school fees, electricity bill, water, health facilities...?
- How do you see the access to loans?
- Who would you ask for help (friends, family, NGO...)? Has it changed somehow?
- Who takes decisions in your family, men or women? Changes?
- What do you do in your leisure time? Do you have any/do you have more than before?
- How was the implementation of the water project? Did you feel overloaded (participation or contribution with money)?
- Polygamy
- What energy source for cooking

- What do you think generally about the water project? good/bad, why? What could be better? What about other infrastructure?
- How do the surrounding villages benefit from the development of the town? Do you see negative impacts?
- How do you imagine your town in 5 years?
- Do you think the generated development is somehow “artificial”? What would you want differently?
- Do you think positive about your future?
- Could you imagine to take action for e.g. a cleaner town?

Appendix 2: Characteristics of the interviewees

No specified marital status means married, non-villagers were living in the town. The age is given in brackets.

Muhanga: 12 interviews

- Male:** 4 of which: Water board chairman, businessman (42)
Community chairman (LC1) (63)
Butcher, illiterate, Moslem (47)
Shop owner, villager (36)
- Female:** 8 of which: Water scheme operator
Shop owner (36)
Shop owner with private connection (44)
Widow, underprivileged, illiterate, villager (45)
Student, not married (17)
Shop owner, divorced, illiterate, Moslem (25)
Radio agent, not married (23)
Villager (25)

Rwashamaire: 14 interviews

- Male:** 7 of which: Water board chairman, teacher (64)
Scheme operator, not married, electrician (32)
Welder (32)
Welder, not married (22)
Businessman (60)
Parish chief (LC2), Moslem, Villager (57)
boda-boda driver (bicycle), not married,
villager (21)
- Female:** 7 of which: Businesswoman, widow (24)
Farmer (29)
Salon owner, divorced, Moslem (31)
Businesswoman, illiterate, Moslem (30)
Shop owner and farmer, villager (35)
2 Shop owners, villagers (38,50)

Rwentobo: 10 interviews

- Male:** 4 of which: Water committee chairperson, farmer and Boda-boda driver (motorcycle) (31)
Community chairman (LC1), farmer, Moslem (55)
Shop owner and farmer (38)
Shop owner, villager (51)

Female: 6 of which: Widow, farmer (28)
Widow, shop owner, Moslem (29)
Underprivileged and handicapped women,
widow, illiterate (78)
Unemployed women, divorced, illiterate (19)
Shop owner, divorced (40)
Farmer, divorced, illiterate (26)

Migrants: 2 interviews, the 2 women were living in Kabale town

Businesswoman (43), comes from a village near Muhanga, moved to Kabale a very long time ago

Shop owner (?), comes from a village near Rwashamaire, came to Kabale in 1990

Appendix 3: People's perceptions of 'development'

- Establishment of a multiracial culture with a demand for services and therefore more business
- Conflicts because of different backgrounds and beliefs
- Increase in population
- More and better schools
- Better and affordable health services nearby
- Good road network
- Security could decrease and diseases could increase, town could attract bad people (thieves, beggars, prostitutes), slums could form
- More/bigger and new businesses
- More employment facilities
- More and better education (also for adults), schools, colleges, universities
- Support services for less privileged people
- Information services like TV and Internet
- Entertainment facilities (video halls, pool tables, sports and music facilities, TV)
- Industries (maize, timber, coffee, milk processing)
- More and modern buildings, permanent buildings
- Electricity in every household
- More money, better standard of living, proper food and clothing
- Safe water, cheap and close to the house
- Cleaner town, better sanitation, decent waste disposal
- A lot of bureaucracy
- People living in flats instead of houses
- Big shops, stores, shopping centres
- Buildings will be abolished for roads without compensation for the owners

DIARY AND DOCUMENTATION OF INTERVIEWS

This document contains the list of questions, the notes taken during the interviews and descriptions of the survey towns. Because it might have an influence on the cooperation with people or the interpretation of their answers, I also tried to describe briefly my personal impression about persons and situations.

TOPICS:

WHAT TO FIND OUT IN THE TOWN:

- Current Population, number of households, groups (religion, tribes, income...)
- What kind of physical infrastructure is already present in the town? (transects, maps)
- When was it implemented? (timelines)
- Are there special/unusual/anomal things? (household connections, disabled/disadvantaged/unprivileged people or anything which is “different”)
- Are there immigrants/emigrants (How many)? Does someone know that?

POSSIBLE INTERVIEW PARTNERS:

- Project leaders of the towns
- WSC members
- Any people in community (men/women, educated or not, young/old, poor or better-off...)
- Disabled/disadvantaged/unprivileged persons
- Someone with a household/yard connection if present
- People who have already left the countryside
- People in the villages around the town

LIST OF TOPICS:

- General (Name, age, gender, occupation + where, family)
- About home and income
- (1) Is or was the person thinking about leaving and why?
- (2) Did members of the family or friends leave and when and why? Do they intend to come back?
- (3) Did the water supply and sanitation change something in the person's life? (Or something else, road, electricity or so...)
- (4) How important was it for the person before implementation and how is it now?
- (5) Where does the person see problems in the existing infrastructure? Does it work well/bad, what could be better?
- (6) What else does the person miss or like?

SPECIFICATIONS:

- (7) Health, time resources, productivity
- (8) Do you have more work because your children are in school?
- (9) Powerlessness, vulnerability, social isolation, risk and insecurity, empowerment of women?
- (10) transport/vehicle
- (11) land?
- (12) Are you satisfied with your quality of life? What has changed (why) and what do you miss?
- (13) How affordable/accessible are school fees, electricity bill, water, health facilities...?
- (14) Is there access to loans?
- (15) Who would you ask for help (friends, family, NGO...)? Has it changed somehow?
- (16) Who takes decisions in your family, men or women? Have there been changes in the recent years?
- (17) What do you do in your leisure time? Do you have any/ do you have more now?
- (18) How was the implementation of the project? Did you feel overloaded (participation)?
- (19) What about polygamy in this town? What do you think about it?

- (20) What energy source do you use for cooking?
- (21) What do you think generally about the water project? Is it good/bad, why? What could be better? What about other infrastructure?
- (23) How do the surrounding villages benefit from the development of the town?
- (24) Do you see negative impacts of the ongoing development?
- (25) How do you imagine Muhanga (Rwashamaire, Rwentobo) in 5 years?
- (27) Do you think the generated development (government, NGO) is somehow “artificial”? What would you want differently?
- (28) Do you think positive about your future?
- (29) Could you imagine to take action for e.g. a cleaner town?

In the interviews the questions are not written explicitly. If necessary, a keyword or the number of the question is given instead. My remarks are given in brackets.

MUHANGA:

05/07/05

Visit of Muhanga Town:

Muhanga is a small town, it benefits from its location on the road to Kampala. Many travellers, villagers come in for trade. It is growing and developing .

It had no water for the last two weeks because of a leakage, people tried to trace the pipeline and to find the leakage. The water came at noon, when I had done all my interviews for today. During the time without water people had to buy water from the vendors for 100US\$ per jerrycan, from the scheme it is 25US\$ per jerrycan. We left Kabale around 8:30, arrived in Muhanga at 9:00, stayed there until approximately 14:30. We first met the scheme operator, a woman, which usually stays in the office (she was not there but we found her in the town and she took us to the office). The duration of the interviews was about 40 minutes. Judith was my translator, but Mary, the scheme operator translated the interview with the village chairman (LC1) and threw something in from time to time in the other interviews.

I had not the feeling to really have a connection to the people. There was no time to get to know each other, we started immediately with the real interview. It was no problem to find the people, Mary just pulled them, brought them to me or me to them respectively. I felt a bit stressed because everything happened so quickly. By noon (after 4 hours in the town) I had already done 5 interviews.

After a tea in the Zebra Lodge (nice place) we took a small walk in the town and Judith showed me the old water source. It was basically a kind of drainage pipe because Muhanga is originally a swampy area. The water comes out of the fields further up the hill. It is “close” (within the town) but looks a bit turbid, completely unprotected.

Judith said, poor people could not afford to live in the town.



Muhanga trading centre

Interviews:

1. Mary Rujabuka, Scheme Operator:

married, 4 children

place of the interview: SWTWS Village office

- Muhanga is a trading centre which is developing
- People are happy about the water scheme, they spent much money for water (contribution), but they did not mind, they really wanted it
- People move into the town to live, there life is simple, water is cheap and easy to get, very close
- Children can go to school, before they first had to go for water, were late at school
- Life here is easy, there is electricity, there is a road and transport facilities, it is a trading center
- By now there are 15 private connections now in the town, the connection fee is 60 000USh
- Only few are leaving, people have small businesses, when they expand they move to bigger towns
- Electricity came before water, in the 90s somehow (can not remember the exact year)
- Now people build permanent houses, before they were more temporary, people are settling down
- There is land shortage, Muhanga is an expensive place, a small piece of land costs 7Mio USH
- Life is more comfortable with the water, people are more healthy, in former times you had to be patient to get transport but now it is very easy
- Electricity is very expensive (she spends a lot for it), has a TV, but only for watching videos, and a radio, doctors are also expensive but she is healthy, does not really need one
- Electricity is easier to use, you do not need to buy paraffin, there is no smoke, no dizziness
- For cooking she uses charcoal and firewood
- There is a new secondary school in town, built last year, but it is the only one in the town, before there were none
- Is a mushroom grower
- The water scheme takes a lot of her time, has no leisure time (“You can

relax at night, during the day there is no time to relax”)

- Her husband died, she is the head of the family and takes decisions, stays with her grandchildren and orphans from relatives
- People were not overloaded during the implementation of the water project, because they wanted the water
- There are many religions, moslems, protestants, catholics, adventists...
- Polygamy is still existing
- (What do you think about it?) There are more women than men in Uganda, they all want to get married
- People borrow from village bank
- People form “saving groups”, members save something (1000sh...) every day, at the end of the week they give the money they saved to one member, decision by raffle or in order...
- People seek help in their family, friends, some go to NGOs
- Her children are still in Muhanga

I asked her some more questions on 08/07/05:

- (How do surrounding villages benefit from the water supply in the town:) There is clean water and they can prepare cold drinks and juices to sell, also porridge (Note: with porridge not the oatmeal is meant but the local beer made from sorghum. I could not find out the right spelling, however, the word sounds like “porridge”)
- (Do you see disadvantages of the development in the town?) There are some bad people, not everyone can be good, they do not work, they want to steal something (So you see a relation between development and the decrease of security?) yes
- (How she imagines Muhanga in five years:) It is bigger, cleaner, many people, improved sanitation

2. Joy Kanyabwera:

44 years, married, second wife of two, 5 children, the other wife has 3

her house has a private connection

works in a retail shop, which is a family business

place of the interview: her shop

- All her children go to school, she pays school fees , their age: 18,16,14 (are in secondary school) 12,10 (in primary school), 2 of them are boys

- She stopped attending primary school in the 4th year because her father died and her mother was ill, she had to care for her family, she would even now go back to school if she would have the possibility
- The first two children want to become lawyers
- She comes from a village near the town, moved to Muhanga when she married
- She has always liked Muhanga, she never thought of leaving
- her husband is a businessman, they have many shops, also the building is theirs
- (3) Before the watsan project she had to cross the road for going to the toilet, which is dangerous at night, now also the children do not have to go for water, they are more secure
- “If you have water in your house at night, you are comfortable, you are safe”, has brought security at home. cleaning is also easier
- If you don't have water, it is expensive
- Now (after the water came) she has more time for herself and other activities
- In case of water scarcity she would have to close her shop when she wants to fetch water and would so lose money, so she has a better income
- “Electricity and water are the most important things in my life” without electricity she would have to close her shop at six, she would not use candlelight because it is dim and people can cheat
- She cooks with charcoal
- Electricity takes a lot of money, although she can leave her shop open until ten, she does not really have more money, because the electricity costs her a lot, but she does not mind, she prefers electricity
- The clinic is expensive, she can afford it, but some people go there and ask how much it costs and then they have to go home without treatment
- She has more work because her children are in school, children could help a lot, they can look after the shop, but when she is alone and has to do something else, she has to close the shop
- She would like to have a cleaner town, sanitation is poor, there is no decent waste disposal, she is praying for that
- She does not think that more than one wife is a good thing, would prefer to be the only one, men can look after one wife better, if there are too many children, there is the problem of school fees and care

- Polygamy has decreased because of poverty, land shortage and school fees

(She made a very self-confident impression, talked openly, the interview was from time to time interrupted by customers but it was not really disturbing)

3. Roy Kyakabare:

45 years, widowed, 8 children of which 3 died, lives in Nyakabungo which is approx. 1km away, lives from selling vegetables in Muhanga

place of interview: on the street next to the office, where she has a table with some sweet potatoes, matooke (bananas for cooking) and other vegetables

- She comes to Muhanga on foot everyday
- Her children are 25, 20, 17, 8, 2½, the 8 years old is in primary school, it is difficult to pay the school fees
- She fetches water from a spring ½km away from her home
- She comes from the village, lived in Bushenyi when she was married, after her husband died she came back to live with her mother
- (3) When she is thirsty in the town, she can just drink, she also cooks in the town and takes food home, this also helps, thinks the water supply is a good thing
- She would be happy about water in the village
- In her village is no electricity, the road is there but it is not maintained
- Electricity is comfortable
- (1) She can not leave because of her mom who is ill, she has to care for her, would move to Muhanga if she could and open up a shop or so
- She never went to school, her mother had no money and her father died when she was young, regrets it, would like to have education
- (6) She would like to have more toilets in the town, more bathrooms, she does not use the public toilet, she just goes anywhere (there is a public toilet (ecosan) next to the SWTWS office, to use it costs 100USh, she can not afford it)
- She would like to have money for school fees, medicine, basic needs, or money for shop if she could have one
- (15) She has no one to ask for any help, if she needs anything she has to work for it, digging something for someone else or so, then she gets a little money. She is not member of one of the saving groups (Digging means working on a field)

- Life was not different before her husband died, he never cared about children
- She is tired, her feet hurt, has much work
- At 5 (in the morning) she fetches water before she leaves for town, goes home at noon to take food for the children, then she comes back and goes home at 7

(Obviously she does not really benefit from the water supply and sanitation, she is very poor (Judith: “lowest level possible”), made a very insecure impression, held one hand on the other arm and was scratching in the dust with her foot. During the interview more and more people gathered around us in order to see, what the mzungu wants there..., she wears no shoes...)

4. Banamba James, Chairman of the water scheme:

42 years, married, 1 wife, 3 children, 1 girl, 2 boys, all in school, 13,11,8 y
place of interview: SWTWS village office

- He is a businessman, sells things and has a small pub
- He has been living in the town since 1989, comes from a village around
- Now there is sanitation, water is cheaper (before: 100USh per jerrycan, now 25), the life is easier
- Electricity came in 1994, land was much cheaper before, suddenly people came to town, machines came to town which could not be used before
- Electricity costs 214 Sh per unit, it is expensive, was raised recently from around 100 sh per unit, he pays for his pub 40-60 000Sh per month for electricity and the supply is intermittent
- (1) He thought of leaving when he was younger, there are no good nursery schools, his children are in a boarding school but he would like to stay with them. If he was still young he would like to leave, but now not anymore, the children are already away... They are in Kabale. Here is no good hospital, he has to go to Kabale with every simple disease
- Transport is easy and cheap but if you have to transport a sick person it is very inconvenient, at night you would have to get a special hire which is very expensive
- Business in town is not good, there is no big business, there are social problems, the population is very local, new people somehow “misfit”
- Richer people go to a bigger town
- Without water, communication, electricity, he would have left

- Intermittent water supply is a problem, but not such a big one, intermittent electricity is more serious
- He is generally satisfied with his life, not 100%
- For borrowing money (there are a lot of microfinances in the town) you need securities, knowing important persons facilitates getting a credit
- Before around 1990 people stayed more in the villages around, after the people came in, the police came in 1990
- “Life in town is not simple”, it is hard, complicated, it is easier to borrow money from a friend in a village
- His wife is a secondary school teacher, he takes decisions with his wife
- Development does not really make women stronger, depends on the family
- The contribution to the water scheme was 50 000Sh, People had no expenditure on time for implementation, contributed only with money
- About polygamy: He can not manage two wives, there are possibly good reasons for it but this practice is dying out
- He decided before to have only three children, not more
- Everything is very important for development, water, electricity, a good hospital, communication, good school, road, basic infrastructure, not just one thing, but one thing can be very important for a person in a certain moment
- He thinks that we move towards a system, where people do not care so much about each other anymore, thinks there is a relation between prosperity and the 'quality' of social relations (when I told him my impression from Europe, that social relations are not so close, the families are smaller, but the people have a lot of material things)

(I did not ask about his education, but the way he talks indicates that he is well educated. Has a good capability to see relations and thinks problem oriented in comparison with other people there. He was very informative.)

5. John Bisigwaho, Community Chairman:

63 years, 8 children (13 but 5 died), 3 boys, 5 girls

place of interview: SWTWS village office

- Now the water is safe, there are less diseases
- Before the implementation of the water scheme there were about 60 households in the village (just Muhanga town) the household size is quite

high here (10 people?)

- He does not think that people move into the town, but if they do, they also did it before the water scheme
- It has become much safer with the electricity, the town is light now after dawn
- He likes phones, he can talk with everyone, no matter where the person is
- Some of his children are in boarding schools in other towns (no big towns), 3 of them are married
- Some people leave but few (did not say, where they go)
- Security is a reason why people could move to the town
- Says, they would need a hospital because you have to go to Kabale for treatment
- he is not satisfied with his life, would like to have more money, a better dress and eat proper food
- He completed primary school (6years), but he went to school with 18

(He seemed to be one of the poorer people, he often did not really know what to say and moved a lot with his hand in his face. I had the impression that he did not really feel well with my questioning...)

The Muhanga water scheme goes through three cells of which Muhanga town is only one. We were only in Muhanga today.

06/07/05

We left Kabale very late because our driver was somehow gone somewhere else and we had to organise another one. We arrived between 9:30 and 10 in Muhanga. Mary was gone to Ntungamo, the water scheme chairman organised some people to interview this day.

I decided to do only 4 interviews today because I expected the interviews to be a bit longer (which was the case) and yesterday I needed a very long time to write up...

6. Rashidi Kanyarutokye, Butcher

47 years, 8 children, 5 girls, 3 boys, 2 in school, (28,26,24,20,18,14,6,3)

most of the girls are married

Moslem

place of interview: SWTWS village office

- He lives in Ruhonwa, comes to town every day to work
- School fees are a problem, may not be able to pay secondary school which costs more than primary school, business is not good enough for this at the moment
- He has always lived in Ruhonwa
- (3) Before water scheme was established they fetched water from long distances, work started late, when the water came work was much easier, they promoted domestic hygiene, you can bathe everyday, the cleanliness in the home has increased a lot
- Also wife is happy, has time for herself and can do other activities
- (16) He takes decisions together with his wife
- With electricity it is also better, he used to go home earlier, now I he stays longer in town, gathers with friends and they go home together later
- Police: "The security has improved, but they have a problem, they do not do their job very well, if a thief comes and you go to the police to catch him, they ask for money, if you are poor you get no help."
- He contributed to the project, everyone was participating somehow, everybody had to give some money to buy the land and so...
- (4) Water is not the only thing, everything is important (I told examples: roads, electricity, communication, hospitals, schools...)
- (5) The water scheme functions very well, just the last two weeks it did not
- (6) Wants a good hospital, the clinics around take advantage of people, they ask for too much money and the service is not worth that, people can even die because they can not afford it and they don't care
- (6) He likes almost everything in the town, the water and electricity
- (1) He never thought of leaving
- Some family members left to bigger towns, the land is too small
- (12) he is not content as such, there is poverty everywhere, income is not enough
- He walks here from Ruhonwa, about ½hr, it is very steep
- (14) Has no bank account, can not get a loan, but says he could always borrow something from friends
- (19) Polygamy: People do it because they can afford it, would like to have more wives
- He never went to school
- People move to the town because of the business, there is access to

basic infrastructure

- (22) “In some way women have become more confident, but I don't like it, they respond, in old days they just did what you said, now they ask: 'why?'”
- “It is the government, they came up with women rights, now women sometimes don't respect their husbands anymore and they do not care very well, you can not beat her, then she runs to the police...”

(He was very open and informative. Ruhonwa is one of the three cells the water scheme goes through)

7. Patience Twebaze:

36 years, second of two wives, 4 children, the older wife has 5

place of interview: SWTWS village office

- She has a retail shop, should be content with the income, but she would like to get more money because she wants to expand with the shop
- Originally she comes from Ntungamo, has been living in Muhanga for 15 years, came here because of marriage
- She would love to stay in the town, here she would have the possibility to make a lot of money if she gets the possibility to expand her business, because Muhanga is growing, she is happy, electricity is near, water is near, there is no reason to go somewhere else
- If there was no water in the town, she would have gone somewhere else
- She works in the town but the house is on the hill, a private connection there would have become very expensive because complicated, but if her house was in town, she would already have one, the transport of the water from the town to her house is 300 sh with a boda per day
- She did not leave before the water came, because there is good business there
- (3) It was difficult, there is the shop to run, it was very time consuming, now they even go, fetch it, boil it, pack it and sell it (they pack it in small cellophane bags) to other people who want drinking water, because of the electricity they can even put it into the fridge, so they can sell cold water, also porridge, in former times they could not always make it but now it is always there, with electricity people can not cheat her
- (18) She did not contribute to the project with work, only with money, the project brought what she expected before
- (7) She has no leisure time (laughed when I asked about that), is more

productive, can produce porridge here with the water and she can do two jobs at the same time (?)

- All her children are in school, primary and secondary, 17,15,13,10
- School fees: secondary school is more expensive which is difficult
- Electricity bill: is also expensive according to income
- (8) If the children are around they help, but she prefers to work alone, she really wants them to study
- (11) She has a banana plantation, lives mainly from the shop
- (10) Transport is easy, only minutes and you can go
- (12) She is satisfied with her life but she would love to expand her business
- (6) She misses a good hospital
- (15) She asks friends for help
- (16) They take decisions together, it has always been like this
- (22) Women are more independent and self confident today, they even help the men out, they contribute to the income, in former days they more depended on men
- (19) She prefers when there are two wives (could not say why) she has no problem with that

She was very patient, she was waiting a long time, nearly one hour until it was “her turn” while I was doing the interview with Rashidi

8. Tumwebaze Mercy, student

17 years, secondary school, 3 sisters, 4 brothers

place of interview: SWTWS village office

- She was not in the town before the water came, she comes from Muhanga, but she was in a boarding school somewhere else
- She thinks, the water is a good thing, it is safe, things are easier
- Electricity is very useful, you can iron...
- She wants to become a nurse, she has to go to Kabale for that
- She would like to stay in a bigger town, in Muhanga is no good business, she grew up here, wants a change, Muhanga is somehow boring
- What she misses: wants the town to grow bigger, the water scheme always breaks down, wants something consistent

- to become a nurse was her idea, but the decision took the whole family together
- The family mainly lives from agriculture, income is enough for living, land is enough
- (12) she is happy with what she has
- Her friends like Muhanga, they would like to stay
- Her sister is a secondary school teacher in Kabale, she sometimes supports the family with some money
- She has leisure time, she meets with friends
- (I asked her, what she thinks about other women, they work the whole day and have no leisure time) leisure time is important, they should relax
- She would love to marry, wants 4 children, thinks this would be enough for her to manage
- She wants to be the only wife, men do not give so much attention if they have a second wife, as the only one there is no competition, you are better off, it's comfortable
- (I asked her how important it is for her to decide for herself about her life) She doesn't mind asking her parents
- (I asked her whether women should be more confident and independent in this country) She would love that, women have education
- She sees a change in that because they go to school, now they compete with men and she thinks, men like this as well

9. Henry Turyamusiima:

36 years, 1 child (boy, 2J), protestant

has a retail shop in the town

place of interview: his shop

- he lives in Ibugwe, a village 2km away, has a bicycle
- he opened this shop 3 years ago, before he was a student in secondary school
- So he was not here before the water came
- He chose Muhanga for the shop because it is close
- He would like to move to Muhanga but he cannot, has things to look after, has land

- (1) Would not leave, he is happy around here
- In his village there is also a water project but there is no electricity, this he misses in his village, it would be helpful, there is light in the night
- He benefits from the water in the town, uses it much, drinks it, it is clean water
- (2) Friends would not leave either, they prefer Muhanga
- (4) It is good, short distances, saves time
- (What do you find most important, water, electricity or something else?) everything is important, not just water
- (6) Here are many people, business is booming (good)
- He plans to expand someday and move to a bigger town, there are workers on his land, he would go to Kabale
- (6) He wants better sanitation and a clean town
(I asked him how he would imagine Muhanga in 5 years) More buildings, sanitation
- (9) Yes, they are more confident, they take decisions together in the family, women even help to bring food and he likes it
- Possible reasons: development
- (16) He takes decisions with his wife together, his wife works at home
- (14) He would take a loan from a bank and thinks, he would easily get it
- (19) He prefers to have only one wife, looking after more is difficult, he thinks, polygamy is a dying out practice
- He thinks, not many people come to stay in the town, they come to do business, they are from the villages around
- (Do the villages benefit from the development of the town?) Yes, a lot, they trade, they come for jobs, it is easy to find a job in Muhanga

So far all people would appreciate to get the results of the survey, the plan is to send them to Mary in the office who gives them to the people. To go back to the town and to gather all the people in order to talk with them about the results seems to be difficult, but I still think about whether there is no better solution, because I would like to have a kind of feedback. First I thought, I will send the people the results per email, so they can respond and add something what they find important. In Kabale really everybody has an email address, but in Muhanga obviously not and I did not see even one internet café there...

After the interview we took another short walk through the town (in the other direction), a man in rags followed us and screamed and shouted, I thought he wants to beat us with his stick. Judith gave him 200 shilling, then he left us

alone...

08/07/05

We started one hour later than planned, when we arrived Muhanga we could not find Mary, so we went to the sub county office to get some population data of Muhanga. It turned out that it was the wrong sub county, so we went back, found Mary and started the Interviews...

10. Mastula Kokushaba, shop owner:

25 years, divorced, was 5th wife (of 5), one child (12),

Moslem

place of interview: her shop

- Water is a good thing, helpful, for drinking, cooking
- The water system always went smoothly, the way she was expecting it
- If it would be possible she would even go to London, if she expands, or to Kampala (Why?) Here is a standard living, wants better things like a washing machine or a cooker, here are no challenges, she wants to go to another town which provides new challenges, has outgrown the town, the expectations here are not much
- Other important things: Police – security, electricity also provides security at night, security is important
- what she misses: a hospital and a good school
- She is very independent on everything, which is very important for her
- Yes, women should be more self-confident and independent in this country
- She sees a change in this, possible reasons: they have to look after their family, the children depend on her, the world is changing, so they have to as well
- What must happen here to give them more self-confidence: self-help projects (loans for women to develop)
- (How do surrounding villages benefit from the development of the town?) Everything they want is in the town
- She thinks that the growth of the town and increase of insecurity is related
- Polygamy: does not support it, this is why she left her husband, it was just too much for her
- She never went to school, she was an orphan, had to care for other

children, was married very young, is currently learning how to write (coaching)

- Muhanga in 5 years: beautiful town because people are hardworking, just land is a problem.
- Sanitation should improve (laughed when I asked whether she also thinks, that the town should become cleaner), everyone makes comments about the dirty town.

(seemed to be a progressive woman, did not wear a headscarf, seemed to be intelligent, very impressive...)

11. Gloria Mbabazi, Agent of Radio West

23years, not married

place of interview: the agency

- Her salary is little, works from 8am – 6pm, then she goes home, rests a bit and works again (cooking and so on), lives alone but it is only a small room for herself
- She wants to stay in Muhanga and work (with this job...)
- There is not much attractive in this town, if she would get a better paid job, of course she would go
- She was not around before the water came, but the water supply is good
- (How important is other infrastructure:) she would love an increase in the electricity supply, most houses do not have electricity, the town is okay
- She finished secondary 6th, did a secretary course
- It is important for her to be independent
- (Does the development in this town facilitate the empowerment of women?) She can't answer that, is a difficult question (was thinking for a while)
- If she needed help she would ask her parents
- To do the secretary course was the decision of the parents, would have liked to do business
- Muhanga in 5 years: very good buildings, electricity and water everywhere
- Wishes: a good hospital, good school, a very good hotel, (after I asked her particularly:) would love a cinema
- (Do you see negative aspects of development?) there is a local video hall, children do not go to school and they do not work, they just go there...

(She wore a suit and was relatively quiet...)

12. Agatha Turyahabwe:

25 years, married, expects a child, comes from a village just on the hill
place of interview: a yard on the hill where they dried sorghum

- She digs but it is not her own land (means, she works on a field)
- Her husband is a lay reader in the church
- What she misses in town: adult education, women self-help projects (handicrafts)
- The water has no benefit for her, she fetches water from a protected spring on the hill
- (How do you benefit from the development of the town?) we can sell what we produce too much, the surplus
- What she likes: doesn't know
- She would like to live somewhere else, a bigger place, would also love to do a business (in the bigger town)
- She can not leave (husband likes to as well), said: "you need money for that, education, you can not just leave this place and go to Mbarara and work..."

I would like to interview some villagers but Mary and Judith say, they are very difficult to approach, they dig from morning to evening, they are closed and they want money...

Facilities in Muhanga:

1 clinic (~15 years ago)

1 village bank

1 sec. school (last year)

some primary schools

lot of lodges

market

family planning advice service

water supply (1999)

electricity (1994)

communication network

(good) road (repaired in 1999)



Agatha Turyahabwe on the left, they are drying sorghum

RWASHAMAIRE

12/07/05

We left the office at nine, first we went to the Bukinda sub county office in order to get some population data of Muhanga. The sub county chief was not in his office and nobody could find him. The office was a bit chaotic because they were building something and used it as a storage room. An environment officer promised to help us and gave us an appointment for next Tuesday. Then we set off to Rwashamaire. We passed Rwentobo which looked very small to me. We reached Rwashamaire around 11.

Rwashamaire looks very friendly and clean. There are a lot of people and it is busy. It is situated on a crest of hills with a very nice view into the valley. There are some lodges but not many travellers come through. The road is very new and still under construction. Electricity came in 2000 and with it the communication network. Before they even had a telephone line but only one phone in the whole town. It was not maintained, so it broke down.

There is also a public toilet (100USh) and showers next to the town water office like it is in Muhanga. George, the water scheme operator, said it would not be used very much.

Rwashamaire has two water sources from which the water is pumped to a tank by means of solar panels. These solar panels do not produce enough energy when it is cloudy or even raining, so the water supply is intermittent. Additionally to that one of the solar panels has been stolen and has not been replaced so far. Therefore one of the sources can not be used and the water is not enough for the town. This problem is about to be solved, a new solar panel has been ordered and the police is still investigating. The Umbrella Organisation is also working on a solution for the intermittent water supply.

Rwashamaire has the following amenities/infrastructure:

- Health center / dispensary (1937)
- Electricity (2000)
- Post office
- Police (1980)
- Bank
- Microfinances
- Factories (maize, coffee, timber)
- Primary and secondary schools, two or three of which are private, (long time, High school came in 1965, Trinity High School is new and private)

- Milk cooling plant
- Very good road (still under construction)
- County headquarters

A kind of waste collecting system is established in the town.

The scheme operator was not in his office, but he came and took us around and showed and explained us the town. The first two interviews did not need a translator. Judith felt very bad today, so the last two interviews the scheme operator translated. His English was not as good as Judith's and I do not know, whether he already interpreted something. I took a lunch together with George. After the meal he just did not pay and expected me to do it, although I did not invite him. He is a nice guy, but I was a bit angry about that. I paid, but tomorrow I will ask Judith what she thinks about that.

We left Rwashamaire at 5 in the afternoon, I had done 6 interviews.



Rwashamaire

13. Kubiriba Eric, Waterboard Chairperson

64 years., teacher, retired administrating officer

(This interview was done in English)

- He has always been living here
- Says people would move in from villages, they are looking for jobs, water etc, communication, security, the town is expanding, currently there are about 5000 people in the town
- (1) Difficult, he would prefer to live in Mbarara or Kampala, there are more facilities, it is more secure and more developed
- He thinks, people have always come here
- The water scheme is working well, but there is a lack of water, because of the solar system the water supply is interrupted by bad weather.
- (3) There are less deseases, before the water was dirty, sanitation has increased, which was a prerequisite for the implementation of the water supply, we have latrines with covers, these compost pits and also an organised waste disposal
- He missed the water before, it is a necessary commodity
- Electricity: the business improved, they got power for fridges, for welding, communication, the working time increased because of the light, the petrol station came because of power, it uses power
- It is a secure place, it is nice to live here
- The town is growing slowly, the construction of the road and power increased the development
- (Do you see negative aspects of the development?) The administrative decisions, they are very slow, there is bureaucracy
- He thinks that the security decreases with the growth of the town, but at the moment it is fine
- (12) More infrastructure, traditional banks (Stanbic Bank), big bank, town board (would bring some funds) would bring a town clerk, a town council, night lighting or security lights respectively
- He lives in a village around, very close to the town
- He gets a pension, does some farming, pays school fees for the last boy, it has become easier, but the pension is very little
- Has 10 children, all from the same woman, 5 girls, 5 boys
- (11) The land is fragmented, which is a common problem, the educated children go and work in offices, the non-educated ones stick on the land

- (23) Here are jobs, there is a market for their products, whatever they do, there is a market for it. commodities are very near, people near the town develop more
- “Development destroys culture but in a good way, it has changed the culture of the community but it is mostly appreciated, it changed the way we live, the way we dress, the way we communicate, even marriage. It has changed it in a better way.”
- (25) He sees people living upstairs in buildings with more than one floor, people having a daily market, more than one petrol station, an airport
- (9) He does not think that women have become more independent, most of the men are still primitive, they tend to restrict their wives, they even do not allow their women to have shops or to do business, with more money women could become bosses
- “It would be nice if they (women) would have shops, this would be marvellous and help families, often children are not educated.”
- “Many people have more than one wife, then they realise that it is very costly and dangerous. They think they would have more peace if they would marry a second wife but then they realise that they do not have more peace, it is a source of poverty and family conflicts.”
- There is a change in this, even with Moslems, but it is not a dying out practice
- Transport: It is costly (Mbarara 10000US\$, Kampala 30000US\$ there and back), it goes any day, means of transport are there, 1hr to Mbarara, 4hrs to Kampala, the price is the limiting factor
- Leisure time: reads news, listens to radio, visits friends. leisure time is important in life, he was a musician when he was a teacher, he misses music and music facilities
- retired with 46 because the government changed

14. George Mwesigwa, Scheme Operator

32 years, electrician

(This interview was mostly in English)

- “The ADA has given us jobs, I was just a student” (said it without asking..) he is a technician or electrician
- He worked with constructing the scheme during his vacations
- (3) People fetched water from contaminated swampy sources, there were water vendors who sold the water for 200US\$ per jerrycan, now it is 50Sh

- (1) As a student not, after studies yes, he did not think of getting a job here, without the water project he would be somewhere else. He likes that there was the possibility to stay. He likes the development which is taking place, the road is being constructed, there are more buildings, people come and establish private schools, they establish big farms, factories, electricity, processing plants
- He would like to study some more, advancing his course or water engineering, for this he would go somewhere else, otherwise not
- He is not married but contributes to the income of his family, school fees for his brothers and sisters (6 brothers, 3 sisters)
- His salary is average
- (6) He misses big shops, business shops, big stores, a shopping centre, people go to Mbarara for shopping, industry, more factories
- he works in town but stays in a village
- He would like an extension of electricity to his village, there is a project of rural electrification with solar but the contribution is high and he has not got the money
- people close there shop around 6/7, even with electricity
- (5) (apart from the weather) safety is a problem, a solar panel has been stolen and is still missing
- (15) He would borrow rather from a bank, sometimes from friends
- (What he thinks about the social relations in this town:)The people associate, they cooperate, some people are more open, some are very closed
- (25) It looks very nice if the construction continues, residences, schools, a playground, entertainment (sports, music)
- Gymnastics are lacking
- There are saving groups in this town
- (9) Women are very self confident, they can make something out of themselves, others are just following the trends
- Some husbands restrict their wives, some are still ignorant, some others just don't bother

15. Banguza Nelson, Welder

32 years, married, 2 children, 4 and 1 years

- Being a welder brings little money, they do not have enough material and

no machines, money is not enough at all, the price of the material is very high and the profit is little

- He can not do anything else, this is what he learned
- (1) Yes but it requires a lot of money, she would leave if he would have the chance, to Mbarara or Kampala, his welding machines are not up to date, so they do not produce quality work, in Mbarara they have these machines
- (6) He misses television
- (Would you like to stay, if you would have these machines?) Yes. He did never try to get a loan, thinks he has not enough securities for that amount of money
- He moved into the town about 6 years ago
- (3) The cost of water was high, it has decreased, the water supply is important for him, he can bathe anytime he wants, the intermittent supply is a problem
- His wife has a shop
- (16) He takes the decisions, he does not involve his wife

16.Gad Tumuhirwe, Businessman

60 years, married, 10 children, 7 have finished school, 3 in primary school

- The water project has really helped them, he has a mobile shop (on wheels) with dresses, trousers
- He sleeps in town and goes from market to market
- He has been in town for about 20 years
- The water is safe, they do not get sick, they do not go for long distances, problem: the water is not enough, because one of the solar panels has been stolen, before the water was flowing constantly, the panel should be replaced (this is about to be solved)
- Electricity: It provided jobs, they can take cold soda and juice, local porridge, light is in the houses, there are factories which came after the electricity supply (maize, coffee, timber)
- Watching video is also nice
- Security has increased (with electricity), there are less thefts
- (1) He never wanted to leave
- (6) There are schools, he is making money, there is no reason to go

somewhere else, his children left the town because of jobs, (policemen, hairdressers, tailors, drivers or have shops), they are all in Kampala

- (6) There is only one street in the town, would wish a second street in the town, then it would expand, people would build more.
- Sometimes things do not come in the right time, sometimes you have to wait long (delayed), apart from that he likes the ongoing development
- (6) He misses a taxipark or buspark/bus station, they are parking anywhere
- (12) A person can never be content
- (25) he sees many streets, it is bigger, has the level of a town board
- he thinks, people are coming to the town, but the facilities are not enough, they find no place to stay and then they go back
- (16) He first discusses with wife
- (9) Yes, there are women groups, self help projects, saving groups, she works hand in hand with her husband, he likes it, should further improve, women today buy their own clothes, they don't need to ask their husbands. (possible reasons:) sensitisation by government
- Education: junior secondary

17.Loyce Kyomugisha, Businesswoman

24 years, widow, 2 children, both in primary school

- The water scheme helped them to fetch water nearby
- She lives in the town
- She has a shop with second hand clothes on the street
- She is content with the job but the income is not so good
- School fees are a problem
- (3) Now there is low cost water, high cost before, it was contaminated, now it is safe
- She has some free time after work, now it is simple, just after work to go and get a jerrycan
- (5) The intermittent water supply during bad weather
- (1) She has not the need, her children are still young, she has to care for them, but she would like to go and do hotel catering or in a restaurant
- She would be happy in this town but there is no money in it

- She has no power in her house, it is too expensive
- Electricity in town: it has changed something, it is light, there is security, she thinks she is free, there is no problem with security
- She has a mobile phone, it helps in her business
- Health facilities: the prices in the health center are fair
- (6) More buildings, town should expand and get more money
- She would like electricity in her house, this would assist her, no paying for paraffin, would have to pay for electricity but it shines lighter
- (8) She has more work to do, like business and at home to care for children and herself
- (9) It changed a lot, now women are working, this should continue and improve more
- Reasons for this: good governance has brought this that they are more confident and work
- (What should happen to improve this:) They should give the president more support
- (What about your friends:) Some are confident and they can work
- (Could you imagine to be part of a “women group”?) There are women groups and there are these saving groups, she is part of a saving group
- (12) She is not satisfied with her life, the income is not good, has no nurse to assist for catering and caring for the children
- (15) She sells off her property to get money for needs, has relatives and sisters but they don't have enough money for themselves, she could only get something from friends
- (19) It is not good because men are not able to cater for them. It has been existing, was common with moslems, thinks it is increasing, thinks, men are marrying more women because there are more women than men
- (10) It is easy, she reaches, she buys and comes back, it is costly, costs maybe a lunch
- (25) She doesn't know (thought a while)
- (28) She thinks positive, with hope, thinks about the studies of her children
- Education: primary 5th, mother had no money for school fees
- Adult education: is established but has no time to go for that
- (How do you like the ongoing development?) It is slowly
- (Do you think that the growth of the town and an increase in insecurity is

related?) She sees no difficulty in that

18. Lydia Nsimirwe, farmer

29 years, married, 5 children of which 2 are in school

- Has been living in the town since 9 years
- She likes the town, is pleased with the town and it's development
- (3) They are no longer disturbed by fetching water from long distances
- (5) The intermittent supply
- She is a farmer, they have some land, it is enough, land is expensive, it became expensive after establishment of power and water, because of increasing population
- She thinks that people move in, others move away
- Electricity: no paraffin lamp, she has power in her house, just feels need for power
- She has no mobile phone but they are good
- The standard of living is good with water and electricity
- She lacks finance, would like to start a business, is member of one of these saving groups
- (14) She feels she could get one but has no securities, husband has not accepted to use their land as security
- (1) She would like to go back to her village, has land there and wants to work there
- (2) Yes, they have a job there, another one is a sub county chief there
- (16) Both discuss
- (9) Yes, because of loans, they help them to work and to improve themselves, good governance, getting some finance would improve this
- (6) no answer (nervous?)
- (15) She would ask her husband, also for money
- She feels well with the development of the town, it develops at a fast rate
- Education: finished primary 6th

(she became very quiet at the end, maybe she became bored or exhausted with my questioning...)

14/07/05

We left Kabale very late and arrived in Rwashamaire around 11:00. Johanna (an Austrian volunteer) accompanied me today and took the notes during the interviews. Because of this the interviews became shorter, more vivid and relaxed. I had the impression that I get more out of the people and they are more interested as well. It was more like a conversation than like a boring questioning. It was also less tiring and I could do 8 interviews.

Judith felt much better today, despite of this all the interviews after lunch were translated by George, which I did not like so much because his English is less good and Judith just helped when he did not get me. She was reading nearly all the time.

In the afternoon we went to the county office, the chairman was already gone but we caught him on the way home. He said he should have the data we need and gave us an appointment for Friday at 10:00am.

In Rwashamaire there are 2 established private connections, a third one has not been started to work yet. It was not possible to talk to someone with a private connection, only to this woman who has the tap before her door.

19.Siyaani Namusake

31 years, Moslem, has a saloon (hair dresser), divorced, 3 children

- She lives in town, was born here
- (3) The water supply is very helpful, in former times they were tired, had to walk long distances, now they have showers in the office, people travel here to bath and then they go on, even travellers come to town when they are dirty
- (Are you content with the water supply?) The water disappears sometimes, then a jerrycan costs 250Ush (from private vendors)
- She has electricity at home
- (What did it change?) Only good things, only advantages, for ironing, cooking, life is easier
- (Is electricity affordable for you?) The prices have gone up recently, uses electricity with everything she does and she wants to pay it, does everything to afford it
- (why are you divorced?) Her man misbehaved, restricted her at home, refused to help, went out with other women
- She was the only wife, but her husband wanted to marry more
- (9) Women are working, they are able to work, they are not staying at

home all the time and they have their own businesses

- (Reasons?) The government supports women, Initiative(?)
- (Is there a difference between Christians and Moslems?) It depends on the men, on their possessiveness, when she married he was poor, she brought development, she was getting more money, brought security, she beat him in wealth
- (Is it easy to get divorced?) We don't believe in it, not at all, you are taught to stick it out, only when it is extreme, to protect your life, things change now, in old days there was no divorce, she found it easy to get divorced
- (Do you like the development in the town?) she is happy with the development, there are good roads, electricity, water, it is a better life
- It develops at a fast rate, fast going
- (1) No, never, will never leave, likes it very much, she is developing here, she stays, want to expand with her saloon
- (2) Her friend left, is also working in a saloon in another town, friends took her there to find work
- She misses more buildings, the buildings are old, they need to be changed, otherwise the town would be lonely, loans, funds
- before electricity she used charcoal for cooking, electricity is more convenient and faster
- She finds it easy to get a loan to start business, but she did not try
- Would ask nobody for help, has only herself
- She not content with her life, wants a better life, has to look after children, after herself, after the shop
- all her children are in school
- She stopped school in primary 2nd, but she can write and read
- There is no adult school here, but she would like to go there if there was one

(In this interview George and also the parish chief always talked into, there were somehow too many people for my taste, it made me a bit nervous...)

20. Babigumura Imaam, parish chief

57 years, Moslem, 8 children (all girls)

(This interview was in English)

- Lives in a village approx. 10km away

- Income: Is a farmer and parish chief
- Has only one wife
- Has 8 children, all of them in school, which means that 3 of them are teachers (completed Uni), one is still studying in Kampala (higher education)
- He puts money into their education
- They would like to come back, but here are no jobs, two are working in Kampala
- (3) People were suffering before to get water, the water was polluted, unsafe, not clean, now people enjoy it very nicely
- He works in town, comes here in the morning and takes a shower at the water office, drinks it, cleans clothes, also uses it for washing himself (as muslim)
- In the village they have protected springs, he even has his own one in the family area, got a plumber and cement and protected it by himself
- There is no electricity in the village, electricity in town is very good, for cooking, light, there is no smoke, people buy TVs (those who have money)
- (Has the security improved?) Before electricity was installed we had a lot of thieves in the darkness, now not anymore, there are no complaints, because of street lighting
- (How do TVs and other information, the world, desires and so on influence the life and peoples attitudes?) There is a change, what we have never seen is available now, they see what is happening outside, in the States, in the UK
- (Results of that?) Development, country will develop, add internet-communication, (will come soon to town) he is very proud of that
- Many people migrate to the town, people come from villages to look for work
- 2002/03 tax collection: 74%, now 108.6%
- (Do they come only for work or do they move into the town?) Some come to settle, open up a business, some come to work and in the evening they go back to their villages
- (Are people leaving the town?) Some are outside of the town, looking for studies, go to other towns to look for more employment
- He is happy about the development
- What he misses: There is only one road in the town, change into a town

board, extended roads from west to east, adding more buildings, roads from side to side

- (9) Yes, they are getting more independent, women are empowered in this town, there are local counsellors which are women, even chair persons, there are no difficulties in this issue, there are no rapes (or he has never heard of one), no harassment, women are free
- (When did it change?) When the new government took place
- Reasons for the women's empowerment: both, through electricity, water, road construction, especially because of the water supply, there are less diseases, money went to sick people before
- There are no negative aspects of the development
(cool guy!)

21. Rehema Mujuni

30 years, married, 5 children, Moslem (only wife)

- She sells shoes
- The income is not enough, she got a loan but has to pay interest which is high
- 4 of her children are in primary school
- It is difficult with the money, has to pay back the loan and the school fees, the man does not bring money, the family is bigger than the income
- They have a small piece of land in the town
- They have no electricity in the house
- (3) She has a kind of private connection, not really but the tap is directly before her door, so it is easy to fetch. She is a tap attendant but the income from it is only 3000US\$ per month, so she got someone to look after it and works in her shop. She thought she would get more money out of it...
- She has no leisure time, works in her shop, when the girl which looks after the tap is not there, she has to close the shop and look after the tap.
- (What did electricity change?) Lights, town looks better with electricity
- (1) She prefers to stay here, wants to develop here, here is her land
- (What about your friends?) Many moved out, an uncle of her is living in the UK, he is currently building a house in Kampala, they are looking for better jobs, jobs which are not here, but they left a long time ago

- (Do you think they would come back someday?) yes, when the town develops people would come back
- (Transport?) She travels every second week (somewhere...) to fill up her stock, transport is easy, She goes when she has enough money
- The piece of land is very small, could not live from it
- (Was it easy to get the loan?) It was difficult in the start, paying it back, having a balance for eating
- She took the loan on January 2nd
- (15) Would ask her husband
- (16) They do it both
- (Was it always like this?) Yes
- (How did you contribute to the water project?) With money
- (5) They laid the pipe through her land, she did not like it and never got a compensation for that, would have expected that she gets the water free for that, but she has to pay as well (this is why she got the tap before her door...). but the water is very helpful
- (19) She does not mind, if he can afford more wives and look after them. the problem today is poverty
- (Do you think this is a dying out practice?) it is increasing, a man comes from a village to the town to work, rents a place and starts business. Then he takes another wife in the town and still has the wife in the village
- (23) They benefit, buy in town (shops), sell in town
- (Negative aspects?) No, she likes it, there is a hospital, electricity, earlier they had to use candles
- (What do you miss in the town?) Daily markets, then you could sell immediately when you need money
- (25) Houses, flats (in buildings with more than on floor), storey buildings, supermarkets
- (How do you imagine your life in the future?) Her life has to improve, it goes well
- Education: She did not study, never attended school, her parents did not bother, she uses common sense
- (Would you like a kind of adult school?) yes, would like adult learning and attend it

The interviews were again and again disturbed by the welding next door, it was very loud.

22. Byarugaba Godfrey, Boda Boda driver (bicycle)

21 years, not married

- he has been working as a boda driver for 2 years
- His income is around 2000US\$ per day
- He lives in a village 3km away
- Yes, was here before the water came
- When it is too hot he takes showers in the town, he also drinks it
- People ask him to bring water (he transports it)
- (Do you like your job?) If he gets something better, he will do it
- Education: primary 7
- Electricity really helps them, lighting
- He has no mobile phone, it is too expensive
- (1) Yes, he would love to go somewhere else
- (Why?) Because of job, better work, business (shop) or becoming a mechanic for motorbikes
- (What about your friends?) His friends went to Kampala, some of them drive cars or motorcycles (boda boda), some have shops, they left about one year ago
- (Do they intend to come back?) They have no wish to come back, only to visit
- (Do you like the development of the town?) It develops at a fast rate, there is a new road, it is easier for him to ride, to do his work
- (Would you like to stay?) yes, if it gets better, good houses, with a better job
- (6) He misses a football pitch or stadium, more schools
- He is happy with the ongoing development
- (11) Yes, his family has land
- Little, it is a small place, are rearing cows there
- (Are there other incomes of your family) One of his brothers has a shop, another one is a farmer
- He has 4 brothers and 2 sisters
- (Is the income of your family good?) It is not much, but it is enough
- (15) he would get help from his friends

- (14) Yes, he thinks he would definitely get a loan
- (Do you have leisure time?) Yes, he is playing football
- He thinks, leisure time is important for everybody
- (19) he prefers to have only one wife, you don't spend a lot, it is cheaper to have one wife, it is easier to take care of, wants to have 4 children, it is easier to look after, to manage
- (25) the size will double

23. Livingstone Tumuhirwe, welder

22 years

- He lives in the town
- He was here before the water came
- (3) Good service, delivery, but did not change anything in his life
- He thinks it is working well
- (What about electricity?) They use it for welding, for work
- (And how was it before?) He was studying, at school
- Most people were doing carpentry (before electricity came)
- Says, the development in town is good
- It is a gradual development
- (What do you miss?) A lot of things
- Education: Stopped in secondary 3
- (1) He thinks to remain working here, there is no reason to go
- (What about friends?) Yes, there are some people who left, development was still too low, left before electricity and water was established
- (What did they miss?) Water and electricity
- (Do they intend to come back?) some have the need to come back and work in this town
- He has no leisure time but it is not important for him
- Said, he would watch films, the whole evening, this is important for him
- (25) more buildings, the business expands
- (How do you imagine your future?) He will change the job, has not thought about it

- What he does not like: that the water is on and off

(He seemed to be rather bored with this interview, his answers did not show great enthusiasm...)

24. Monica Mwesigye

35 years, married, 2 children (girls), both in school

- She stays in a village, said it would be very near, ~5km, it's a 2hrs walk
- She sells bananas, popcorn, sugar cane, fruits, vegetables, the bananas she grows by herself, the other things she buys in the villages around, she has little land
- She has always been here
- (3) The original water caused diseases and sickness, now there are no diseases, it is safe to drink. they were fetching water from far away distances, now the water is near
- (What about electricity?) It brought development, they have fridges and cold drinks, lights, use it for cooking. she likes that. has no electricity in her shop, it is too expensive to install but she would like to have it
- (why?) if she would have electricity she would close her shop later
- She has no mobile phone, no money for that but she would like to have one
- Water is most important for her, more than electricity or a hospital
- (1) She never thought of leaving, she is happy here, she works in town, then she goes home to her village. She likes farming, cattle farming
- It is difficult for her to pay the school fees
- Her husband is a bicycle mechanic
- (8) The kids are still very young (still infants), they can't help much anyway
- (15) She would ask friends
- (16) Both discuss
- (9) There is a big change currently (positive)
- (Reasons?) The current government (promoted empowerment of women)
- This should further improve
- (What should happen for that?) Programmes for women, loans with low interest rates (there are loans but with high interest rates) that she is able to cover the costs and pay back

- Education: primary 6th
- She would like to study more, like to have facilities available, it should be established in the town
- She has very little leisure time, would like to have more but she has no one to help her, the work tires her, feels also overloaded
- (Why do you walk from the village to the town instead of taking a boda and save time?) It is too expensive, the income is low, she avoids walking in the dark, even the boda boda is too expensive, would not make a difference if she would come earlier and leave later
- (12) She is content with what she is doing
- (How do you imagine your future?) When the income increases, she wants to do something else
- She has had this shop for three years now
- Before she was digging in the gardens in her village (working on the fields)
- (Why did you open the shop?) She used to dig, she gave birth and had an operation, she became weak and could not dig anymore, so she opened this shop
- (Do you think your income with the shop is better than it would be without water and electricity in the town?) Yes, water and electricity are good things for the town. Security and peace has brought the biggest development of the town. People used to come and steal, now there is police, the law (government)
- (The parish chief said there are no rapes her, do you think this is true?) Thinks this is true, there are no rapes, it has never happened here
- (Health center/dispensary?) It is okay, prices are fair
- (What change do you think is necessary to make life more comfortable in this town?) The governance should increase, the president should stay forever, with him everything goes smooth
- (Do you plan to have more kids?) no, every time she gives birth she needs an operation, the third child died
- (25) Double size, more buildings, shopping arcades
- (Negative aspects of development?) Everything is good with the development
- Would like if government could bring more machines for women, like a maize milling machine (small scale business)
- (How do you fetch water in your village?) From a spring, it is far from the village, 1 hr there and back, it is unprotected but they clean it

- She would like to have a water source closer and protected
- (A major problem for you?) The walking everyday and transport
(Her shop is a shack next to the office, without electricity, no decent house. She got changed for us, put on a very nice dress to please us and brought small bananas and popcorn to the interview.)

25. Adrine Bahirwemu

50 years, 8 children of which 4 in school, divorced

- She is not married, the man left, went to another village and married, has another family, they had misunderstandings at home
- She has 8 children, 4 are in school, 4 are working, they have jobs
- She lives in a village very close, works in town
- She has a canteen, serves tea, roasted meat, avocado, fruits
- Income: everything is difficult, the school fees, the husband left and does not care for the kids, looks after the other family
- Walks to the town, when she was young it took about one hour, now it takes 2-3hrs
- In the village they fetch water very far, it is up the hill and difficult for her, they carry the water on their heads. she leaves at 7am, comes back at 9pm, has a younger child to help her with the water
- Transport: she has to save the money
- It would be easier for her to take a boda boda but the money goes to school fees, if she uses the boda boda she can't save money
- She wishes to open at 8am but opens at 11-12 midday till 5pm, then she walks home
- (3) Water helps her for her business (serves tea...), instead of walking far it is very close now
- (5) The water is not flowing constantly
- She has no money to install electricity in her shop
- She closed her shop while we were having the interview
- (What about the electricity in town?) It has provided security, no fear, you see or recognise people
- (How would electricity in your shop change something?) She would be able to see things in her shop, does not see well with candles or paraffin lamp

- Sometimes she sleeps in her shop, she feels pain in her legs, her mother takes care of her children then
- (Do you think of expanding your shop?) If she would have the money, yes, she would expand but she does not have funds
- (15) She uses what she can sell, she could not pay back if she would borrow or take a loan
- She is not member of a saving group, if she can't pay then they would take her land. she has to save everything for school fees, the primary school is 200.000US\$ and the secondary 300.000US\$ for three months, these are boarding schools
- (1) When she grew up she lived in Entebbe, then she came back here, if she has a chance, would get a job, then she would go
- (How do you imagine your future?) She believes there can be bigger things
- She has a problem with her head, one time someone tried to steal her chickens and beat her on the back of her head
- (What do you think about the health center/ dispensary?) She goes there but not often, the pain in her head comes when she is digging, the prices are fair but they have no medicines, they tell you what you need and you have to buy it from a drugstore which is expensive. they took an x-ray of her head (this was free)
- (Are there kind of "women groups" in this town? Or do you miss that, do you feel alone sometimes?) There are women groups, not only for money, she is part of a new one for decoration of parties, they work there and then get paid. They just started, do not know whether it is profitable, she will see, usually these groups do not last long
- The development of the town is good, there is water, there is electricity
- (Negative aspects?) No, development is going on
- (6) She misses: Would love water in her place, would like to have a place in the town which they own
- education: primary 3

(She was funny, made jokes. She closed her shop during the interview. Later she came back with a lot of bananas which she presented to us, again later she came with a bag full of avocados and when we left she gave us some potatoes... she was very happy that we came and listen to what she has to say and even write down..., Her shop is also one of the shacks next to the town water office.)

26. Alice Rukundo

38 years, married, 7 children, all in school (5 primary, 2 secondary)

Has a retail shop

- She would be content with her income, but the school fees are very much
- It is difficult, she really struggles with the school fees
- She lives in a village at the other side of the hill, does business in town
- She walks between the village and the town
- She had the shop already before the water came, the water has helped so much, before they fetched water from the swamp, she also sells water (cold from the fridge) has power in her shop, water helped her more than the electricity. The bill for the power is too high, costly, during the day they do not use any power in order to minimise costs
- (5) When they constructed the road the pipes got damaged, on and off water, bad for business apart from this it is fine
- Electricity is good
- (1) If the income is enough she stays in town, otherwise she will have to leave
- She is very happy with the development
- (Do you see negative aspects of the ongoing development?) There is a problem, that they don't have money, the lack of money to buy the things provided
- Her husband has a mobile phone, she would like to have one for herself, it is for the business
- In the village they fetch water from a protected spring nearby, it takes 1½hrs to fetch it
- (Do you have some health problems or restrictions?) No problems
- (Need for dispensary?) In case of fever
- (What about the prices?) Sometimes it is for free
- (11) They have the land where they built their house, it is only a small piece, no fields
- her husband works together with her in her business
- From the kids some are in school and others in the town at the shop
- (12) Children at school have some needs what they miss, there is nothing you can do, you have to continue
- Before the water came life was harder and they had less income. There

was a big change with the water supply, she gets money from selling water, before they spent it for lamps (paraffin), now it is better

- (How did the town look before electricity came?) Before the town was boring, darkness, no water, less people. More people came after these establishments
- (How were the buildings before, were they more temporary or like now?) The old mud houses with poles are now demolished and replaced by permanent buildings, from bricks
- (25) Looks nicer, if the development is persistent
- (What do you miss?) Internet communication

(She made a very self-confident impression and smiled all the time)



From left to right: Adrine Bahirwemu, Alice Rokundo, me and George Mwesigwa, the waterscheme operator

In Rwashamaire the villages are somehow further away than in Muhanga, the ways are longer, this may be a reason why people do not really close their shops later with electricity, because they want to be at home before dark. Here many people with jobs come from villages around every day in contrast to Muhanga, where many shop owners live within the town. Apart from this not everyone has electricity in his shop. Even if they have they try to save it, because it is expensive.

15/07/05

I went to the office today and got to know that there is no car for me today. Additionally Judith had gone to Mbarara. So I was not able to attend our appointment with the county chief. I called George to go there and get the information for us. I hope it worked well...

19/07/05

RWENTOBO

Rwentobo is very small; it has for sure more than 500 inhabitants (someone said), but the actual number I do not know. It looks bigger because it is not very concentrated, the houses are more scattered. The people there are a different tribe, the Bahima (in Muhanga and Rwashamaire the Bakiga), which are cattle farmers. In former times they were nomadic pastoralists which have settled down now. The land around is a barren grassland. Judith said the Bahima would be very closed and difficult to approach, so we put on our SWTWS-T-Shirts. They just had applied for water supply and sanitation, so we thought, if they really want the water they will not be reluctant to talk to us.

The town looks really dirty, waste is everywhere, I think it is filthier than Muhanga. There are also Christians and Moslems but the Moslems are the minority. The town seems to be quite empty, nothing is going on. People do not seem to be very busy.

We left very late again, about 10, because Loyce (who is in charge for the allocation of cars) came very late today. Judith had no time today, so Dennis accompanied me. I had the impression that he was not happy about having to do that. Johanna came with me as well. We arrived Rwentobo around 11 but could neither find the LC1 chairman nor the water committee chairperson. So we went to Rwashamaire in order to pick up our population data, which which Goerge got for us, and went back. After a tea in Rubaare we arrived in Rwentobo again around 1pm. We met the chairpersons and James, the WSC chairman took us around in the town. Then we started the interviews. They all took place on a terrace of an unfinished house in the shadow (there is no town water office so far). We were not really disturbed, although some people were looking a bit but from a distance. All interviews took about half an hour.

The interviews were fluent, the people were sent to me by the chairman but they were not keen to talk with me like in Rwashamaire, they were more reserved.

Rwentobo has the following amenities/infrastructure:

- high school (1996)
- primary schools
- Electricity (1999)
- clinics
- police post
- hotels
- weekly market

- microfinancial service

An international airport is going to be built next to the town (as people say), it is still in the planning phase.



Rwentobo

27. Kanyerere James, Water Committee Chairperson

31 years, married, 2 children (3½, 2 years), farmer and boda driver

this interview was in English

- He is a Christian, there are many Moslem, but they are not the majority
- He is a peasant, works on his own land but it is too small, which is a common problem here
- (What do you expect from the future water supply?) he expects development, people get nice water, people from the villages would come to the town, people would be more healthy, they would drink water which is safe. The villagers are already coming to the town.

- (What did the electricity supply change in the town?) Graining machines came in, and fridges which had not been here before, welding machines
- Electricity gives us development, it provided jobs, more people came after the electricity supply to settle down, before few people were here
- New buildings were constructed, the road was not nice before
- He lives in the town
- With the electricity the land prices went up, a plot is now 4.000.000US\$, before it was 600.000US\$
- (1) He wants to stay in the town, he likes the development, it is too expensive to leave and live in Kampala. Here it is more comfortable, people have TVs, radios
- Sometimes he goes to Mbarara, it is possible, He can go when he wants, it is 4000US\$ one way, it is cheap
- He works as a boda boda driver as second job, earns 7000US\$ per day
- He has electricity in his house
- Has no TV but a radio
- The electricity bill is not too expensive (just 2 bulbs...)
- The mobile network is available here, has a mobile phone, many people have one
- (16) he discusses with his wife
- His wife earns money, she is a teacher
- (17) A bit, this is important for him, playing football, watches TV at his neighbours, thinks that with more development he would have more leisure time
- (What about the social relations in this town? are there tensions between town people and newcomers?) It is possible to relate with those people, they are socially accepted and not segregated
- (15) Microfinances, it is easy to get a loan, did not use a loan for buying his motorcycle, used his own cash
- (19) It is not possible, not common, even among Moslems
- (Why?) They can not sustain them, it is too expensive, it has been different in former times
- Women became more confident because they work, he likes that, it should improve more
- (How could this be improved?) encourage them to join some groups which can train them to make development

- He is not afraid that women could become bosses
- (23) Villagers would get more money, sell things (fruits...) in the town
- (25) It is a municipality (larger town, size of kabale), this would bring funds, more buildings, nice farms in the villages
- (6) We have all the things we need (apart from water)
- They have some entertainment facilities, a video hall, TVs, a pool table
- They lack a hospital, airport, tarred road
- (Do you see negative aspects of development?) There are no negative aspects, does not think that insecurity increases with growth of the town, thinks positive about his future
- (2) Few left the town, they had some money problems, their income became low
- He can not remember when they left
- Says “we have only one problem, land source, water source”, asks for money from project so that they can buy land

28. Rwabishaari Suleiman, LC1 Chairman

55 years, Moslem, married, 5 children (4 in school)

- School fees are not a joke, university, it is not easy to sponsor
- He is not paid for being a community chairman, it is a volunteer service, takes much of his time
- He is a peasant
- His land is of average size, it is enough for living
- (Do people move into the town?) yes, many people are coming
- It increased within the last 4 years, 2001
- (Do you think this is related with the electricity?) Mainly because of electricity, prospects of water supply and airport
- (How many people are living in this town?) Guessed, because of political reasons the road divides the town, it lies in two different sub counties, can say for sure that there are more than 500 people
- (Whhat changed with electricity?) The number of schools increased because the number of people increased, there is a weekly market now, before it was monthly
- (What do you expect from the water supply?) They spend long times for

fetching water, there is only one source, then there will be many tapstands which is better, time for other development

- (What do you miss?) Offices, sub county offices, Services for people, transport system improves, more modern buildings, improved life standard
- The transport system is not the best, it is expensive, if you have money it is easy to go, the problem is cash, financial reasons
- (What about the health facilities?) Health structures are available but expensive, the next hospital is 7 km away, clinics here are too expensive
- (Are you satisfied with your life in the town?) He is satisfied, people should rather take part in development than running away
- (What about social relations in this town?) They are okay, they do not segregate, they mix freely with others
- (2) Some people have left, they moved to Kampala but also others come here
- When their contract has expired then they come back to retire, the building where we were sitting was built by someone in Kampala, will come back to retire
- (23) Villagers come here for health services, services in school, shopping, trading centre
- (25) It keeps on developing, expects the population to increase (meaning the water project, airport), buildings, schools, hotels (for accommodation)
- (Do you see negative aspects of development?) Always if something good comes, something bad follows, there are always some negative aspects, thinks when population increases, diseases would increase as well
- The police came in 1987
- It decreased robbery, thefts
- (Did security increase with electricity?) When there is a security light outside thieves think twice before breaking in
- (19) It is okay to have more than one wife, there are not many cases around
- (Why?) It depends on religious beliefs
- It is decreasing, income plays a role, the religion, Moslems: if they get the money they get more wives
- (Other impacts on the town in the recent years?) Traffic increased on local roads, the number of schools
- Education: Primary 7, finished in 1968

29. Matsiko Christine, peasant

28 years, widow, 3 children, all in school

- School fees are very hard to pay
- Her land is not enough
- She uses other people's land for cultivation, talks softly to landowner, (sometimes it is for free, sometimes to pay, sometimes to share harvest), she pays money like a rent
- (Is it a lot of work?) It is manageable
- If children would not be in school they would help but she supports them to study
- She finished secondary school
- She fetches water from the only water supply
- Lives within town
- (1) If she could have some capital to open a business in a bigger town, she could do her business here but in Mbarara there are more customers, here is less demand for services
- (What do you expect from the water supply?) She expects development
- (What means development for you?) Multiracial culture, would demand more services then there would be more business in the town
- (Social relations – tensions?) doesn't see any problems
- (Do you expect a change of your personal life when water supply comes?) save water, no phenomenon of waterborne diseases anymore
- (What did the electricity in town change?) It is a very hot place here, now they can take cold drinks, spend no longer money on paraffin, TV services. She has no electricity in her home, there she still uses paraffin
- She would like to connect to electricity but it is too expensive, she needs money for the connection
- (9) Women enjoy their rights, reasons are the government and education, has the wish for more rights
- (What should happen to encourage the empowerment of women?) more education
- (Is there a need for adult education?) Yes, there is a need for that
- (Are there saving groups in this town?) Yes, they have saving groups, she is a member

- (Are there other women groups in the town?) No, basically there are no other groups
- (Do you think there is a need for other groups?) Yes, we need them
- (Could you imagine to take action by yourself for such a group?) Yes, we need to develop our rights and ourselves
- (2) She doesn't know anybody
- (Did there something else happen which had a major impact on the town?) Doesn't know anything
- (What do you miss apart from water?) Suggests a hospital
- (What do you think about the clinics here?) They are expensive but the services are okay. The costs are not friendly to the common people, you can die. They do not send you home, you just don't go if you can't pay
- (17) Yes, she has some free time, has not enough time to rest, she is always busy, gambling now to push on
- (Do you think you will have more leisure time when the water supply comes?) She fetches water by herself. If the water is nearby it saves time. It takes 2-3hrs to fetch water, the queues are long
- (25) Airport, planning to build more schools, the roads will be updated and well maintained
- (Do you see negative aspects of development?) When a good thing comes a bad thing comes as well as the town grows, different people will come with different backgrounds, prostitutes with viruses, robbers
- (19) Does not support polygamy, it has decreased
- Reasons: The place is overpopulated, we are poor, we cannot produce more children. the major problem is land and money, she cannot send children to the secondary school, there is an economic crisis
- She misses: A school for orphans, an organisation which supports orphans and widows

30.Mwebaze Dick, local farmer

38 years, married, 5 children of which 4 in school

- The land is enough but the income is not enough
- He has a retail shop as well
- Lives in the town
- (What about school fees?) it is very hard

- (What do you expect from the future water supply?) Children will not miss school because of fetching water, the cost will be affordable for him, pays now 100US\$ per jerrycan
- (What did the electricity change?) The business increased, they have soft drinks, the hair dressing sprang up, it brought employment, introduced workshops, graining machines
- Has electricity in his shop
- (Is the bill expensive?) It is very expensive to be connected
- His wife had her shop before (What did the electricity change to her?) introduced new business, soft drinks, local drinks which cannot survive for a long time in warm environment, extended the opening hours from 8pm to sometimes midnight
- (1) No, is satisfied with the town, never thought of leaving this area
- Has a mobile phone
- Network came in 2000
- (What did it change?) business increased, they deliver things, call Kampala and ask for price (you don't need to go there)
- (What else changed something in the town?) The improvement of the road network, increased the influx from village, decrease of prices in the town, this was in 2000
- He goes sometimes to Mbarara to buy some things
- (10) It is very easy, you can go there now (16:30) and come back the same day, transport is affordable
- (12) They are lacking water, not food, their water does not look nice
- (Anything else?) We have no problem apart from the lack of water
- (So water is the most important thing in the town?) Yes, water is the main thing
- (How was it before the electricity came, was it also that important like water now?) "We were crying for electricity"
- (16) He takes decisions together with his wife
- (23) People will provide market, some will come to get jobs
- (25) More business will spring up, more people will be coming
- (Do you see any negative aspects of development?) buildings will be abolished for roads, owners will not be compensated, it will be a disorganised process, temporary buildings abolished
- (What do you think about the health facilities?) The clinic is very

expensive, some others are not available because of the distance, clinics from government are cheap, sometimes even free

- People want safe water!

21/07/2005

We left very late because Loyce did not come, then I had to wait for tea, otherwise Dennis would have not really been able to work. We also had to share one car with Enoch who wanted to go to Rubaare. There were not enough cars and everything was very confusing. We arrived Rwentobo around twelve and started the interviews. Dennis were more relaxed today, Rita, Judiths sister accompanied me for writing. She wrote down what she heard in the local language, not what was said in English. On the way she wrote down the questions and answers i can see a bit how things are translated... We did six interviews and left after five. The interviews were longer today. I gave 2000USh to James, the water chairman, because he spend a lot of time with us in which he could not work. The people were quite open today and there were no problems in the town, apart from that we did not have enough time for eight interviews. Despite of this I think I have a good sample and all groups are there. All people were very informative, there was no person, which I would have liked to drop from the interviews as it was in Muhanga or Rwashamaire.

I did not need to go to the Bukinda sub county office because the man came to the SWTWS and brought the population data about Muhanga. It was not as good as the data for Rwashamaire, it only reaches back to 1999, but he said, more is not available.

There is no real food in this town. This means we could not find a place to eat lunch. There is nothing like this provided. Probably nobody could pay that. We ate chapati and kind of cake.

31.Zaituni Yakale

29 years, widowed, 3 children, two in school, Moslem
has a retail shop, this interview took place in her shop

- The shop is her only source of income
- (13) She finds it hard to pay the school fees because her income is low
- (What impact on the community do you expect from the water supply?)
The population will increase, there will be better sanitation and bigger markets. Personally she thinks that diseases caused due to bad water will decrease, esp. concerning children.
- (What did the electricity change, did it increase your income?) No, yeah

her service improved, she can now use the fridge

- (Are the electricity bills high?) Yes
- (Is the situation better now or is the income the same because of the electricity bills?) The income is not more but it is better, she would rather deal with the bills.
- (Did you extend the opening hours?) Yes
- (Did your work increase?) Work increased
- (Do you have any free time?) No
- (Do you miss leisure time?) Yes
- (Do you think your work is too much for you?) No but it requires constant attention
- (Did you have any free time before electricity came?) No, had other things to attend to
- (what do you think about the mobile network?) The mobile phone doesn't bring her any income but helps in communication
- (Do you find the transport expensive?) Yes
- (When was electricity installed?) In 2000, but she came to this place in 2001
- (were have you been before?) she was in Ntungamo with her husband
- (Do you like this town?) Yes (1) she wishes to stay here and see how it grows
- (25) More people, better infrastructure and bigger businesses
- (Apart from water and electricity what do you miss in this town?) Improving the road network system
- (What do you like on this town apart from it being your ancestors home?) Security, cooperation between the people within the community
- (Don't you think that as the town grows bigger that the social relations will be affected?) "I don't think so because I also think that the people will be not so many"
- (How about the security in this town?) I think security will be more alert as development sets in
- (Do you see any negative aspects of development?) It could bring about social illnesses if slums set in and its associated evils
- (As a Moslem woman, what do you think about polygamy?) It is okay and my religion is okay with it

- (Is it common?) Cases are few
- (Do you think it is increasing?) It is not increasing
- (How self confident and independent are women here?) Women's rights are now being safe guarded
- (Are the men happy with this?) I don't think that they are happy but it is just that they have to adhere to the law
- (How was the situation in the past?) Terrible because men believed they were the superior race
- (Are there some men who still restrict their wives?) Very few
- (Is the independence and self-confidence of women enough or do you think this should further improve?) It is okay now but they don't mind more
- (Are there any women groups in this town?) yes
- (What kind?) Money generating projects, welfare groups
- (Were can you also raise money apart from the saving groups?) There is a village bank but it does not open daily, so in case of an emergency it is not efficient
- (Did you use a loan to set up this shop?) Her brother provided the capital
- (Are you satisfied with your quality of life?) She is okay but she has some unfulfilled desires
- (Like what?) She wants her business to expand
- (Would you also want to stay with an expanded business?) Unless it is unavoidable to go she would like to stay in the town and open up a branch somewhere else
- (wWhy don't you get a loan then and just expand?) She may not be able to pay back, her market is limited
- (Are there any other things you miss here?) There is little medical care, lack of enough medicine,dispensaries are very far
- (Do you have drug shops here?) Yes, but some people lack money to purchase them
- (Is there something else what do you find important to tell me?) No, everything has been covered
- education: senior 4

She was very nice, she wore a cap on her head.

32. Margret Tindibakila

78 years, the interview took place in front of her house

- (Do you have children?) They all died
- (How many were they?) 14
- (How did they all die?) In the rwandan genocide
- (What are you living from?) She has no income at all, even the house is not really hers, it was donated to her
- (So how do you survive?) From the goodwill of the people
- (How long have you been here?) 4 years
- (Where have you been before?) In a village nearby
- (Do you think the future water supply will have a benefit for you?) Yes because i will get access to water
- (Do you fetch water yourself?) No i ask anybody to bring me something, a jerrycan
- (What do you think about electricity?) she even has electricity in her house, it is convenient, instead of being in the darkness she can see
- (Are the bills expensive?) She does not pay them, the landlord pays for her
- (What do you think will the water supply change in the town?) The population will increase, bigger markets
- (Do you like the development?) Of course and the vices brought about the development can happen but minimal (means that good aspects outweigh the negative ones in any case)
- (Do you think that this development destroys your culture?) No and thinks the problem is globalisation and not development
- (Do you think you would develop in another way without the western influence like foods and dressing?) She also wants to have variety and experience what the Europeans experience, wants to choose
- (Apart from the landlord is there anyone else you can ask for help?) Only from the local people, for instance provision of food
- (Are there any organisations which can help you?) She does not know about any apart from the little medicine the government gave
- (Do you think there should be more governmental support?) Yes, for instance provide basic needs for underprivileged people
- (What are you doing if you get sick?) I stay home and wait from help from neighbours and locals (good Samaritans) because she has no money.

otherwise she just suffers

- (So your problem is transport to the government hospitals?) Yes. transport is the problem but some drugs may not be there
- (What do you miss in this town apart from water?) Medical services are lacking and food
- (25) It will be nice, now the services are poor, infrastructural development, population will increase
- (How did this town look like before electricity came?) There was darkness and all businesses were closed at 7pm, after the population increased and infrastructure was setup
- (what other things happened in this town?) Schools, new buildings
- (What do you like in this town?) There are people to talk to, people are helpful and friendly
- (How are the social relations in this community?) The people are cooperative
- (Has it always been like this?) No but with the coming of Museveni's regime people are more cooperative now
- Has never been in school

She had an accident with a car and had scars and walks on a stick. I gave her 1000 shilling and she appreciated that.



From left to right: Zaituni Yakale, Margret Tindibakila and me

33.Mbabazi Prossy

19 years, divorced

The interview took place in a shop of another woman

- She got divorced because of misunderstandings with her husband
- Got married this year
- Has one child but left it with the father, he looks at the child with another woman
- (What are you living from?) She is a peasant, she digs for others and gets some payment
- (Are you satisfied with your income?) Not at all
- She earns at average 1000USh per day
- (What do you think about the water project in this town?) It is a good thing and good development for the town

- (What changes do you think will the project bring to the community?) Population increase and associated development like infrastructural development, medical care
- She stays in town
- (How do you think will you personally benefit from the water supply?) The personal hygiene will be improved
- (Do you fetch water yourself?) Yes
- It takes about 2 hours
- (Do you have any free time?) No
- (What will you do with the time you save with the water supply?) I will use the time for more development and also rest.
- (Do you miss free time?) Yes
- She lives with her aunt
- She has never been in school, was born in a very poor family and she lost her parents when she was still very young
- (Would you take the chance if there was a kind of adult education?) Yes
- (What means development for you?) Increase of population, educated people and better standards of living
- (Do you like the development?) There are no negative aspects
- (What is lacking in this town?) Better supply of electricity to every household
- (What do you like in this town?) The level of cooperation among the members of the community
- (1) Given an opportunity she would move to a bigger town
- (Why?) To tour, meet new people, adventure and enjoy better social amenities out there
- (So you are not really happy here?) It is because of the circumstances that I am here
- (2) No, have not lived here all my life
- (Where did you live before?) Maziba – Kabale district, it is bigger than this place
- (Why did you come here?) My aunt asked me to come and stay with her
- (What do you miss here what you had there?) There are better help services
- (Are you independent as a women?) No problem

- (Do you think women need more independence and self confidence or is it enough?) I think it is enough for the ideal African woman
- (How satisfied are you with your life?) Would like to have more income and her own business, live a more independent life
- (Do you see a benefit for the surrounding villages?) Yes, in case of sickness there is access to medical care
- (25) More people, more money, development of infrastructure and better standards of living
- (How do you expect to benefit from this development?) Maybe I will get employed and earn better wages
- (15) I am not sure about this, even if there were projects to loan me money I would not have money to pay back
- (How about relatives?) Yes there are some who can help

(She was very quiet and shy, reminded me very much to the underprivileged women in Muhanga, a very small woman.)

34. Jennifer Kagole

40 years, divorced, 2 children, in primary and nursery school

place of interview: her shop

- (How much do you spend on school fees?) 160 000 per year for both
- (Do you find it difficult?) Yes, I do
- (What are you living from?) I operate a small bar and have some cattle but the income is still not satisfactory
- (1) No because she owns this house and cannot go elsewhere to rent one
- (2) No
- (How do you think will you benefit personally from the water supply?) It saves me time and money because when my children are in school I pay people to fetch water for me
- (What will the water supply bring for the town?) It will bring the new phenomenon of safe water
- (What will it change?) There will be a population increase, hotels will increase, infrastructure
- (How long have you been here?) 4 years
- (Where have you been before?) In Ntungamo

- (What do you think about electricity?) Makes the town more lively
- (What would you find more important, electricity or water?) Both, but water is more important, "Instead of electricity you can use paraffin or candles, for water there is no substitute."
- (Why did you come here and did not go to another place?) I wanted to be nearer to my ancestors home
- (How long did you spend in Ntungamo?) 8 years
- (What does your family do?) They cultivate
- (23) The town provides local market, social amenities, medical services and education
- (What do you really like about this town?) It is near my home so she can manage activities on her farm easily
- (What do you think is lacking?) Better looking buildings, the population is not enough to sustain development
- (Is there a difference between the problems of the villagers and the town people?) Yes, in the villages is a lack of transport services
- (Any other problems?) The villagers do not have electricity
- (17) Maybe on Sundays but not during the week
- (Do you miss the free time?) Yes
- (Do you have a lot of work?) I am not overloaded, i can cope
- (12) Finds difficult paying the school fees
- (Do you have any dream about your life to make it better?) If I had enough capital to expand my business to look after my children better
- (Can't you get a loan?) I can but I fear it because of the interest rates involved
- (Are there any money generating projects you are involved in?) Yes
- (Apart from that which other groups do you join?) A welfare project
- (Are you independent?) Yes and I do not even have a husband to order me around
- (Do you think women here are generally independent?) Yes, it has basically improved
- Education: senior 2
- (Do you think this town needs an adult education facility?) Yes, but it does not exist
- (25) It will be more developed, people will have bought plots so they will

build and if the airport is constructed so she hears, people will settle down here and development will naturally take root

- (How was the town in former times compared to now?) There are schools now, increase in population, development of milk processing industries
- (Are there any public services in the town?) Maybe clinics (the clinics are private, not public, the next government hospital is 7km away)
- (Do you see any negative aspects of the ongoing development?) Maybe pollution
- (What do you think about all the litter and rubbish scattered in the town?) thinks this is very unhealthy
- (Do you have a mobile phone?) No
- (Do you find it important?) Yes but it is too expensive for me, it would help me to keep contact with my relatives
- (What else do you find important for development apart from water and electricity?) Improving transport network, provision of a college, university, milk processing centres
- (Is there anything what I did not ask but what you find important to say?) Will the water be nearby or in households? (Dennis explained everything, which means that the SWTWS project will construct tapstands, but private connections are feasible for a certain connection fee.)

35.Charles Kyelebeti

51 years, married, 6 children, comes from a village around member of the local council in his village, has a retail shop in town interview took place in the shop of the Moslem women

- All children are in primary school, apart from his shop he practises agriculture on his own land
- (How satisfied are you with your income?) It is enough but not satisfactory
- (Do you find it difficult to pay the school fees?) Yes, i do
- (What change do you expect from the water supply?) Safe water, improvement in economic growth if we are healthy, improvement of the general cleanliness of the town
- (What do you think will it change in your personal life?) I will be healthy because of safe water
- (How long have you had this shop?) Since the beginning of the year

- (What inspired you to starting this shop?) Wanted to improve his financial status
- (Do you think you would get a loan?) I am considering it
- (what does your wife do?) We are cultivating together
- (Have you always been here?) Yes
- (What changed when electricity came?) Job opportunities like salons
- (How did the town look like before electricity came?) There were very few people
- (Do you have a mobile phone?) Yes
- (Do you use it for your business?) Yes
- (Do you find it very important?) Yes
- (When did you buy it?) 2003
- (What other changes have taken place in this town?) Did not notice anything
- (Do you like living here?) I am satisfied
- (What does this town lack apart from water?) Road network, better education system
- (What do you like here?) Favourable climatic conditions, staying in the community he was born in
- (What problems do the people in the villages face?) Lack of retail shops, lack of medical services
- (How do they benefit from this town?) Basic services
- (Do you think the water supply would have an impact on the village people?) Yes, they will have access to safe water
- (Do you know people who have left to bigger towns?) Yes, due to expansion of their businesses (He thinks but he could not really say)
- (When did these people leave?) 2 people left last year
- (Do you like the ongoing development of this town?) Yes
- (Do you see any negative aspects?) Increase of population, people with different beliefs and cultures and hence conflicts, some have to leave because they cannot compete with the development (town is more expensive)
- (Are you satisfied with your quality of life?) You cannot be satisfied in life
- (Did you plan the number of children beforehand?) It did not work, they got three pairs of twins

- (How many did you wanted to have?) 4 because he could maintain them easily
- (Is your wife independent and self-confident?) I hope so
- (25) Better infrastructure and road network, better education systems, increase in population
- (Do you have any free time?) Yes, once per week
- (Do you think you should have more free time?) No, i have enough because i don't want to waste time
- (Anything what you find important to say what i did not ask?) Yes, domestic relationships – divisions of responsibilities with my wife
- (What do you think about polygamy?) Brings misunderstandings, disunity
- Education: ordinary level (11 years)

(The interview was partly in English but it was very disturbed, very loud because of youngsters before the shop and loud music from the salon next to the shop. He seemed to be very intelligent.)

36. Tushabe Agnes, farmer

26 years, divorced, 4 children of which three in school
interview took place in the shop of the Moslem women

- (Do you have your own land?) She works on her father's land
- (Is your income enough?) No
- (Do you have any other source of income?) No
- (If you needed help, who would you go to?) Nobody, parents are poor
- (Is your parents' land small?) Yes, it is not enough
- (1) Yes, it has always been my dream
- (For what reasons?) The climate here does not favour her cultivation, especially in the dry season
- (Do you think an irrigation project or agriculture improvement project would be a good thing here?) It is not easy to irrigate all the gardens she has, but she would stay here in this case
- (How far is your place?) About 2 km
- (What means of transport do you use?) She walks
- (How do you think would you benefit from the water supply?) If it is installed in town, later it might be installed in her place

- (What advantage do you see in that?) her parents are very old, so it would be easier to access it
- (How important do you find electricity?) It is also very important, brightens The town, makes it more beautiful. job opportunities (hair salons)
- (Do you like the development in this town?) Yes and i want it to increase, employment opportunities would be available, usiness will boom and be more profitable
- (What else is needed in this town?) Modern buildings, increase of population and bigger markets
- (What do you like here?) There is nothing she likes, she has no job and no money
- (Do you have a lot of work to do?) Not so much
- (Do you have free time?) Yes she has
- (Do you find free time important?) If what you are doing has an economic value, then free time is not so important
- (What kind of job would you like to get?) I would be interested in textile business
- (Did you ever think of acquiring a loan?) No because she has no collateral security to get a loan
- (How do people in the villages benefit from the town?) If the town develops, job opportunities will come up and hence better standards of living and also her products will have a ready market
- (25) Increase of population, provision of services like hotels
- Education: never been to school
- (Would you go for adult education services if they were provided, even if you would have to pay something for it?) Yes, i would
- (How did you notice that a lack of education is a disadvantage?) For instance she cannot talk with me directly because she cannot speak English
- (Do you think women should be more independent?) Yes because the times have changed so the women need to be empowered to be self reliant and not be stepped on by men
- She thinks there should be a mechanism to help women to be self reliant and be less dependent on men
- (Are you a member of any money generating projects for women?) Yes
- (What benefit does it bring?) Nothing because she has to survive with her children

(The youngsters had gone but the loud music was still there and made the communication somehow difficult.)

27/07/05

I moved around in the town (Kabale) with Flavia, a trainee, in order to find some people from my survey towns who moved here. It is very difficult. The only people we could find left Muhanga or Rwashamaire more than 15 years ago and they even were not directly from the towns but from a village. The women from near Muhanga even had never something to do with it. I made two interviews but they did not reveal something new. We gave up after some hours.

I contacted Austin Tushabe (DWD) and George Bagamahunda (Kigezi Diocese Water project). The latter I hope to meet on Friday, Austin Tushabe did not reply so far.

30/07/05

I met George Bagamahunda the day before yesterday (28/07/05). It was just a short meeting because he came from Kampala this day and was very tired, as well as me. I got to know that he had been in Kabale all the time and I regret not having contacted him earlier. He is working in rural water supply which would have been interesting for me to know more about it.

Concerning my thesis we did not talk much but he said the people who are divorced would actually just live separated.

01/08/05

Tomorrow I will meet a social scientist in order to talk with him about my findings. Jan – a social science student – organised this for me.

02/08/05

I did not meet the social scientist but I talked a lot with Jan. I will meet again with Jan tomorrow and talk. He told me about a study in Italy where someone found out that this country is underdeveloped because of the close social relations.