



THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

UGANDA PARTICIPATORY POVERTY ASSESSMENT PROCESS

Second Participatory Poverty Assessment Report

DEEPENING THE UNDERSTANDING OF POVERTY

National Report

December 2002

**Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development
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FOREWORD

This report builds on the first Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA1) conducted in 1998/99 and brings together the voices and perspectives of poor women and men in 60 communities in 12 districts. This second Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA2) was designed to deepen the understanding of poverty gained in PPA1 and also gather people's experiences with government policies that have been put in place as a result of the concerns raised in earlier consultations with the poor.

The Participatory Poverty Assessment exercises are a unique partnership comprising Government represented by the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, district authorities, civil society organisations (both NGOs and academic institutions) and donors. Oxfam GB in Uganda has been the implementing agency and has now handed over the process to Government. We thank Oxfam GB for working closely with us on this initiative. The objective of this process is to bring the voices and perspectives of the poor into central and local governments' policy formulation, planning and implementation, as well as strengthen and complement quantitative poverty monitoring, planning and implementation processes.

I am delighted to note that the findings of this assessment have shown that Government's pro-poor policies have resulted into some progress in eradicating poverty, although the complexity and diversity of the nature of poverty still persists. This assessment also reveals that powerlessness is still evident among poor people; manifested through women's lack of control over resources, brutal graduated tax collection, overcharging by market traders, lack of information and people's ignorance about local leaders' roles and responsibilities.

However, there are indications that Government policies like UPE and abolition of cost-sharing are making people more empowered. Utilization of these services has increased massively and this is an indication that poor people feel that they have right to health and education. Elections are also seen by some people as a means of holding corrupt officials accountable. These and many other issues discussed in this report indicate the great importance of Government being clear about people's sights and entitlements and making information available to them.

The challenge ahead of us, therefore, is to ensure that we build on the few best practice measures articulated in this report so that we do not further marginalize the poor. As we move forward, we now need to keep the decentralization process under review in order to accelerate the pace towards achieving our poverty eradication targets.

It is intended that the PPA as documented in this report will help both the central and local governments as well as our development partners to strengthen our strategies for poverty eradication. The voices of the poor in this report will continue to inform our budgetary allocations and policies on key issues in fighting poverty.



Mwesigwa Rukutana

Minister of state for Finance Planning and Economic Development (General Duties) also holding the portfolio for Minister of Finance Planning and Economic Development

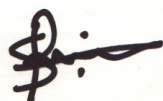
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The Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Process is a partnership by the Government of Uganda (represented by the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development), Local Governments, NGOs, academic institutions and donors. The process was implemented by Oxfam GB up to September 2002 and is funded by Government of Uganda, DFID, World Bank, UNDP and SIDA.

This is a report of the second Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA2) which was carried out in 60 communities in 12 districts (Mubende, Wakiso, Rakai, Jinja, Bugiri, Soroti, Moroto, Kitgum, Arua, Bundibugyo, Ntungamo and Masindi). The PPA2 was conducted under the theme of deepening the understanding of poverty gained in PPA1 and gathering people's experiences with government policies. The report builds on the first Participatory Poverty Assessment process (PPA1) and provides a realistic picture of poverty and how local people deal with it from their perspectives, particularly with regard to service delivery, infrastructure and governance, the dimensions and trends of poverty, and the impact of government policies on the poor. The information in this report was collected through the use of participatory methodologies, where researchers actively listened, and encouraged interaction and analysis amongst the local people.

Several individuals and institutions contributed to this process. Special thanks go to the members of the UPPAP Management Committee: the Chairperson - Kenneth Mugambe (Assistant Commissioner, Economic Development, Policy and Research – MoFPED), Bella Bird (DFID), Mary Bitekerezo-Kasozi (World Bank), Margaret Kakande (Poverty Monitoring and Analysis Unit – MoFPED), Regina Akello and Dr. Ngila Mwase (UNDP), Gloria Mugambe and Maureen Nahwera (SIDA), Eric Mukasa (MoFPED), Emma Naylor (Country Programme Representative Oxfam) and Dereje Wordofa (former Country Programme Representative Oxfam GB), Grace Ekudu (UNICEF) for guiding the PPA process. I would also like to thank the International Reviewers: David Booth (ODI) for reading drafts of this report and providing significant input, Joy Moncrieffe (ODI), Rosemary McGee and Karen Brock (IDS Sussex University) for providing comments at different stages of the research. Special thanks also go to the trainers Lwanga-Ntale (DRT), Robert Luers (University of Birmingham), Richard Ssewakiryanga (UPPAP), Sylvia Nakazibwe (UPPAP) and the various resource persons from line ministries for the training well done. I also thank Keith Muhakanizi (Director Economic Affairs), who was instrumental in overseeing the whole PPA process. Appreciation is also extended to Oxfam GB in Uganda, the implementing agency of this process until September 2002 when it was handed over to Government. The partner institutions that provided researchers and technical support made an invaluable contribution to this process, and they include: Action Aid, CBR, DRT, UBoS, CEFORD, KRC, CDRN. I am also grateful to the authorities of the 12 Local Governments for the hospitality, and for providing district officials to work as district-based researchers on the different teams that carried out this work.¹ I would also like to thank the National Report Writing Team for working day and night to reduce the huge volumes of data from the research into the report we now see. These include Richard Ssewakiryanga (Team Leader), Jenny Yates (Independent Consultant), Dr. Akim Okuni (Islamic University in Uganda), Dr. Florence Nangendo (Child Health and Development Centre), Frank Muhereza (Centre for Basic Research) and Rossetti Nabbumba (PMAU/MFPED). I also want to thank all the research and community mobilisers in all the communities where we worked for enduring such a long and tedious research exercise so that we can all make a contribution in changing the poverty situation in our country. Above all, I thank the local people in the different rural and urban communities where we worked for taking off time to share their experiences with the researchers and eventually helping Government to "hear their voices".

To all who made this process succeed, I say thank you!



Richard Ssewakiryanga
Team Leader - UPPAP

¹ See Annex 5 for all the people involved in the study.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BAT	British American Tobacco Company
CCG	Classroom Completion Grant
CWDs	Children With Disabilities
ESIP	Education Strategic Investment Plan
FAL	Functional Adult Literacy
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FO	Fisheries Officer
FP	Family Planning
GoU	Government of Uganda
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
GT	Graduated Tax
HSSP	Health Sector Strategic Plan
HUMCH	Health Unit Management Committee
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
ILO	International Labour Organisation
LC	Local Council
LGDP	Local Government Development Programme
LSSP	Land Sector Strategic Plan
MFPEd	Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development
MGLSD	Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development
MES	Ministry of Education and Sports
MOH	Ministry of Health
MTEF	Medium Term Expenditure Framework
MWLE	Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment
MTCS	Medium Term Competitiveness Strategy
NEMA	National Environmental Management Authority
NER	Net Enrolment Ratio
NUPAWU	National Union of Plantation Agricultural Workers of Uganda
NSSF	National Social Security Fund
PDC	Parish Development Committee
PEAP	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
PLE	Primary Leaving Examination
PMA	Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture
PPA	Participatory Poverty Assessment
PPEA	Participatory Poverty and Environment Assessment
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
PESP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PWDs	Persons With Disabilities
SFG	School Facilities Grant
SMC	School Management Committee
TBA	Traditional Birth Attendant
TDMS	Teacher Development Management System
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UPPAP	Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Process
UPE	Universal Primary Education

KEY POLICY MESSAGES FROM PPA2

- Poverty is not just about low income. It results from powerlessness, exclusion and lack of knowledge.
- Ill-health remains the top cause of poverty according to poor people.
- People put lack of markets – and also high/unfair taxes and market dues – among the major causes of poverty.
- Gender inequality (women’s lack of control of resources) is a number one poverty issue, causing both deprivation and inefficiency.
- Poverty-environment links need more attention in poverty reduction policy.
- Helping poor farmers with marketing, and market information, should be a clear priority for NAADS.
- Fishing sites need social infrastructure and community organisation; estate workers need the protection they are legally entitled to; pastoralists in Karamoja need veterinary services and a form of disarmament that works.
- Health services need more funding for drugs and staff and health facilities need better monitoring. Preventative health care deserves more attention.
- Water and sanitation measures need a more robust approach, based on community-level understanding and enforcement.
- UPE is still a fragile achievement, and a hard look is needed at a number of non-obvious factors that in practice undermine quality of primary education.
- There is a crisis in the legitimacy of local taxation that calls for a fresh look by the Local Government Finance Commission.
- Whether decentralization is compatible with effective poverty reduction is still unclear. It is important that this is kept under review.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. The Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Process (UPPAP) is an initiative of the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (MFPED). Its overall aim is to bring the voices and perspectives of poor people into policy formulation, planning and implementation by central and local governments. A first participatory poverty assessment (PPA1) was carried out in 1998/99 in 36 research sites in nine districts. Its findings were used to inform policy-making. A second PPA (PPA2) has now been implemented, with two main aims:
 - To deepen the understanding of poverty and poverty trends gained in the first PPA;
 - To investigate people's experiences with selected government policies.
2. Research was carried out in 60 research sites in 12 districts (Mubende, Wakiso, Rakai, Jinja, Bugiri, Soroti, Moroto, Kitgum, Arua, Bundibugyo, Ntungamo, Masindi). Work was undertaken in three phases, or 'cycles', between November 2001 and May 2002. The research was undertaken by seven partner organisations – NGOs or research institutions – working with local researchers, usually from the district administrations. The overall coordinating and implementing agency was Oxfam GB.
3. In conventional poverty analysis, a poverty line is established based on the level of income or consumption necessary for a minimum acceptable level of nutrition and other necessities of everyday life. People are considered poor if their income falls below this line. Household surveys using questionnaires are used to establish peoples' incomes. In contrast, PPAs, such as those carried out by the UPPAP as well as in other countries, use a variety of participatory methods to consult poor people in an open-ended manner on issues important in their lives. Participants in the research are encouraged to draw diagrams to explain linkages and causal relationships, to use ranking techniques to prioritise problems and solutions and to provide testimonies and case histories.
4. In PPA2, participatory techniques were used to consult people on their understanding of the nature and causes of poverty and their priority actions for poverty reduction by government or in communities themselves. PPA2 sought to deepen the understanding of poverty gained in PPA1 by focusing on the views and needs of *specific groups*. Research, therefore, took place with internally displaced persons, pastoralists, people in fishing communities, agricultural estate workers and urban residents, as well as in many sites with people dependent on traditional subsistence agriculture. Research was also conducted with specific groups *within* communities: women, men, young people and the elderly and socio-economic groups, such as the poorer and the better-off. People were also consulted on their experience of the implementation of key Government policies: health, education, water, taxation and governance and accountability. Information relevant to the implementation of Plan for the Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) was collected.
5. PPA2 was complemented by three other research efforts: a participatory poverty and environment assessment; a study on child poverty; and a Village Census covering 36 of the 60 PPA2 research sites with a broadly similar research agenda to PPA2. This report presents the main findings of PPA2, bringing them together with major findings from the three complementary studies. Key findings and important policy messages are highlighted below.

What is poverty?

6. As in the first PPA, there is general agreement that poverty is *a lack of basic needs and services such as food, clothing, bedding, shelter, basic health care and education*. People also emphasized, as in PPA1, that poverty is *powerlessness*, explaining that this means a lack of ability to express one's views both at home in the case of women, and to government. It is lack of a voice and failure to be heard. As a man in Kagoma Gate, Jinja, explained: "It is only the chairman whose voice can be heard. In meetings I can't speak because I don't have money. I am thinking about money. I can't concentrate or talk ... the voices of women are down. Women cannot talk in front of men. When I am poor I cannot speak among the middle class; they shut you down."
7. New poverty dimensions drawn attention to in PPA2 centred on issues of *social exclusion, governance, community status or affluence and ignorance and lack of knowledge and awareness*. It was evident to people in Bundibugyo that "If you are ignorant and lacking information about certain things, you can never develop yourself."
8. While some dimensions of poverty are cross-cutting, different categories of the poor also experience poverty differently depending on locality and the social, political and economic conditions they face. In urban areas, people emphasized that the poverty is characterized by *hunger and lack of food, escalating unemployment and poor wages* for those that are employed. Child poverty is characterized by *discrimination, child labour exploitation and voicelessness*, while poverty in northern Uganda is defined as *insecurity and internal displacement*.
9. In rural areas, poverty was associated with *lack of productive assets*, particularly land, as in PPA1. However, people also emphasized that land is only a necessary, not a sufficient condition, for moving out of poverty: some have land but lack the skills, finance and motivation to develop it; many other poor people produce on the land they have but lack *markets* for their produce. Groups seen as particularly vulnerable to poverty include: women, widows, the youth, the elderly, orphans, people with disabilities (PWDs), the displaced and refugees.

Causes of poverty

10. As in the first PPA, the most frequently cited cause of poverty is *ill-health and disease*. Time lost when sick and, for women especially, time spent taking care of the sick, reduces productivity while the cost of care uses up savings and leads to the sale of assets. HIV/AIDS and malaria continue to feature highly among the causes of poor health. A woman in Kawiti, Masindi, explained, "Malaria has always attacked me and these days I am much weaker than before, so I no longer dig for hours. When my husband or children are sick this also affects my schedule and at the end of it all, we have less food and less produce to sell." According to an old woman in Butema village in Bugiri, "The children and we the parents fall sick and we have to spend the few savings on treatment, only to recover after the planting season, then poverty increases in the household."

11. *Limited access to land or land shortage* ranks second among the most frequently cited causes of poverty. This was not given prominence in the first PPA. Evidence shows that households, particularly in the middle and poorest categories are not accumulating land. Instead, they have seen their land ownership decreasing significantly as a result of problems linked to large families, insurgency, commercial farming, evictions, migrations and gender inequalities. *Large families* also featured as an important cause of poverty in themselves, as well as being a factor behind land shortages.
12. *Lack of markets* was also highlighted as a priority cause of poverty, as in PPA1. However, *high and unfair taxes and market dues*, and *death of family members, particularly breadwinners*, were given greater emphasis this time in both rural and urban settings. In rural areas, people emphasized as key causes of poverty factors that contribute to poor performance in agriculture: lack of markets and low prices, limited land, pests and diseases, and especially in pastoral areas, drought. *Alcoholism* also featured prominently. In urban areas people focussed on *lack of jobs*. Other causes emphasized in the urban setting include a number of factors linked to gender inequalities: laziness/idleness among men, oppression of women and poor planning at the household level. In many western and northern sites including Soroti, *insecurity* ranked as the key cause of poverty.

Gender dimensions of poverty

13. Investigations of peoples' asset base and livelihoods in PPA2 reveal that *lack of control over productive resources by women remains one of the root causes of poverty*. Women explained that they lack control over land, the crops their labour produces from it, livestock and other productive resources. Yet they are responsible for meeting family needs. They complained bitterly of men wasting time and family resources drinking. Women are "overburdened" and this affects their productivity. In many sites, women were alleged to have *more* family responsibilities now than in the past, for example, being responsible for paying for costs of schooling, when this used to be unheard of. Women-headed households are often poor because in-laws take land and assets when a husband dies, claiming that these revert to the man's clan, leading women in some sites to recommend that men should be legally obliged to make wills and to leave land to their wives.

Moving in and out of poverty

14. Many factors and forces have been identified that cause people to become poor or enable them to become better off and it is interesting that most factors are common across the sites, irrespective of whether they are urban, rural, pastoral, etc. Alcoholism stands out as the number one cause of movement into poverty, followed by polygamy and having large families/many dependants. In northern districts, insecurity and displacement was the most important cause. Other factors seen to lead to worsening livelihoods include unfair taxation/high market dues and illness.
15. Upward mobility was also discussed in communities. Examples were identified of poor people becoming better off, although participants stressed that downward mobility is more common. Working hard in all types of jobs stood out as the major factor explaining

upward mobility in more than a half of the sampled sites. Access to gainful employment or multiple income sources were also seen as very important, with multiple income sources said to be important in enabling better risk management. Other priority factors identified included gaining access to land or property, and acquiring skills and accessing education, particularly higher-level education. For women, access to start-up capital and petty trade were identified as especially important.

Poverty trends

16. No obvious patterns are discernible in perceptions of trends. In most communities, people identified both improving and worsening dimensions of livelihood, possibly indicating changes in the nature of poverty over the years. Some communities reported declining poverty trends overall, others a mixed picture, while some reported increasing poverty. However, key messages that come across from the sites are the following:

- Access to social services, particularly education, water and health has dramatically improved during the past decade although quality of service remains an issue;
- The productive sectors (crop, livestock and fish farming) are believed to be faring badly, particularly crop farming, and this has affected households' levels of income. This is due to poor production and yields, poor prices, lack of incentives to expand production due to lack of markets and environmental concerns;
- People who have been subject to shocks such as displacement and insurgency generally feel poorer, as they have lost household members, property and social support.

Environment and poverty linkages

17. In all the communities where PPA2 research was carried out, people depend for their livelihoods on the utilization of natural resources. However, people report that the quality of these natural resources is declining and that this is increasing poverty and vulnerability. People drew attention to declining soil fertility and productivity of land, land degradation, the depletion of fish species and stocks, wetland encroachment and reclamation, and pollution of water sources. Poor people lack sufficient access to environmental and natural resources and it appears that environmental resources are increasingly concentrating in the hands of the wealthy. Access to resources is often subject to bribery and corruption. People lack awareness of their rights and opportunities in relation to environmental resources and there are limited opportunities for their involvement in decisions on resource use.

**Key government policies:
the PMA**

18. Across the PPA2 districts people drew attention to difficulties they face in marketing agricultural produce. This indicates that the PMA and the new National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) need to prioritise assisting farmers with marketing. People pointed out that marketing problems lead to low prices and reduce incentives for them to invest in agriculture. Many feel exploited by traders. However, PPA2 research indicates that ready markets do not necessarily reduce poverty – unequal gender relations and lack of effective farmer organization are negating potential benefits.
19. Lack of access to agricultural advisory services is stopping people from improving yields, controlling crop pests and diseases and avoiding soil exhaustion. When services are available, service provision is biased towards the better off and excludes women, challenging NAADS to ensure that these problems are not replicated when it begins operating across the country.
20. Livelihoods of pastoralists, of people living in fishing communities and of agricultural estate workers were investigated in detail in PPA2. These are discussed comprehensively in the report. The PMA aims to assist all those gaining a livelihood through utilization of natural resources, while the first PPA focused on the livelihoods of small crop farmers. Major findings of the research are as follows:
 - **Fishing communities:** Fish stocks are declining and people in fishing communities are not involved as stakeholders in decisions affecting the resources on which their livelihoods depend. They view the Fisheries Act and Fisheries Officers in wholly negative terms. Multiple taxes on fishing are a cause of resentment and the tendering system is riddled with corruption. Social services are poor and fishing communities feel excluded and marginalized. There are important social/cultural causes of poverty in fishing sites, including alcoholism, prostitution and insecurity. Raising awareness on HIV/AIDS needs to be a priority.
 - **Estate workers:** Agricultural estate workers lack labour rights and face conditions of employment that fall well short of national legal standards. They feel exploited and they are. At the estates where research took place, casual plantation labour offers just a means of survival, not the expected route out of poverty.
 - **Pastoralists:** Research took place in two parts of the ‘cattle corridor’, where conditions are different. In the rangelands of central and south-western Uganda, social differentiation is increasing due to leasing of land by richer pastoralists. Poorer pastoralists and agriculturalists are facing problems accessing grazing land and water sources. In Moroto, poverty amongst pastoralists is extreme and has been exacerbated by the recent disarmament process. This was initially welcomed by community members, but it has since become a cause of dramatic losses. Access to veterinary services in Moroto is virtually non-existent and this needs to be addressed urgently given poverty levels and the multiple problems facing people in the area.

**Key government policies:
Health**

21. Cost-sharing is not for the poor – this was a clear message from participants in the first PPA. From this PPA2 there is another clear message: it was right to get rid of cost-sharing but action is urgently needed to increase drug supplies and improve service quality. Across the research sites, local people and health service providers reported that utilization of services has increased, dramatically in many cases. Poor people, especially women, appreciate their increased access now that charges have been abolished. But in all research sites visited in PPA2, people decried the lack of sufficient drugs and, in many communities, the lack of adequate qualified staff at their local health units.
22. Strong concerns were expressed about “drug leakage” to private clinics. People are often referred from Government units to buy drugs at private clinics run by Government health workers. Thus many people perceive that drug shortages are due to health workers stealing drugs. In a significant minority of sites, people also complained of unofficial charges and described paying bribes for a variety of services and items, including drugs, consultation of a doctor and laboratory tests. People recommended paying and monitoring health workers better to deal with these problems.
23. Physical access to health services remains a problem. Although about 40% of sites visited are within 5 kms of a health unit (the Government’s definition of accessibility) people often still feel that services are not accessible. This is because of lack of transport, poor roads to the units and the fact that certain groups (e.g. the elderly) find even short distances a significant barrier to access. Lack of transport to higher-level health facilities was particularly emphasised as a problem, especially for women needing maternity care and for referral patients needing higher levels of care. In the few places where ambulance services are available, people reported having to pay for them. Poor physical access to health care services was reported to have led to many maternal deaths.

**Key government policies:
Education**

24. As in the first PPA, people in PPA2 expressed their deep appreciation of UPE. However, parents also pointed to the many problems with the quality of education provided. Causes of poor quality cited include: lack of supervision of teachers, teachers / heads failing to turn up, leaving early or coming drunk; poorly trained or untrained teachers; lack of textbooks; big class sizes; inadequate numbers of classrooms; discipline problems; the automatic promotion of children to higher grades, irrespective of whether they have passed exams; late arrival of funds, problems in accessing different UPE grants or misuse of funds. Teachers, parents and children see housing for teachers as critical to improving the quality of education. Lack of housing demoralizes teachers and leads to them coming late, while construction of housing is seen to have improved standards.
25. Financial costs and distance to schools remain barriers to children accessing education. The cost of school uniforms, pens and notebooks were frequently said to stop children from poorer families and orphans from attending primary schools. A variety of other charges by primary schools were noted in a number of sites, indicating that the Government policy of prohibiting schools from requesting financial contributions is not always being applied. The main reasons cited for children dropping out of school were: girls getting married, sometimes because parents want bride price; girls getting pregnant; girls being withdrawn when money is short, because boys are prioritized for education;

girls being needed to help with domestic chores; and children (especially boys at higher levels of primary school) being needed to undertake income-generating activities.

26. School Management Committees (SMCs) were investigated in over half the PPA2 sites in all 12 districts. In the majority of these, parents criticized the SMCs for failing to monitor and supervise UPE funds, resulting in mismanagement of these funds with impunity and/or for being close to the school administration rather than acting on parents' concerns. However, in some sites, people noted that SMCs are involved in planning and approving school budgets, ensuring school funds are used correctly and in mobilizing parents. It is notable that the only examples given in PPA2 of communities holding corrupt civil servants to account concern parents and an SMC taking action against teachers who have failed to account for school money.
27. The costs of secondary education were perceived as prohibitive by most of those who commented on secondary schooling, and this was seen by some people as undermining the value of UPE. In the majority of sites where people were asked about their preference for secondary or post-primary vocational education, people preferred vocational education.

**Key government policies:
Taxation**

28. A crisis in the legitimacy of local taxation and the negative impact on trade and business of multiple taxes and dues are major issues emerging in PPA2. *Graduated tax* assessment and collection methods were strongly criticized across the research sites. In some sites, people complained of receiving tax tickets without having (to their knowledge) been assessed. In others, they complained that tax assessment is unfair in a number of ways and that in practice it is *regressive*. They cite this as a reason for defaulting on payments. IDPs appear to face particular problems with tax assessment, claiming to be overassessed compared to local people. People are reported not to know about appeals systems and procedures in some sites. In others, appeals procedures are said to be corrupt, ineffective or unaffordable
29. Brutal graduated tax collection methods are noted with resentment in many PPA2 sites, and reported to be a reason for unwillingness to pay. As in the first PPA, the timing of tax collection is raised as a cause for concern, with collection said to be carried out at times of the year when people lack money and are food-insecure.
30. A major reason for defaulting on tax payments given by people across the PPA2 sites is that they do not see benefits in terms of services being delivered. Taxes are perceived only to benefit local politicians. Confusion created by politicians as to whether taxes need to be paid and the amounts due are also frequently cited as reasons for defaulting on graduated tax payment. District officials report a crisis in local revenue raising, compromising their ability to co-fund projects and therefore access government grants. They complain of the expense of administering and collecting graduated tax.
31. *Other local taxes*, in particular *market dues*, are reported to be hindering trade and business. Like graduated tax, they are widely resented because people do not see benefits from payment in terms of improved service delivery. Common findings on the results of tendering of markets and fish landing sites were:
 - market traders are being overcharged;

- brutal methods are used to collect dues; high dues are leading traders to desert markets;
- districts and town councils do not have accurate and up-to-date assessments of what revenue can realistically be raised from the tendered sites;
- there is no monitoring by districts of the activities of tenderers, sometimes due to corruption in the allocation of tenders;
- despite high dues, services provided are poor.

Governance and accountability

32. PPA2 followed PPA1 in investigating the functioning and accountability of local government structures. The first PPA found that the lowest level of the Local Council structure, LC1s, were widely respected and appreciated. In this PPA views are more mixed. In about half the sampled sites, the LC1s are perceived to have an important role in dispute settlement. In the rest, the LC1 is criticized for functioning poorly, with women more critical than men. Findings on the higher local council levels in PPA2 echo those of the first PPA: their roles and responsibilities are not well known, they are perceived as distant, non-responsive to community needs and as hindering community development due to corruption and lack of contact with communities. However, in one PPA2 district, Ntungamo, higher leadership is perceived to be strong and is seen as a driving force in improving people's lives.
33. Women identified two positive results from the affirmative action in the LC system: reduction in domestic violence, because in some places men fear to be arrested by the LC1; and increasing confidence amongst women from their participation in public life. Three main constraints to women's active participation in public life were also identified: their low literacy or education levels; a negative attitude by husbands or by community members; their domestic chores and family responsibilities. The Women Councils were not talked about favourably in the sites where they were discussed.
34. In all PPA2 research sites, corruption is alleged in government bodies, and many examples are given of corruption negatively impacting on service delivery. Corruption in the allocation of tenders was particularly noted. Yet, very few examples were found of districts or communities holding corrupt officials or politicians accountable. In some sites, people pointed out that they are not empowered to question their leaders because they are not aware of their responsibilities. In many sites, leaders were accused of "not coming back". Community members in Baito Arua explained: "We come together when we are electing our leaders. This marks the end. We see them again in the following election."
35. In a few sites, people viewed elections as an opportunity to hold their leaders accountable. However, in others they described how they are paid to vote by politicians, particularly those running for higher-level office such as parliament. In some sites, people pointed out that electoral bribery impacts negatively on service delivery because, once elected, politicians concentrate on recouping their election expenses through corrupt practices.

CHAPTER ONE

UGANDA PARTICIPATORY POVERTY ASSESSMENT PROCESS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Process (UPPAP) is an initiative of the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (MFPED) of the Government of Uganda (GoU). Its overall aim is to bring the perspectives of poor people into national and district planning for poverty reduction. A first participatory poverty assessment (PPA1) was carried out in 1998/99 in 36 research sites in nine districts of Uganda. In 2001/02 a second PPA (PPA2) was implemented in 60 sites in 12 districts with two main aims:

- i. To deepen the understanding of poverty and poverty trends gained in the first PPA;
- ii. To investigate people's experiences with selected government policies.

The research was undertaken by seven partner NGOs / research institutions, working with local researchers, usually from Local Governments and CSOs. The overall coordinating and implementing agency was Oxfam GB. Annex 1 gives a list of the PPA2 research partners and research sites.

PPA2 was complemented by three other research efforts: a participatory poverty and environment assessment (PPEA); a study on child poverty; and a Village Census covering 36 of the 60 PPA2 research sites with a broadly similar research agenda to PPA2. More information on these studies is given in section 1.6 below.

1.2 THIS REPORT

This report presents the main findings of PPA2, bringing them together with major findings from the three complementary studies referred to above. It represents a much-abridged version of the insights and perceptions of local people in the 60 communities covered in PPA2. It is based on a much longer and more detailed synthesis of the findings, which provides detailed references to the individual research site reports, and is to be published by the MFPED.²

The report attempts to capture the *voices of the poor* without placing judgements on the information or biasing the representation of local insights during the analysis and reporting. Hence, the majority of the text of Chapters 2 to 9 presents the findings from the field. These chapters include visuals, quotes and testimonies made by local people. Analyses of the findings and policy inferences are separated from the text and are represented in call-out captions.

Chapters 2-4 present the main findings on Theme 1 of PPA2: deepening the understanding of poverty and poverty trends gained in PPA1. Chapter 2 presents the findings on people's perceptions of the nature and causes of poverty, the gender dimensions of poverty, how people move in and out of poverty and poverty trends. Chapter 3 on Livelihoods and the Plan for the Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) aims to deepen understanding of poverty by

² The detailed synthesis report can be obtained by from the UPPAP Secretariat, on request.

describing the main livelihood strategies and identifying issues of concern for particular groups covered in PPA2 that gain their livelihood from utilization of natural resources: viz fishing communities, pastoralists, and agricultural estate workers. It also presents information relevant to two of the PMA's priority implementation areas (marketing and agricultural advisory services) and gives a summary of findings on local people's experiences with the first disbursement of the Non-Sectoral Conditional Grant of the PMA. Chapter 4 reviews the links between the environment and poverty, drawing on both the findings of PPA2 and the PPEA.

Chapters 5-9 present the main findings of PPA2 on Theme 2: people's experiences with selected government policies. The chapters deal with health, water and sanitation, education, taxation, and policies to ensure good governance. Each section begins with a brief resumé of Government policy. In these resúmes, the focus is on explaining the aspects of policy that relate to issues raised during the PPA2 fieldwork. This is to facilitate comparison of policy with people's actual experience on the ground.

Each chapter concludes with a summary of the key findings and policy messages from PPA2.

The remainder of this chapter provides background and context to PPA2. It gives a brief description of Uganda and its poverty status. It then outlines the GoU's major policies for poverty eradication, describing how the UPPAP fits within these initiatives and highlighting the main findings of PPA1 and the policy responses by Government. The PPA2 design and implementation processes are then presented and information provided on the complementary research initiatives.

1.3 UGANDA: THE COUNTRY AND POVERTY STATUS

The Country

Uganda is a landlocked country on the Equator in East Africa, bordered by Kenya, Sudan, Tanzania, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. It has a population of approximately 24.7 million people, a high rate of population growth at 3.4% and is ethnically diverse, with over 40 ethnic groups. The population is young – over 50% of Ugandans are aged between 1 and 15 years – with an average life expectancy of 42 years.³

Uganda has a good natural resource base, which includes fertile soils, regular rainfall in most parts of the country, and sizable mineral deposits of copper and cobalt. Over 85% of the population is engaged in agriculture, mainly on a subsistence basis. Coffee is the major export crop and accounts for the bulk of export revenues.

The history of Uganda since the 1970s has not been peaceful. The end of civil strife in 1986 which brought the National Resistance Movement (NRM) Government to power, left most of the country's infrastructure and services devastated. Although most of the country has lived in peace since that time, insecurity resulting from insurgency persists in Northern and Western Uganda.

Since 1986, the Government - with the support of development partners - has acted to rehabilitate and stabilize the economy by undertaking currency reform, liberalizing producer prices for export crops, increasing prices of petroleum products and rehabilitating and

³ The statistics in this paragraph are from UBOS, 2002.

expanding basic services and infrastructure. These reforms have helped achieve impressive rates of economic growth, with the economy growing on average by about 6% per annum since 1987.

Poverty status and trends

Despite its impressive rates of growth in recent years, Uganda remains one of the poorest countries in the world. It ranks 158 out of 174 countries in the United Nation's Human Development Index, which compares life expectancy at birth, the adult literacy rate and per capita incomes (UNDP, 2002).

However, over the past decade, income poverty levels have fallen dramatically in some parts of the country.⁴ Overall, income poverty fell between 1992-2000 from 56% to 35%. In the north of the country poverty levels are still very high, with 66% of the population estimated to live in poverty, as compared with 72% in 1992. The Government aims to reduce absolute poverty to less than 10% of the population by 2017, although it estimates that this will require growth of at least 7% per annum, which is unlikely to be achieved.

1.4 POLICIES FOR POVERTY ERADICATION AND THE UPPAP

Poverty eradication is a central objective of the GoU and the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) is the Government's guiding framework to achieve this. The PEAP was developed from 1995-97 with inputs from a variety of actors at the national level, such as employers' and workers' organisations, NGOs and academics. The box below outlines the focus of the PEAP as well as describing briefly other critical complementary efforts by the GoU to eradicate poverty.

The UPPAP was introduced to expand the PEAP consultation process to include direct inputs from poor people. While conventional poverty analysis uses data on household income and consumption from questionnaire surveys to define who is poor, PPAs, such as those carried out by the UPPAP as well as in other countries, use a variety of participatory methods to consult poor people in an open-ended manner on issues important in their lives. Participants in the research are encouraged to draw diagrams to explain linkages and causal relationships, to use ranking techniques to prioritise problems and solutions and to provide testimonies and case histories. Typically in PPAs, people are consulted on their understanding of the nature and causes of poverty, their access to and views on the quality of basic social services and their priority actions for poverty reduction by government, NGOs or in communities themselves.

The findings of PPA1 were used to inform the first revision of the PEAP, which took place in 1999-2000, as well as a number of other GoU policies. Importantly, the findings of the first PPA influenced the GoU to: give greater focus in the PEAP to governance and accountability issues, monitoring service delivery and improving information flow to the public; give the PMA a multi-sectoral focus and to introduce the PMA Non-Sectoral Conditional Grant; substantially increase funding for safe water supply; and abolish charges for health services.

⁴ Income or consumption poverty is measured by establishing a poverty line based on the level of income or consumption necessary for a minimum acceptable level of nutrition and other necessities of everyday life. People are considered poor if their income falls below this line. Household surveys using questionnaires are used to establish peoples' incomes. In Uganda, household surveys have been carried out in 1992, 1997/98 and 1999/2000.

Annex 2 gives a detailed analysis of Government policy responses to the first PPA findings. The findings of PPA2 will be used to inform the second revision of the PEAP, scheduled for 2003.

The PEAP and other Critical GoU Initiatives to Reduce Poverty

The PEAP is a national planning framework, formulated between 1995-97 with inputs from a variety of actors at the national level. The PEAP is revised every three years, in order to ensure that it accurately reflects government's priorities at any one time. The first revision took place in 1999-2000, motivated largely by a desire within the MFPEP to include information from and responses to the first PPA. An explicit goal in the PEAP's formulation was to identify strategic areas where increasing Government budget allocations would lead to poverty reduction, and since its inception the PEAP has been the major guide to the allocation of resources. Its major areas of focus include:

- Creating a framework for economic growth and transformation (measures to maintain macro-economic stability, encourage private sector investment);
- Measures to increase the ability of the poor to raise their incomes (support to infrastructure development, financial services for the poor, agricultural advisory services, etc.);
- Measures to improve the quality of life of the poor (support to health and education provision, provision of clean water, etc.);
- Measures to improve governance and accountability.

When the World Bank and IMF announced in 1999 that eligibility for future debt relief under the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) II Initiative would depend on countries producing and implementing a national poverty reduction strategy, Uganda's revised PEAP (2000) was presented and accepted as its **Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP)**.

To ensure that government priorities as set out in the PEAP are translated into resource allocations, the GoU introduced the **Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF)**. The MTEF spells out a three-year programme for the utilization of resources across and within sectors. **Sector Investment Plans** have been developed to show how the various sectors will allocate their resources (as determined by the MTEF) to maximise impact on poverty reduction. Education, health, justice and law and order, roads, water and agriculture have developed their plans, with the PPA1 findings influencing in particular the focus of the PMA.

To further improve transparency and accountability in the allocation of resources, the GoU has also opened up the **Budget Process**. Since the 1998-99 budget preparation, Sector Working Groups with members from the line ministries, the private sector, NGOs and donors, have been formed during each budget cycle to recommend priority areas for resource allocations to reduce poverty. To ensure the integration of the first PPA findings into the 2000/2001 budget consultation process, a Poverty Eradication Working Group was also established, to review each Sector Working Group paper for its poverty focus. Budget documents are made public and, due to the PPA1 finding that people lack information on Government policies and resource flows, a *Citizen's Guide* to the Budget was published in 2001. Efforts are also being made to assist the districts to improve their budgeting and planning processes – they are being required and supported to develop their own MTEFs, sector priorities and work plans. At the same time, efforts are being made to ensure transparency and accountability at the local level. For example, announcements are made in the press indicating the amounts disbursed to each district by sector. In the education sector, budget allocations for each school are placed on school notice boards.

The GoU also established in 1998/99 the **Poverty Action Fund (PAF)**, to channel additional resources from debt relief under the HIPC initiative to priority areas for poverty reduction, as determined overall by the PEAP priorities and as determined in more detail by the Sector plans and budget consultation process. The PAF has also received additional bilateral donor support. PAF resources disbursed to line ministries and districts to fund the established priorities cannot be reallocated to other areas. The major beneficiaries under the PAF are: Water and Sanitation, Primary Education, and Primary Health Care. A major rationale for PPA2 was to investigate whether poor people are actually experiencing improvements in services following the increases in funding of water, health and education through PAF.

Source: adapted from Yates and Okello (2002)

1.5 DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS OF PPA2

Research themes and objectives

The research themes and objectives of PPA2 were developed through a Desk Review, a Local PPA Experts' Workshop, Technical Design Meetings and a Design Workshop. These processes identified the two main research themes for PPA2: deepening the understanding of poverty and poverty trends gained in the first PPA; investigating people's experiences with selected government policies.

PPA2 sought to deepen the understanding of poverty by focusing on the views and needs of specific groups. The first PPA identified particular groups of people as being vulnerable to poverty, such as internally displaced persons, pastoralists and those living in fishing communities. Therefore in PPA2, research was deliberately carried out in a number of sites with these groups. In PPA2, attempts were also made to deepen the understanding of poverty by conducting research with specific groups *within* communities. Research took place with large groups comprising all or most community members. However, particular emphasis was placed on conducting discussions and exercises separately with women, men, young people and the elderly, as well as with different socio-economic groups, such as the poorer and the better-off identified through well-being ranking exercises.

The research areas, issues for investigation and particular policy questions identified for attention in PPA2 are shown in detail in Annex 3.

The sampling framework

PPA2 aimed to gather information from the four statistical regions of Uganda (Central, Eastern, Western and Northern), to cover all seven distinct agro-ecological zones existing in the country, to cover well-off as well as poorer districts (as defined by the National Household Survey 1999/2000), to cover at least two districts affected by insecurity and a number of districts benefiting from new GoU initiatives (for example, the PMA Non-Sectoral Conditional Grant), and not to overlap with districts covered in the first PPA. Application of these criteria led to the selection of the following districts for research in PPA2.

Region	Representing a poor district	Representing a well-off district	Other Criteria⁵
Central	Mubende	Wakiso	Rakai
Eastern	Bugiri	Jinja	Soroti
Western	Masindi	Ntungamo	Bundibugyo
Northern	Moroto	Arua	Kitgum

Annex 4 gives a map of Uganda showing the location of the research districts for PPA1 and PPA2.

⁵ Rakai was chosen in Central Uganda because it has been seriously affected by the HIV/AIDS scourge and falls within the intensive banana-coffee agro-ecological zone/farming system. Soroti was selected from the Eastern region because it is part of an agro-ecological zone/farming system not represented by any other selected district (the Northern and Eastern cereal-cotton-cattle system). Bundibugyo and Kitgum were selected as insecure districts not covered by the 1999/2000 Household Survey. Kitgum was selected over Gulu in the North because it has persons who have been affected by insecurity both from Karimojong cattle rustlers and rebels from the Sudan. Bundibugyo was selected over Kasese in the West because the insecurity is believed to be more serious there. (MFPED/UPPAP 2001a.)

Five research sites to be covered within each of the districts were then selected using the following criteria:

- At least three sites where households had been interviewed in both the 1992 Integrated Household Survey and 1999/2000 National Household Survey of the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS);
- One high-growth site, one medium- and one low-growth site (as suggested by the results of the two household surveys);
- One urban site and four rural sites;
- At least some sites to provide information on the locally-specific poverty dimensions under research Theme 1 (for IDPs, pastoralists etc.);
- Research to cover sites of particular interest to the district authorities.

The research sites

Research in PPA2 in 21 of the 60 sites focused on specific poverty issues and experiences of government policies for particular groups defined under research Theme 1, as follows: IDPs (seven sites); pastoralists (eight sites); fishing communities (six sites). Research in three sites sought to explore the conditions of migrant/casual workers on large-scale agricultural estates. In another site, Godia, in Arua, many people are also engaged in commercial agriculture. Research in 13 sites took place in urban/peri-urban areas. The remaining 22 PPA2 research sites are rural communities where the majority of residents are engaged in mixed, predominantly subsistence farming.

As noted above, a complete list of the Cycle 1, 2 and 3 research sites and their selection criteria is given in Annex 1.

The research partners

The PPA2 research partners were selected through an open competition. An advertisement was placed in the national newspapers asking any interested institution to apply to carry out the PPA, demonstrating their relevant expertise. This process led to the selection of five research partner institutions that conducted the first PPA (ActionAid, the Community Development Resource Network, the Centre for Basic Research, Development Research and Training, and the Uganda Bureau of Statistics), and to the selection of two new regionally-based partner institutes (the Kabarole Research Centre in Kabarole and Community Empowerment for Rural Development in Arua).

Training was then conducted for two core researchers from each research partner institution and two researchers from each of the 12 selected districts. The training covered participatory research methodologies, briefing on selected government policies and report writing skills, and included participatory research in three sites in Mbale District.

The research process

District teams, each consisting of two core researchers from the research partner institutions, two district researchers and two research assistants, selected for their local expertise, undertook the field research. This took place in three Cycles between November 2001 – May 2002, with Cycles 1 and 2 each lasting five weeks and Cycle 3 seven weeks. Each research Cycle comprised discussions with district officials to gather secondary data, field-work in the research sites themselves using participatory methodologies, site report writing, and feedback to the communities and district officials on the research findings. The main participatory methodologies used in communities in PPA2 are listed in Annex 5.

Each Cycle was followed by a workshop to discuss findings and identify areas for additional research and follow-up. Cycle 3 lasted seven weeks to allow time for the district teams to return to the Cycles 1 and 2 research sites to fill gaps in the information collected. Technical Support Persons assisted the research teams in each district, in order to guide the planning, oversee the methodologies and to enhance the quality of the data collection in general.

Validity of findings

Validity of the research findings was achieved by triangulating the results i.e. by exploring the same issues in a variety of ways with different groups. The methods used to triangulate findings were as follows: exploration of the same issues using different participatory tools; exploration of the same issues with different groups within communities; discussion of issues raised by communities with local leaders, district civil servants and NGOs; comparison of findings from communities with secondary data.

Reporting

Reporting was performed as follows:

- **Daily exercise reports** were written up by the research teams on each exercise or discussion in the research sites;
- **Site reports** were prepared covering all the research findings in a particular research site at the end of each research Cycle by the district teams;
- **District reports** were compiled at the end of all three research Cycles, drawing together the main findings from all five research sites in each district;
- The **National PPA2 report** was prepared. The process of preparing the National Report was as follows. At the end of Cycle 1, a synthesis of all the Cycle 1 research findings across the 12 PPA2 districts was compiled and used to identify issues and gaps for follow-up. At the end of Cycle 2, the findings of Cycle 2 were added to the Cycle 1 synthesis by a National Report Writing Team, and at the end of Cycle 3, the findings of Cycle 3 were added to the Cycles 1 and 2 synthesis, resulting in the production of a detailed Cycles 1, 2 and 3 Synthesis Document. The synthesis results were discussed at a National Synthesis Workshop involving the research teams and district and national stakeholders in PPA2. The National Report Writing Team then used the detailed Synthesis Document to prepare this National Report.

The daily exercise reports are available in the library of the MFPED. The site, district and Cycles 1, 2 and 3 Synthesis are to be published by the MFPED in 2003. Annex 6 gives a list of the district researchers, the National Report Writing Team members and others closely involved in PPA2.

1.6 THE COMPLEMENTARY RESEARCH EFFORTS

As noted above, PPA2 was complemented by three other research initiatives and major findings from these are included in this report. The scope and rationale for these studies are described below.

The Village Census

In order to complement the information gathered in PPA2 and to establish whether participatory and questionnaire-based research approaches yield similar results, a Village Census was conducted in 36 of the 60 PPA2 research sites in early 2002. The data was collected by researchers from the Uganda Bureau of Statistics supervised by researchers from the World Bank and the Economic Policy Research Centre, Makerere University. The questionnaire was designed to yield information broadly comparable to that collected by PPA2 and to the previously conducted household surveys in Uganda and was administered to all household heads. A separate questionnaire was used to interview village (LC1) and sub-county (LC3) officials.

Major findings of the Village Census that add to or confirm the findings of PPA2 have been included in this report. It should be noted that the Village Census results do tend to complement and confirm the PPA2 findings – there appear to be few instances of conflicting findings and where these occur, for example on rates of local taxes, this is probably because information was gathered from different groups. A separate report on the Village Census findings is available (MFPED/UPPAP, 2002a).

The participatory poverty and environment assessment (PPEA)

The PPEA aimed to contribute to PPA2 by deepening the understanding of poverty through establishing from poor people: the factors driving environmental change, how environmental change affects their well-being, and their views on how these changes can be addressed. The study, carried out by the Centre for Basic Research in early 2002, included a desk review of existing studies on poverty and the environment and participatory research in Bushenyi, Moroto and Kampala. A report on the PPEA (MFPED/UPPAP, 2002b) and four summary policy-briefing papers are available.

The study on child poverty

Children under 18 represent the largest group of the poor in Uganda, as 62% of those under the poverty threshold are children (MGLSD, 2002). The study on child poverty, carried out by Save the Children Fund (SCF) UK between January-April 2002, therefore, aimed to broaden and deepen the understanding of poverty by researching the scope, scale and implications of child poverty. It involved interviews and focus group discussions with children, parents, and district and sub-county officials in six districts (Kampala, Masaka, Arua, Hoima, Gulu and Kasese), and a literature review of all studies relating to child poverty in Uganda. Some of the main findings of the study are included in Chapter 2 of this report on Poverty, Vulnerability and Poverty Trends. A separate report on the study is available (SCF, 2002).

CHAPTER TWO

POVERTY, VULNERABILITY AND POVERTY TRENDS

Key Findings and Policy Messages

Poverty is multi-dimensional and integrated

PPA2 has confirmed what PPA1 revealed – that poverty in Uganda is not just lack of income. Poverty is inability to satisfy a range of basic human needs, and stems from powerlessness, social exclusion, ignorance and lack of knowledge, as well as shortage of material resources. The different dimensions of poverty reinforce each other.

That is why it is difficult for individuals and families to break out of a poverty situation. It is also why it is essential for the country to make progress on **all the four Pillars of the PEAP**, and on the cross-cutting poverty issues highlighted in PEAP II as well.

Spreading information and improving services

In a number of ways, PPA2 has deepened understanding of poverty. This has implications for updating and improving PEAP II. The findings underline the importance of making progress in improving production and marketing, as well as infrastructure and social services.

The **importance of information** – so that socially-excluded people can grasp the opportunities that exist, and avoid the resignation and ‘laziness’ that is commonly associated with poverty – comes over strongly once again. This suggests, among other things, that the PMA must be vigorous in spreading information about products and markets, and being sure to include the poorest rural people.

Access to good basic services remains essential to poverty reduction. PPA2 shows that *access* has improved in both primary education and primary health care, and that this is greatly appreciated among poor people. But it also suggests that the *quality* of services in these sectors is not yet showing substantial improvement. The reasons for this are explored in other chapters, but it is clear from this chapter that **moving from quantitative to qualitative improvement** is now a top priority.

Gender is a number one poverty issue

Gender inequality emerges from PPA2 as **one of the main reasons for persistent poverty**. Women’s lack of decision-making power – over land and other household assets, cash incomes, and when and how often to have children – is a direct cause of welfare problems like poor nutrition and health, excessive fertility, high infant mortality, overwork among women and drunkenness among men. Other research suggests it also prevents households responding efficiently to new production and marketing opportunities, such as those emphasised in the Strategic Exports Initiative and the PMA.

Tackling these issues probably calls for a combination of legislative action and more gender-focused implementation of all PEAP programmes. Passing the Domestic Relations Bill, and renewing the discussion about spousal co-ownership of land, are essential. Local action on gender is also needed. This should be firm enough to produce real gains for women, while being careful to bring men on board wherever possible.

Different problems imply different solutions

Among the poor, there are **special groups** with distinct problems. This was a particular focus of research in PPA2. The findings suggest that it is important not to treat such groups – particularly, people with disabilities – as a homogeneous category. In fact, PWDs of different sorts have widely differing problems and need quite different kinds of support. Among poor children, orphans, and the old people who often look after them, face particularly acute problems. Policies – concerning school feeding, for example (Chapter 7) – should recognise this.

PPA2 confirms that **seasons** make a big difference to the pressures on poor households. This adds further weight to the recommendation of PPA1 that taxes, fees and contributions should be collected, as far as possible, during June-December, not January to May.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter brings together the perspectives of poor people in 12 districts of Uganda on the nature of poverty in the different localities and contexts. Policy interventions aimed at poverty reduction will most certainly have more positive impact if they are informed by local people's understanding of their situation and the factors that move them in and out of poverty. It is also evident that poor people are more likely to participate in processes aimed at improving their livelihoods when they feel that they have been listened to and the resultant strategies are relevant to their situation.

The first section of the chapter reviews perceptions of poverty; the second focuses on the major causes of poverty; the third reviews findings on gender dimensions of poverty, while the fourth discusses seasonality of poverty. The fifth presents vulnerabilities of specific groups while the sixth explores the dynamics of moving in and out of poverty. Poverty trends are discussed in the seventh section, while the eighth section elaborates on proposed priority actions for poverty reduction by the communities. The last section gives a summary of key findings and policy messages on poverty.

2.2 WHAT IS POVERTY?

The basic definition of poverty emerging universally from discussions with local people in the 12 sampled districts confirms earlier findings in the 1998/1999 PPA that poverty is *a lack of basic needs and services such as food, clothing, beddings, shelter, paraffin, basic health care, roads, markets, education, information and communication*. In addition, the lack of opportunities for survival and employment, and having limited or no productive assets such as farm tools and land emerged strongly in the definitions of poverty.

The dimensions of *powerlessness, social exclusion* and *ignorance and lack of knowledge* were particularly drawn attention to by the poorer people within the communities as key definitions of poverty.⁶

- *Powerlessness* is seen in terms of lack of participation, voicelessness, unmet aspirations, gender discrimination⁷ and poor governance, as illustrated by the following voices.

What is powerlessness?

It is failure to influence political decisions..... Person with Disability, Masese III, Jinja

It is only the chairman whose voice can be heard. In meetings I can't speak because I don't have money. I am thinking about money. I can't concentrate or talk the voices of women are down ... Women cannot talk in front of men ... When I am poor I cannot speak among the middle class; they shut you down.

Man in Focus Group Discussion (FGD), Kagoma Gate, Jinja

⁶ In PPA1, poverty was also defined as powerlessness, but this dimension of poverty has been better conceptualized in PPA2.

⁷ Poor women were said to be among the most vulnerable and powerless categories in all the districts.

...having dreams and aspirations unmet. One can be in a situation where they cannot express themselves, have no one to tell their problems and cannot decide on anything to address their problems...It is a state of helplessness.

Women, Busabala, Wakiso

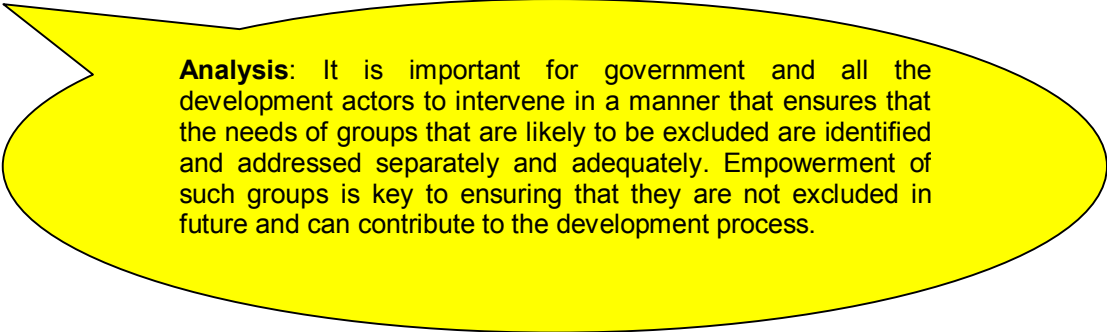
Lack of ability to express one's views both at home and to government.

IDPs, Kyamukube, Bundibugyo

Analysis: Powerlessness is a theme of this report. In PPA2 the powerlessness of poor people was manifested in many ways, including the following: women lack control over resources but are responsible for providing for their families; taxpayers suffer untransparent assessment procedures, brutal collection methods and lack of information on how their taxes are used; market traders are over-charged; people do not know what the roles and responsibilities of higher, level office holders are supposed to be and lack means to hold them and corrupt officials accountable.

However, there are some indications that Government policies are helping people to become more *empowered*. UPE and the abolition of cost sharing for health services have made poor people feel that they have *right* to health and education services. Utilisation of these services has increased massively and it is notable that the only two examples given in PPA2 of local people trying to stop corruption and demand accountability involve action by parents and a School Management Committee (SMC). Elections are viewed and used by some as a means of holding corrupt politicians accountable, although there are worrying signs that vote buying is increasing. These things indicate the great importance of Government being clear about what people's rights and entitlements are and making information about this available to people. Government also needs to strengthen structures and processes that can enable people to demand their rights, such as SMCs, Health Unit Management Committees and electoral processes.

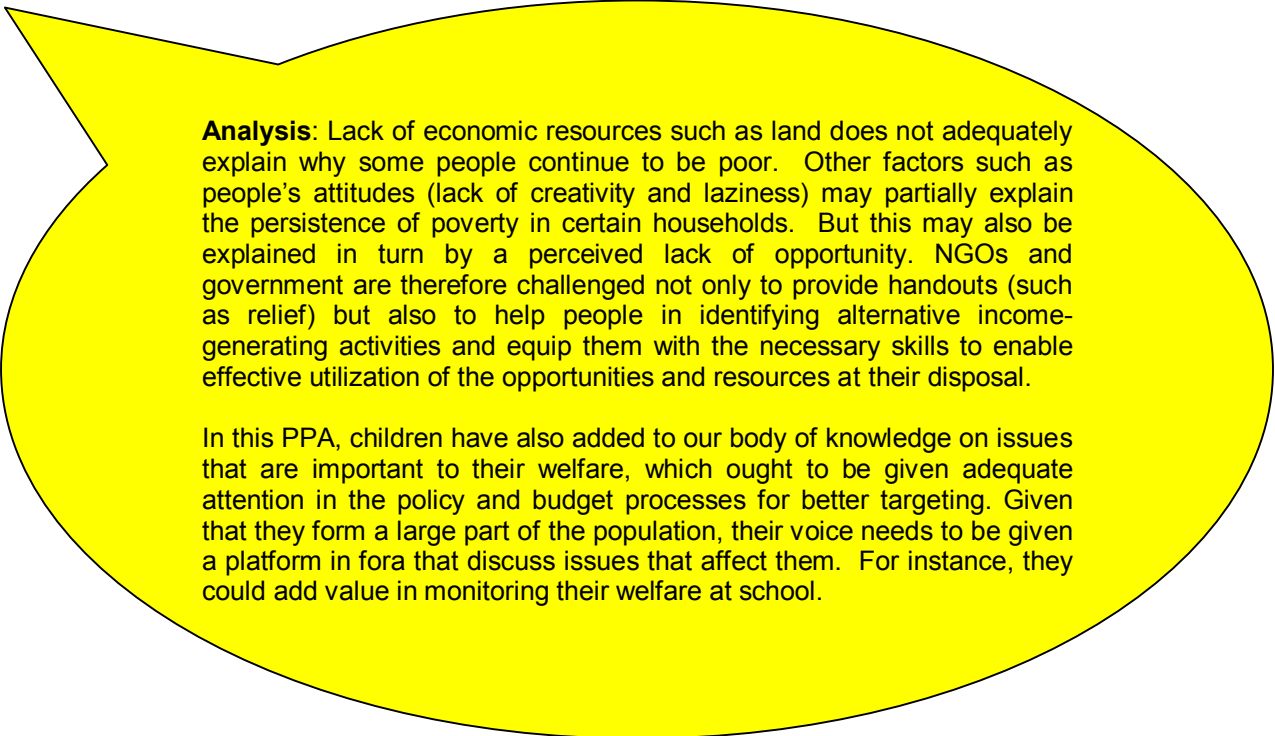
- Poverty was also defined in terms of ***social exclusion*** where a particular group may be excluded from accessing certain services or benefits or they are never heard in community meetings. In some sites in Jinja, Bundibugyo and Kitgum, those who felt excluded included the elderly, refugees and people with disabilities. The elderly in particular felt that they are not listened to or taken seriously when they talk in public and hence they feel excluded.



Analysis: It is important for government and all the development actors to intervene in a manner that ensures that the needs of groups that are likely to be excluded are identified and addressed separately and adequately. Empowerment of such groups is key to ensuring that they are not excluded in future and can contribute to the development process.

- In more than half of the PPA2 districts, poverty was also described as ***ignorance and lack of knowledge***. People in Kawiti, Masindi, explained that poverty is ‘*a state of being illiterate and ignorant about oneself and surroundings*’. For the men in Bundimulombi IDP camp in Bundibugyo, ‘*If you are ignorant and lacking information about certain things, you can never develop yourself*’. People associated ignorance with low levels of education or illiteracy, especially in rural areas.

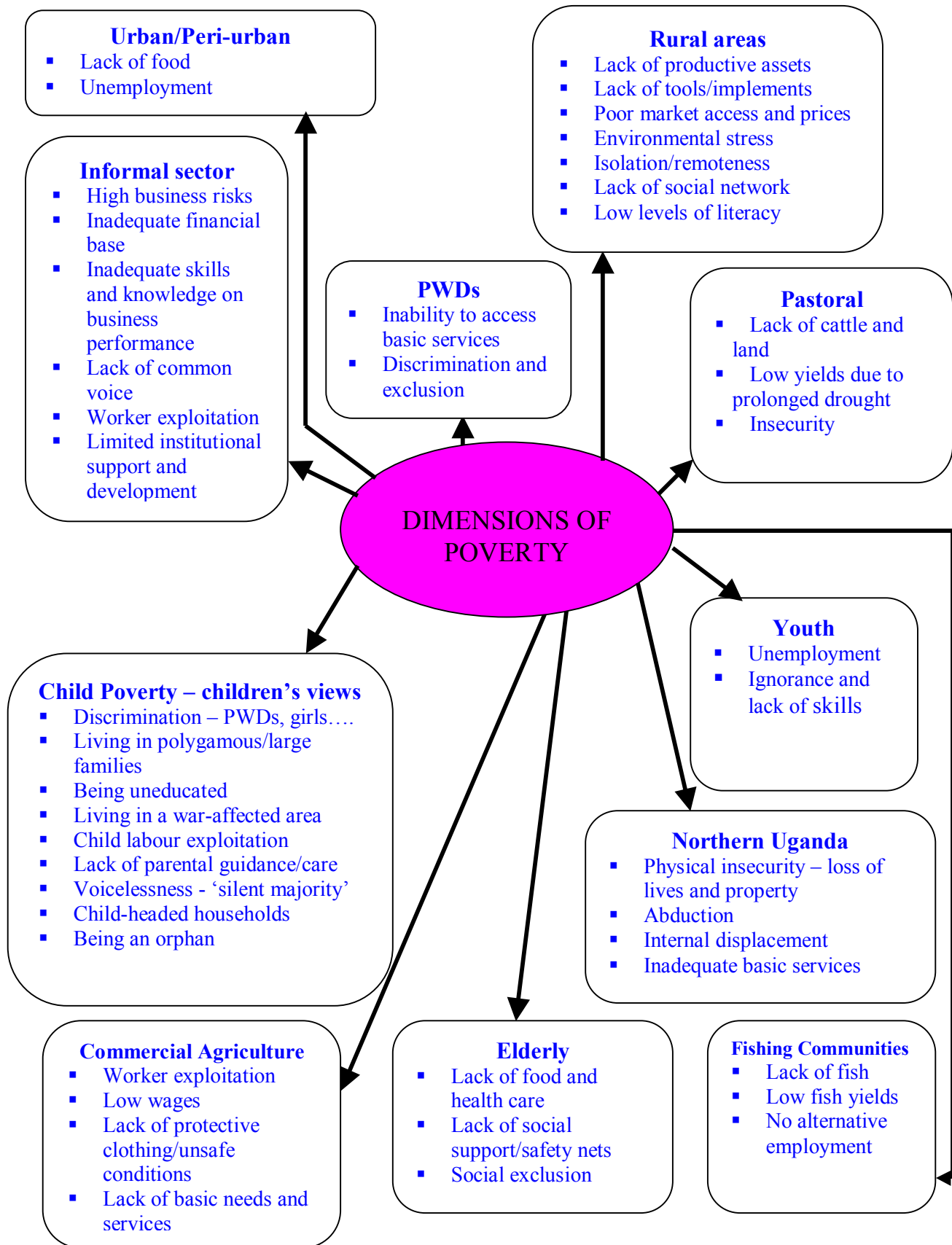
At the same time, like in the first PPA, poverty was noted to be context-specific, varying with the particular circumstances of a given group, gender, age group, occupation, season and/or geographical location. Figure 2.1 captures the multi-faceted nature of poverty as described by local people when discussing what they understand poverty to mean within their context. It is worth noting that although poverty in rural areas is largely associated with lack of land, people in this PPA emphasized that this key productive asset is a necessary but not sufficient condition for moving out of poverty. In some parts of Bundibugyo district, participants categorized some community members with large land tracts as among the poor. One man was cited as having 20 acres but had failed to put it to productive use due to poor planning and lack of money and advice to develop it. His children are not going to school because he cannot afford to clothe them and buy scholastic materials. Another example was given of an old widow who had plenty of land but had failed to develop it.



Analysis: Lack of economic resources such as land does not adequately explain why some people continue to be poor. Other factors such as people’s attitudes (lack of creativity and laziness) may partially explain the persistence of poverty in certain households. But this may also be explained in turn by a perceived lack of opportunity. NGOs and government are therefore challenged not only to provide handouts (such as relief) but also to help people in identifying alternative income-generating activities and equip them with the necessary skills to enable effective utilization of the opportunities and resources at their disposal.

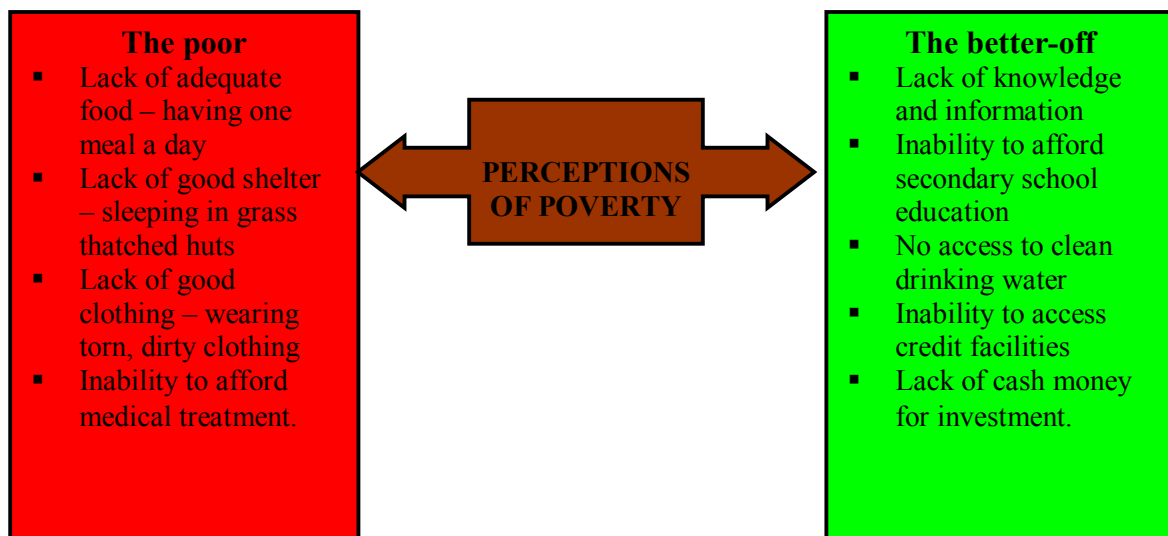
In this PPA, children have also added to our body of knowledge on issues that are important to their welfare, which ought to be given adequate attention in the policy and budget processes for better targeting. Given that they form a large part of the population, their voice needs to be given a platform in fora that discuss issues that affect them. For instance, they could add value in monitoring their welfare at school.

Figure 2. 1: Poverty is experienced differently



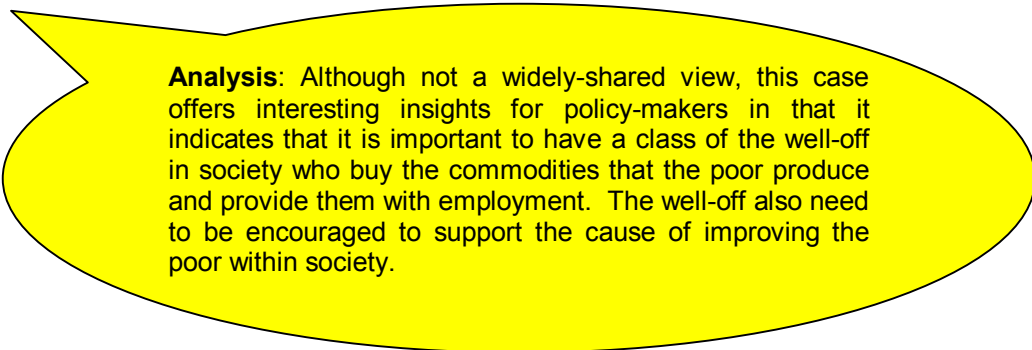
In many sites in PPA2, participants were asked to rank community members into categories of ‘well-being’. In the process, they discussed and defined the characteristics of the different well-being groups. These exercises showed clearly that communities are socially differentiated, with some members much better off than others. In some sites, discussions were organized with representatives of the different well-being groups on the nature of poverty (as well as on other issues). These discussions revealed interesting differences in the way the poorer sections of the community view poverty as opposed to the better-off. While the poorest people laid emphasis on poverty being lack of basic needs, the better-off related poverty more to lack of services and investment capital, as illustrated in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2. 2: Perceptions of poverty by social strata in Kisarabwire, Masindi



Another interesting dimension of poverty that was drawn attention to by local people in one site in Jinja was that of *community status or affluence*.⁸ Participants said that poverty is characterized by ‘one being surrounded by poor people or communities that offer no opportunities for exploitation’ further noting that you need rich people around you to buy your commodities or employ your time and energy to accomplish their tasks. According to one man in Kagoma Gate, Jinja, ‘You cannot become rich if your potential market is poor, sick, busy elsewhere, has negative attitudes about your betterment, and is not motivated to support your endeavour.’

⁸ This is an unusual community, not typical of the rural sites in PPA2. It is a small community where, unlike most communities in which there are better off members, most residents are extremely poor. It is an illegal settlement situated on land belonging to Uganda Railways within the Kakira sugar estate. Most of the male residents either work on the sugar estate as casual labourers or are ex-workers on the estate, who having failed to return to their home areas for various reasons, now eke out a living doing casual labour on surrounding farms. The community has many of the characteristics of the urban slums where PPA2 research took place in Jinja and Moroto: a multi-ethnic character, people leading an isolated and hand-to-mouth existence, cut off from family support networks, with many elderly and destitute residents, brewing as a major economic activity by women, rampant domestic violence and alcoholism, and very poor sanitation. Due to the illegal nature of the settlement, no services are provided by the sub-county.



Analysis: Although not a widely-shared view, this case offers interesting insights for policy-makers in that it indicates that it is important to have a class of the well-off in society who buy the commodities that the poor produce and provide them with employment. The well-off also need to be encouraged to support the cause of improving the poor within society.

It is evident that many of the definitions of poverty stem from the factors that cause poverty. Hence the next section focuses on the priority causes of poverty from the communities' perspective.

2.3 CAUSES OF POVERTY

The most frequently mentioned causes of poverty in the 12 districts are presented in this section. Findings suggest that while many causes of poverty are common to all regions of the country, some are context-specific, varying by locality and gender. Annex 7 gives a complete list of the causes of poverty reported by the PPA2 communities, indicating the frequency of citing.

2.3.1 Overall causes of poverty

The most frequently mentioned causes of poverty across the sites are presented in Table 2.1. Ranks are assigned to the causes, with the most frequently reported cause ranked 1. Comparison is also made with the 10 key causes of poverty that were identified four years ago in the first PPA. The differences may indicate that there has been a change in the key factors causing poverty in Uganda. However, research took place in different districts in PPA1 and PPA2, and this may partly or wholly explain the variation in the causes.

Overall, **poor health and diseases** continues to be the most important cause of poverty now, just as it was four years ago when the first PPA was done, basing on frequency of reporting by communities. But it is worth noting that the proportion of communities reporting poor health and diseases has reduced from 67% in 1998/99 to 50% today. HIV/AIDS continues to be a major challenge among the key causes of poor health. Chapter 5 on Health provides a detailed analysis of why poor health causes poverty and of the nature of health problems in the sampled districts.

Second in importance is **limited access to land or land shortages**, a cause of poverty that did not feature highly in the first PPA. People linked land shortages to another priority cause of poverty identified in PPAs 1 and 2, **large families**. Both these causes of poverty are further discussed below.

Lack of markets, credit facilities, education and vocational training continue to be major causes of poverty that were also highlighted in PPA1. Lack of markets is discussed in Chapter 3 and education/vocational training in Chapter 7. Interestingly, lack of education, ranked as the third most important cause of poverty in the first PPA, now appears to be coming lower down the scale with a relatively smaller proportion of the communities citing it

as a key cause. Perhaps this reflects the gains made in recent years in improving the education status in the country through UPE and other investments in the education sector.

Unlike in the first PPA, **lack of jobs or unemployment** (discussed below), **high and unfair taxes and market dues** (discussed in Chapter 8), **death of family members particularly breadwinners, and low productivity** feature as important causes of poverty in this poverty assessment.

Table 2. 1: Most frequently mentioned causes of poverty overall in PPA2 and PPA1

Priority Cause	PPA2		PPA1 ⁹	
	% Communities	Rank	% Communities	Rank
Poor health/diseases	50%	1	67%	1
Limited access/shortage of land	47%	2	--	--
Lack of markets/market access	40%	3	44%	4
Lack of jobs/unemployment	38%	4	--	--
High/unfair taxes/market dues	35%	5	--	--
Low prices and exploitation	33%	6	--	--
Lack of education or vocational training	33%	6	50%	3
Limited income, funds or capital	33%	6	--	--
Large family/many dependants	33%	6	42%	5
Excessive alcohol consumption	32%	7	56%	2
Death of a family member/widowhood	27%	8	--	--
HIV/AIDS	27%	8	---	--
Pests and diseases	27%	8	--	--
Ignorance and lack of information	27%	8	44%	4
Low productivity – crop, fish, animal	25%	9	--	--
Lack of credit facilities/financial assistance	23%	10	50%	3
Idleness and laziness	--	--	42%	5
Lack of cooperation	--	--	42%	5
Insurgency ¹⁰	--	--	40%	6

-- was not identified among the priority causes of poverty in that PPA

Land shortage as a cause of poverty

Information collected in the Village Census sheds light on why limited access to land / land shortages is one of the most frequently mentioned causes of poverty in PPA2. The Village Census data reveals that households are not accumulating land; rather this asset is diminishing in size. Figure 2.3 shows the overall trends in land ownership per wealth category.¹¹ The households owning most land in 2002 find themselves owning the same

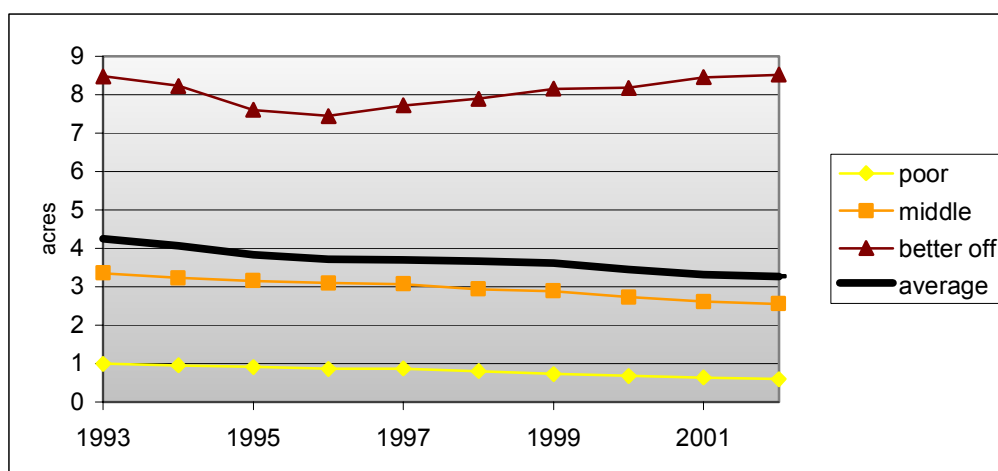
⁹ As presented in the report on the first PPA, *Learning from the Poor*, MFPED, 2000: 21.

¹⁰ In PPA2, insurgency was listed as the most important cause of poverty in all sites in the northern districts Moroto and Kitgum, and as an important cause of poverty in some of the sites in Bundibugyo and Soroti, as discussed further in section 2.3.2 below.

¹¹ The three wealth categories, 'poor', 'middle' and 'better off,' used when reporting the Village Census findings, are based on an estimation of the value of the assets households own. The assets considered were: cattle, pigs, goats, chickens, ploughs, enterprise equipment, buildings for agricultural and business purposes, boats, motorbikes, bicycles, sofas, radios and corrugated iron roofs of domestic dwellings. Households were

acreage as in 1993 having recovered from a dip in 1996. The middle and poorest categories on the other hand have seen their land ownership decreasing significantly.¹²

Figure 2. 3 : Changes in land ownership over the last 10 years among households



Source: Village Census

In PPA2, people provided a number of explanations as to why land shortages have become a key cause of poverty, some of which are cross-cutting and some of which are context specific:

- **Large families** are one of the key root causes of land shortage in the majority of sites in the 12 PPA2 districts. Many families were found to have very small plots of land that are grossly inadequate to meet their household needs mainly due to land fragmentation. This was noted to be particularly true for polygamous families.
- **Gender inequalities:** Across the 12 districts, women are unable to access productive assets particularly land due to the cultural constraints within their societies. Many widows are dispossessed by their in-laws upon the death of their husbands, which leaves them with limited access to land.
- **Distress sales** were mentioned as root causes of landlessness among poor people who are forced to sell their land to raise money to meet household expenditures like food, education, health care and taxes.
- **Insurgency:** In the Northern districts, such as in Kitgum, land shortage is associated with insurgency and internal displacement, which deprives people of their holdings. The few that engage in cultivation borrow or rent land in the outskirts of urban areas, which are safer. People fear to venture into uncultivated areas as they are a haven for hiding rebels and are believed to have land-mines.

ranked in order of the value of their assets, after which the first 20% in each village was named: 'better off', the middle 60%: 'middle' and the last 20%: 'poor'. For the calculation of the asset-estimation, see Appendix 2 of MFEPD/UPPAP, 2002.

¹² The 2002 Census also provides information that sheds light on why land shortage was identified as a priority cause of poverty in PPA2. The 2002 Census shows that population density (the number of people per square km of land) has increased by 50% in the last decade, rising from 85 persons per square km in 1991 to 126 people in 2002. Uganda, therefore, now has a much higher population density than other countries in the region except Rwanda. In Kenya, the population density is just 54 people and in Tanzania 39 (UBOS 2002.)

- **Commercial farming:** In Mubende and Bugiri, people have been evicted from land to make way for commercial plantations, as discussed further in section 2.6 and Chapter 3. In areas bordering commercial plantations, poor people also rent out land for several years at a time to large out-growers for a small fee, as further explained by a woman in Jinja:

People who come from other areas to hire land to grow sugarcane say at Shs. 200,000 for a period of eight years has caused us more poverty. This means that the person who has rented his land remains landless for eight years and yet the Shs. 200,000 may not take some one even a year.

Woman, FGD on the causes of poverty, Buyala 'A' Village, Jinja

- **Evictions** from forest and game reserves have also perpetuated landlessness as people fail to find alternative places to stay. An example is that of communities evicted from Butamira Forest in Lwitamakoli, Jinja.
- **Rural-urban migrations** lead to overpopulation in urban and peri-urban areas resulting in land fragmentation. The majority of poor people who come from rural areas lack the means to acquire land and hence remain landless.
- **Failure to derive benefits from land:** In some instances, people said that they have failed to derive benefits from land, either because they lack the skills and means to develop it or because they lack markets for their products. In frustration, some have sold their land.
- **High rental value:** The youth in particular have limited access to land due to the high cost of renting. In Wakiso, the youth mainly hire land for brick making. For each brick produced, the landlord charges between Shs. 7-10 thus reducing profits. However, the youth reported that most landlords no longer want to hire out their land to brick makers because of the massive degradation associated with this activity which leaves the land unusable.

Large families as a cause of poverty¹³

As noted above, were large families identified in both PPAs as a priority cause of poverty. Large families also ranked second in PPA2 amongst the key factors responsible for **moving people into poverty**, as is further highlighted in section 2.6 below. Figure 2.4 summarizes peoples' views collected in PPA2 on why poor people have large families, the effects of this and what they recommend should be done. The causes and effects of large families are further discussed in the section below on the gender dimensions of poverty and in Chapter 5 on Health, with excessive fertility emerging as strongly linked to the powerlessness of women.

¹³ The 2002 Census reveals a very high rate of population growth in Uganda, of 3.4%. This is significantly higher than population growth rates in other countries in the region. Uganda's population has grown by 8 million since 1991. Population growth rates vary between the regions of Uganda: in the North the annual growth rate is 4.5%, in the East 3.5%, in the West 3.4% and in the Centre 2.8% (UBOS, 2002.)

Figure 2. 4: Views from participants in PPA2 on how large families contribute to poverty

IMPACTS

Increased poverty



Intermediate effects for poor people

- Illiteracy
- Malnutrition
- Increased morbidity and mortality
- Women not engaging in income generation
- Environmental degradation
- Low productivity
- Alcoholism
- Child/youth crime



Immediate effects

- Increased expenditure on basic needs
- Women at home looking after family and the sick
- Lack of savings hence household needs not met
- Land pressure and fragmentation
- Strained/reduced parental care and guidance
- Poor household sanitation and hygiene
- Spread of communicable diseases



Large families: more than 10 children or dependents

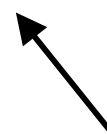


Why the large families?

- Children are insurance for old age, Uncertainty due to wars, diseases
- Labour source
- Lack of family planning/sensitization
- Early marriages
- Children source of income/bride wealth
- Polygamy
- Poverty
- Gender inequalities – women lack control over reproduction

What needs to be done?

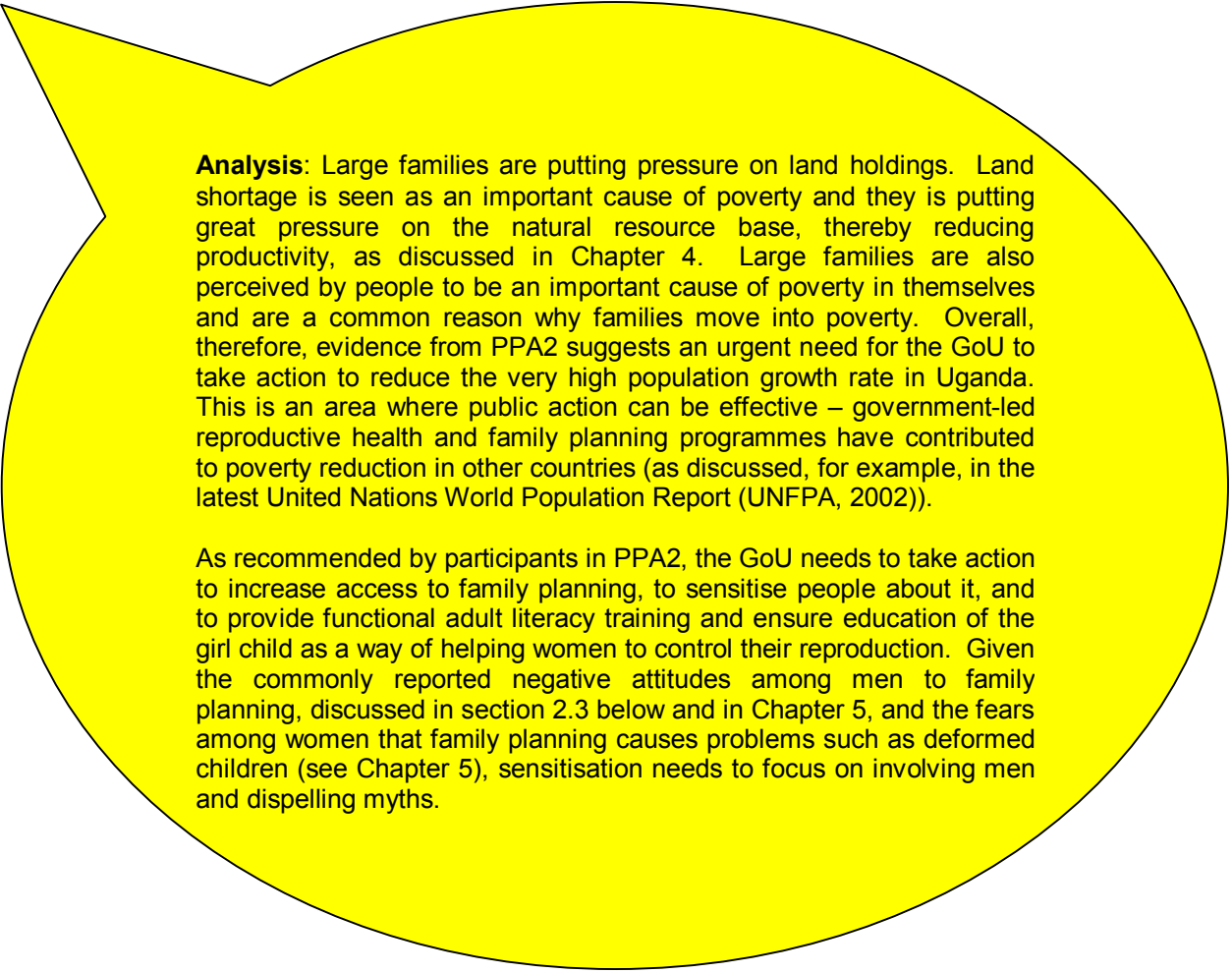
- ** Increase access to family planning
- ** Sensitize on usefulness of family planning
- ** Functional Adult Literacy
- ** Girl Child Education
- ** Prevent early marriages
- ** Poverty reduction
- ** Labour-saving technologies
- ** Cultural and behaviour change



But also.....

- * Extended families
- Population migration
- Internal displacement
- Orphans – HIV/AIDS, war
- Widow inheritance





Analysis: Large families are putting pressure on land holdings. Land shortage is seen as an important cause of poverty and they are putting great pressure on the natural resource base, thereby reducing productivity, as discussed in Chapter 4. Large families are also perceived by people to be an important cause of poverty in themselves and are a common reason why families move into poverty. Overall, therefore, evidence from PPA2 suggests an urgent need for the GoU to take action to reduce the very high population growth rate in Uganda. This is an area where public action can be effective – government-led reproductive health and family planning programmes have contributed to poverty reduction in other countries (as discussed, for example, in the latest United Nations World Population Report (UNFPA, 2002)).

As recommended by participants in PPA2, the GoU needs to take action to increase access to family planning, to sensitise people about it, and to provide functional adult literacy training and ensure education of the girl child as a way of helping women to control their reproduction. Given the commonly reported negative attitudes among men to family planning, discussed in section 2.3 below and in Chapter 5, and the fears among women that family planning causes problems such as deformed children (see Chapter 5), sensitisation needs to focus on involving men and dispelling myths.

2.3.2 Context/group-specific causes of poverty

Information collected in PPA2 emphasized that not all causes of poverty are of equal magnitude in different localities and for men and women. Analysis shows that causes vary between rural and urban areas, that there are specific problems that women face, and that insecurity is the key cause of poverty in the North.

Rural and urban poverty

The priority causes of poverty for the rural and urban areas in the 12 PPA2 districts are given in Table 2.2.

Table 2. 2: Priority causes of poverty in rural and urban areas

Rural Areas		Urban areas	
<i>Priority Cause</i>	<i>% Communities</i>	<i>Priority Cause</i>	<i>% Communities</i>
Poor health/diseases	53%	Lack of jobs/employment	85%
Limited access/land shortage	45%	Limited income, funds, capital	62%
Lack of market/access	38%	Limited access/land shortage	54%
Alcoholism	36%	Lack of education/vocational training	54%
High/unfair taxes/market dues	34%	HIV/AIDS	46%
Low prices and exploitation	32%	Lack of market access	46%
Pests and diseases	30%	Large family/many dependants	46%
Large family/many dependants	30%	Low prices and exploitation	38%
Low productivity – crop, fish, animal	28%	Ignorance/lack of information	38%
Lack of education/vocational training	28%	Death of a family member/widowhood	38%
Drought	28%	High/unfair taxes and dues	38%
Lack of jobs/employment	26%	Poor health/diseases	38%
Limited income, funds or capital	26%	Laziness/idleness – usually men	38%
Rebels and insurgency	23%	Similar business activities	31%
Death of family member/widowhood	23%	Oppression of women	31%
Lack of credit facilities	23%	Poor planning at household level	31%
Ignorance/lack of information	23%	Lack of credit facilities	23%
HIV/AIDS	21%	Casual/poorly paid work	23%

Poor health and diseases remains the most important cause of poverty in rural areas but ranks lower in urban areas, perhaps because urban areas have significantly better physical access to health services, as discussed in Chapter 5. In urban areas, lack of jobs or unemployment is the most significant cause of poverty followed by limited income, funds and capital to initiate or expand business ventures, as discussed in the box below. However, it is important to note that although poor health is less significant as a cause of poverty in urban areas, HIV/AIDS is recognized as a major threat, having been identified by close to half of the urban communities. In both rural and urban areas, limited access to land and land shortages was identified among the most important causes of poverty.

It is worth noting that in rural areas, many of the priority causes of poverty are linked to marketing problems and low productivity in the agricultural sector, problems that are discussed in detail in Chapter 3 on Livelihoods and the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) and in Chapter 4 on Environment. Alcoholism was particularly significant in rural areas as a key cause of poverty but was not accorded priority in urban areas. Interestingly in the urban context, participants stressed as key causes of poverty a number of factors linked to gender inequalities: laziness/idleness among men, oppression of women and poor planning at the household level.

Unemployment

In PPA2, people in urban areas made the following comments on unemployment:

- Across the urban sites, young men complained that connections are needed to find a job, but that poor people do not have them. As one young man in Masese III in Jinja explained: *'Because of nepotism in the job market, it is hard to get any job without both know-how and know-who.'*
- In several of the urban sites, people complained that the system of tendering out of construction contracts by the districts has reduced opportunities for work compared to the past. The youth complained that the contractors come with their own labourers, who are often from outside the district.
- In most of the sites, young people attributed unemployment amongst them to lack of sufficient formal education and/or to lack of relevant vocational skills. This means that many youths have only casual labour to aim at and for every such employment opportunity there are many applicants. People noted that education does not necessarily lead to employment - lack of experience or connections, stiff competition or lack of initiative and motivation can all mean that those with higher-level qualifications are unemployed. Unemployed youths with 'A' levels and diplomas expressed great bitterness that they cannot find jobs. Many young people spoke of the importance of learning practical skills to earn a livelihood, as discussed further in Chapter 6 on Education.
- Women in urban areas complained that their spouses will not allow them to work.
- In many urban sites, people expressed concern that unemployment is leading to delinquency, crime and drug addiction amongst the youth.

Analysis: Poor health continues to be a key cause of poverty in Uganda today as in 1998 when the first PPA was done. The interventions that have been put in place by both government and non-government actors have not yet yielded sufficiently to give positive outcomes. However, as Chapter 5 shows, more poor people are using health services since cost-sharing was abolished in early 2001 and, if more resources are forthcoming for health services, this should improve health outcomes soon. As noted in Chapter 5, streamlining existing strategies and improving management of health services will also be necessary to make health services more effective. It will also be critical to improve safe water supplies and sanitation if the population is to become healthier but, as Chapter 6 notes, there is little evidence of improvements to date. It is also important that there should not be any complacency regarding HIV/AIDS as this continues to be one of the key causes of poverty and poor health.

It is also worth noting that although Uganda is considered to have large tracts of under-utilized land, lack of access to land and land shortage is cited as a major cause of poverty both in the rural and urban areas. Full implementation of the 1998 Land Act provisions is urgently called for, and once the land use policy is in place, this should also be vigorously pursued in order to deal with the key bottlenecks to land access and utilization.

Unemployment is a key cause of poverty in urban areas, particularly among the youth who lack relevant skills. There is need for vigorous action to address the multiple causes of insufficient employment growth in urban and rural areas.

Poverty in the North and West

In the Northern districts and some sites in Bundibugyo, insecurity was ranked as the number one cause of poverty. Insecurity has resulted in loss of farming land and production and, particularly in the North, inadequate access to and low quality of health care and education and low prices for agricultural produce. Raids have impoverished people in Moroto, Kitgum and Soroti. There is great uncertainty over the future as illustrated by the following quotes:

We can only confidently settle in our homes when we hear that Kony is dead otherwise anytime anything can happen. The man is very unpredictable.

Man, Bura, Central, Kitgum

There is no tomorrow for me so there isn't any need for me to waste my effort working. The rebels may come and destroy everything in a minute, so what I do is just to go and drink!

Man, Bura Central, Kitgum

Analysis: This state of uncertainty in areas under conflict will most certainly limit private investment in agriculture and other non-farm activities, thus frustrating efforts to increase household income. Government should not spare any efforts geared towards ending the war in the North once and for all.

Women face specific constraints

Discussions with women in the districts of Ntungamo, Wakiso, Mubende, Masindi and Rakai indicated that although women are affected by the priority causes of poverty identified by the communities as a whole, they also face specific causes of poverty. Findings point to cultural barriers to women's access to productive resources and tilted power relations in the home as the basic factors behind the major perceived causes of poverty among women.

The findings show that the exploitation/oppression of women by their spouses is a key cause of poverty among women. Women are impoverished when they are denied opportunities to engage in income-generating activities, when their property is seized and when they are left with responsibility for family welfare. This is followed by the lack of access and control over productive resources, particularly land. Other key causes of poverty among women include low literacy levels, unemployment or low earnings from petty trade, and HIV/AIDS, which leaves women and widows with the burden of looking after orphans and large families yet their resources are often minimal. The nature of problems faced by women is discussed at length in the next section.

2.4 GENDER DIMENSIONS OF POVERTY


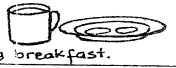

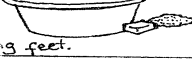


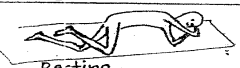
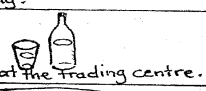
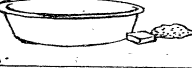
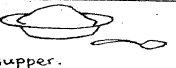

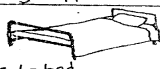
In PPA2, information was collected in most sites on the gendered division of roles and responsibilities between men and women within households, and in some sites on how these are changing. This information is summarised below, followed by a presentation of how participants in PPA2 perceive the gendered division of labour to contribute to poverty. Information was also collected in most PPA2 sites on gendered access to and control over

resources. This is also presented, followed by participants' analysis of how differential access and control of resources by men and women contributes to poverty. The section concludes with a brief description of factors that perpetuate unequal gender relations.


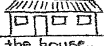
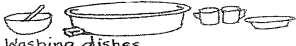


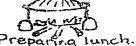
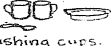
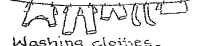
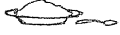
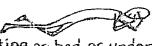

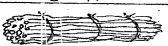


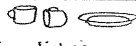

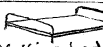

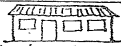




2.4.1 Gender Roles and Responsibilities

Reproductive and domestic roles

Across the PPA2 sites, women have the prime responsibility for domestic duties. In many sites, researchers helped community members to make daily activity diagrams for men and women. These show women spending time on activities such as cleaning, cooking, fetching water and washing clothes, as well as in business or agricultural production work. Men are shown spending time on productive activities or resting and at leisure. It is noted in numerous site reports that men spend their leisure time drinking alcohol. In most cases, men are reported to do domestic work only if their wives are sick, have just given birth or are away from home. Examples of men's and women's daily calendars are given below, drawing on the site report from Katebe Village in Rakai.

DAILY CALENDAR OF FARMERS (MEN) IN KATEBE VILLAGE (RAKAI DISTRICT)		
6:30 a.m	 Washing face.	
7:00-8:00 a.m	 Having breakfast.	
8:00-12:00 a.m	 Digging.	
12:00-1:00 p.m	 Washing feet.	
1:00-1:30 p.m	 Resting under a tree.	
1:30-3:00 p.m	 Having lunch.	
3:00-4:00 p.m	 Resting.	
4:00-7:30 p.m	 Socialising at the trading centre.	
7:30-8:00 p.m	 Bathing.	
8:00-9:00 p.m	 Having supper.	 Praying.
9:30-10:00 p.m	 Going to bed	

Made by 8 men on 16 January 2002.
Source: Katebe Site Report: 55

DAILY CALENDAR OF WIVES OF FARMERS IN KATEBE VILLAGE (RAKAI DISTRICT)	
6:00 a.m	 Washing face.
6:15 - 7:00 a.m	  cleaning the house. Washing dishes.
7:30 - 8:00 a.m	 Preparing and taking breakfast.
8:30 - 12:00 a.m	 Digging.
12:00 - 1:00 p.m	   Preparing lunch. Washing cups. Washing clothes.
1:30 - 3:00 p.m	 Having lunch.
3:00 - 3:30 p.m	 Resting on bed or under a tree.
3:30 - 4:00 p.m	 Preparing supper.
4:00 - 5:00 p.m	  Collecting firewood. Fetching water.
5:30 - 6:00 p.m	  Cooking supper. Washing dishes.
6:00 - 7:00 p.m	   Boiling water for bathing. Making bed. Cleaning lanterns.
7:00 - 8:00 p.m	  Tiding up the home. Bathing.
8:00 - 9:00 p.m	  Having supper. Praying.
9:30 - 10:00 p.m	 Going to bed.

Made by 10 women on 15 January 2002.
Source: Katebe Site Report: 55.

Productive roles in rural communities

In most rural communities in PPA2, while both women and men contribute to agricultural production, women play the major role and may be entirely responsible for food crop production. Both women and men may engage in casual labour or petty business, although the latter is predominantly an activity undertaken by women. Women are mainly responsible for small-scale livestock rearing.

It was noted in a large number of PPA2 sites that, from their productive activities, women are responsible for providing food for the whole family throughout the year. In addition, and increasingly, as discussed below, women are also responsible for providing for other household needs, such as covering school costs of children. However, women do not usually control land, the disposal of agricultural produce or money.

Analysis: The fact that women are usually responsible for feeding their families and providing for other household needs and yet lack control over land, production and money contributes to poverty in a number of ways. This is discussed further below.

The gender activity diagram made in PPA2 by men and women in Butema village in Bugiri is similar to those produced in many other sites.

Table 2. 3: Gender Activity Profile made in Butema Village, Bugiri by community members

Activities	Man	Woman	Boy	Girl	Comments by community members
Reproductive					
House construction	✓	X	X	X	Men take on these activities because they are the owners of the home and because they are labour-intensive. Widows can construct houses for themselves.
Latrine construction	✓	X	✓	X	
Cooking	X	✓	X	✓	These are strictly women's activities.
Bathing children	X	✓	X	✓	
Fetching water	X	✓	✓	✓	Men only fetch water for domestic purposes when their spouses are sick or have just given birth. When men collect water, they use bicycles and do not have to endure long distances and weights like their female counterparts. Men may collect water for selling.
Gathering firewood	X	✓	✓	✓	It is unheard of for men to collect firewood.
Grinding millet	X	✓	X	✓	
Productive					
Digging	✓	✓	✓	✓	Men, women, boys and girls dig but women often go to the garden much earlier so as to return home to do the domestic chores.
Planting rice	✓	✓	✓	✓	All community members do this but women do it less as it is labour-intensive.
Rearing animals	X	✓	✓	✓	Women do 80% of livestock rearing (but only of 1-2 livestock) as men are away most of the day. Most men go to drink and later in the evening return to ask the woman: 'Has the cow eaten?'
Selling maize	✓	X	X	X	Men ride bicycles over long distances in search of markets while women await buyers at home. Most of the maize harvested by women is used for home consumption as it is the responsibility of women to feed the family year round. Most maize belonging to men is sold.
Brewing & selling alcohol	X	✓	X	✓	This activity is culturally defined to be a woman's activity.
Cutting/selling grass	X	✓	X	✓	
Providing casual labour	✓	✓	✓	✓	The work available is mostly on the fields of the nearby rice production company. Before privatisation and changes in production methods, both men and women worked there. However, now the work available is mainly for men (see chapter 3 on Livelihoods and the PMA).
Brick making	✓	X	✓	X	This is an activity entirely for men because women are considered too weak to do it. Women may help out collecting water for making the bricks and firewood for baking them.
Total Work Load	7	11	8	8	

Source: Adapted from Butema Site Report, section 5.1

Productive roles in urban sites

In urban communities, both men and women are involved in a multiple of income-generating activities. However, in a majority of the urban sites where research took place in PPA2, some married women were reported to be restricted from working outside the home and

running businesses by their husbands. Men reported that they fear their wives will become promiscuous, indulge in extra-marital affairs and become ‘*uncontrollable*’, ‘*unmanageable*’ and ‘*unruly*’ if they gain economic independence. In the PPA2 urban sites where crisis and insecurity in rural areas has led to urbanisation, however, women are the major breadwinners, even if they are married, as discussed below.

In *fishing communities*, for cultural reasons women are barred from the most lucrative activity, fishing, as discussed in Chapter 3.

2.4.2 Changes in Gender Roles

In a large number of sites in most districts, men and women reported changes in gender roles. Two main changes were noted.

First, the affirmative action introduced with the 1995 Constitution has increased women’s participation in politics, with some positive results noted by both men and women. However, women’s participation is still constrained by lack of time and for a variety of other reasons, as discussed in Chapter 9 on Governance.

Second, it was reported in both rural and urban sites that women are doing more income generating work outside the home (other than agricultural work) than in the past. In over half the PPA2 districts, women reported that this has led married men to pass over to their wives some or all of men’s traditional responsibilities in the family. Women in Kitende ‘A’ in Wakiso commented: ‘*When a woman works, the husband lets her spend everything on domestic problems, leaving her with nothing.*’ Yet men are not taking on responsibilities that traditionally belong to women and therefore women’s roles and responsibilities have increased while those traditionally belonging to men have reduced.

From PPA2, two main reasons emerged for why men have shifted responsibilities for providing for family needs to women.

- Women in several districts attributed this to a desire by men to control women, and some men agreed with them that this is the case. By ensuring that women spend all the money they earn on family needs, men seek to ensure that women do not become economically independent, fearing that if they do, they will become disrespectful to their husbands or will leave them. The quotations below illustrate views expressed in many sites.

They have money but it is just a way of blocking our businesses from developing so that we do not go away. We spend too much [on household needs].

Woman, Oludria, Arua

When a woman gets money she gets a big head and doesn’t listen to her husband.

Man in community meeting, Kiddugala, Wakiso

- In urban communities where there are high levels of unemployment or where urbanisation has been driven by insecurity, in IDP camps and in pastoral communities affected by drought and insecurity, it appears that men have proved less adaptable than women in the face of crisis and they have found it harder to change their traditional roles. Often the work available is perceived as ‘women’s work’ and, instead of engaging in new productive activities, men have often resorted to drinking. On the other hand, women have been forced to do something to ensure survival. This situation has increased

domestic violence, as men feel inferior and envious of women, and it led married women in some districts to argue that they are no better off than widows.

She can insult you and call you names. You look like a dog to her because you don't have anything.

Man in discussion of domestic violence, Oludria, Arua

We are badly off – like the place where the waste of local brew is being poured. Those with husbands and those without are all the same.

Woman IDP, Kamama Central IDP Camp, Kitgum

A few explanations were provided for why men do not take on domestic work. Some men said they feel embarrassed if women gossip about them doing domestic chores, while others expressed the view that it is shameful for a man to take on women's responsibilities. '*How can a man be seen washing utensils?*' asked one male participant in a community discussion on gender roles in Kiddugala, Wakiso.

Analysis: PPA2 indicates that some changes in gender roles such as women's increased participation in politics have had some positive results for both men and women. However, it also indicates that other changes are leading to new forms of inequality: increased income-generating activities by women are leading men to pass over to women responsibilities for providing for the family that traditionally belonged to men, with a negative impact on family welfare. Political leaders should use all opportunities to discourage this trend, and to encourage men to take responsibility for their families together with their wives.

2.4.3 Gender roles and responsibilities and poverty

In PPA2, the unequal division of roles and responsibilities between men and women described above was seen by women and, in some instances, men to lead to poverty. This is summarised in Figure 2.5. On the other hand, in several districts, both women and men maintained that cooperation between husbands and wives can assist households to move out of poverty. In Ruwe, in Arua, one man attributed his success to good planning with his wife, as described in the box below.

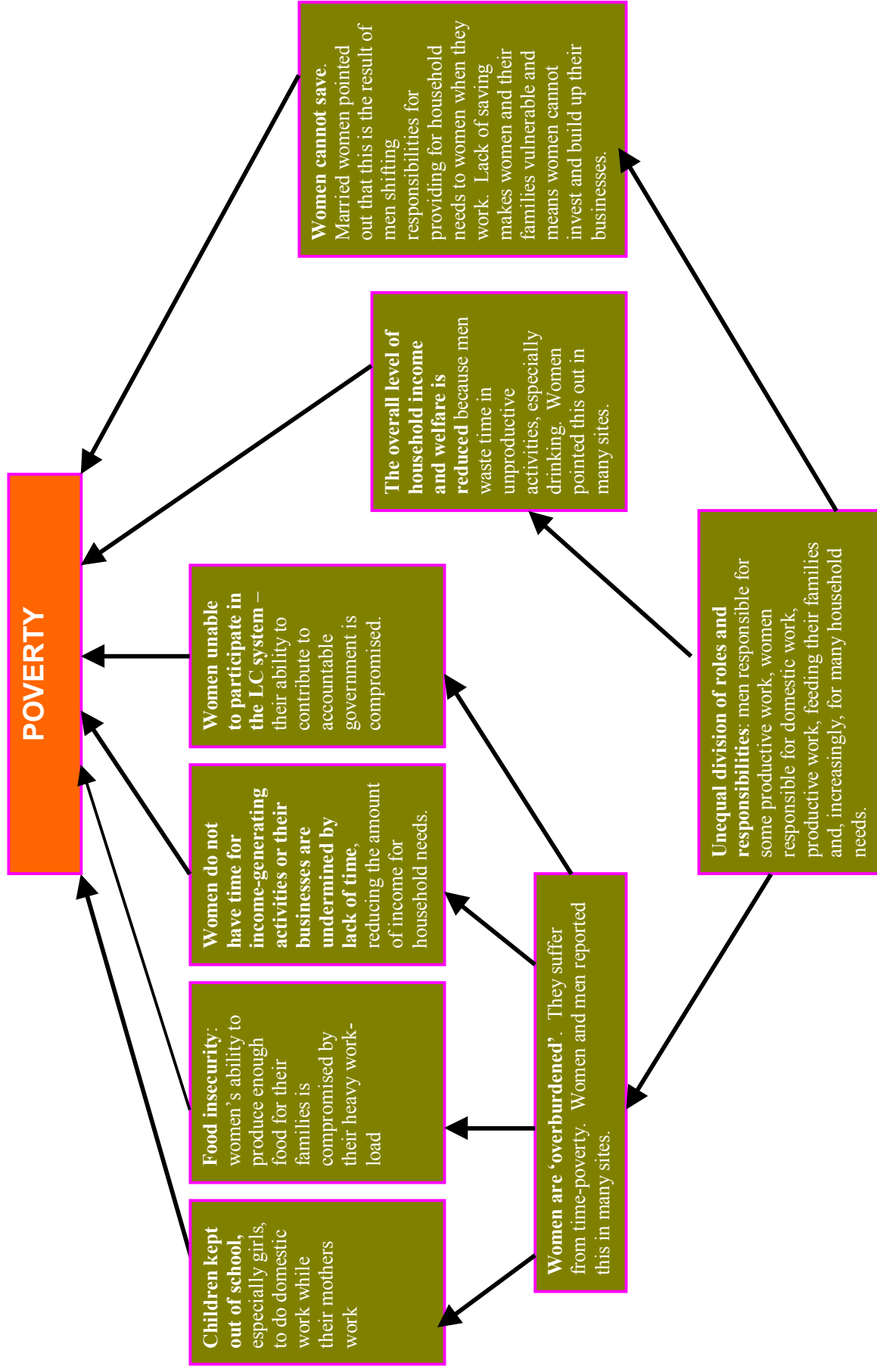
Good Planning Within a Household Can Contribute to Upward Mobility: A Case from Ruwe, Arua

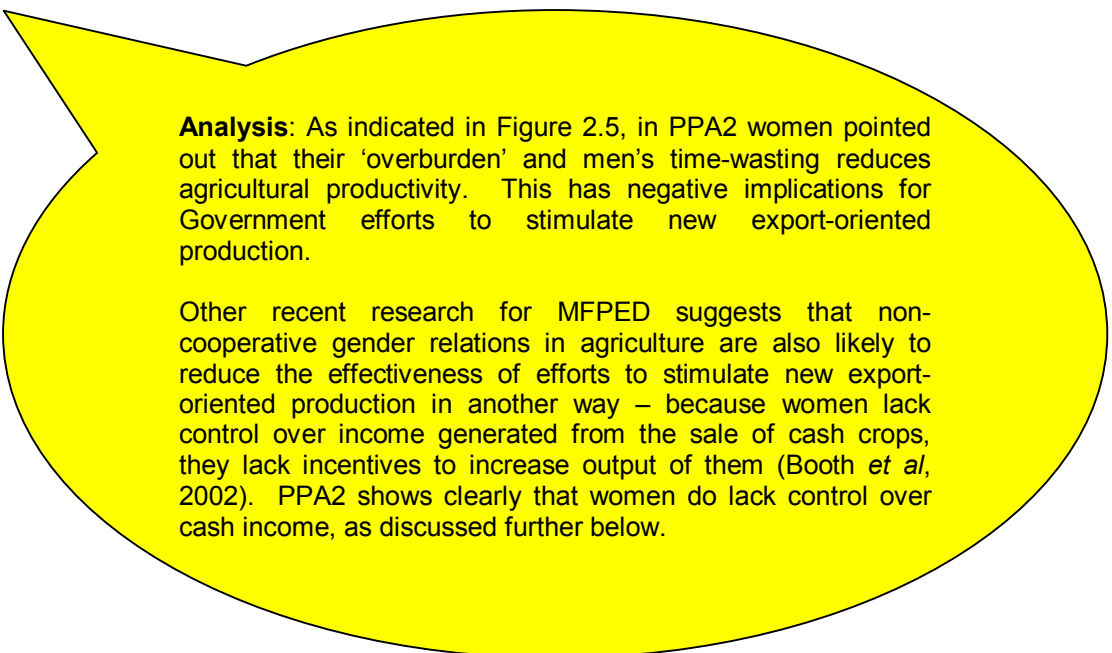
Raphael Ajiga was born in a poor polygamous home. This made him struggle to make ends meet. He migrated to Kampala in search of employment. From providing casual labour he was able to learn many things that have changed his life today. What he learnt enabled him plan together with his wife and that is why he has *cika* status today. *Cika* means rich. (In a well-being ranking in the village, 5 categories were identified, with 'rich' being the second highest category.)

Raphael and his wife Rita have 4 children and 2 others whose mothers are different. They own about 2 acres of land, which they use for growing mainly cassava, sorghum and millet. They also plant green vegetables that Rita sells for earning extra income. They engage in tobacco growing, both air and flue-cured. The air-cured is for the Rita while Raphael is responsible for the flue cured. The land for the two types is dug by Raphael and at times he hires labour and land for tobacco. Rita at times calls people for communal digging – she prepares a lot of food the people eat and even buys some *eguli* (local beer) for the people. Raphael said that with good planning and cooperation, tobacco farming cannot cause food insecurity. The family plans how to use the money from tobacco. Mainly, it is used for buying clothes for household members. The family also breeds animals such as goats, rabbits, chicken and guinea fowl. These are at times sold to supplement family income and even for food...The family has 2 good houses with burnt bricks, which Raphael said they built together.

Source: Ruwe Site Report

Figure 2. 5 : How the division of roles between men and women leads to poverty - perceptions of women and men in PP2





Analysis: As indicated in Figure 2.5, in PPA2 women pointed out that their 'overburden' and men's time-wasting reduces agricultural productivity. This has negative implications for Government efforts to stimulate new export-oriented production.

Other recent research for MFPED suggests that non-cooperative gender relations in agriculture are also likely to reduce the effectiveness of efforts to stimulate new export-oriented production in another way – because women lack control over income generated from the sale of cash crops, they lack incentives to increase output of them (Booth *et al*, 2002). PPA2 shows clearly that women do lack control over cash income, as discussed further below.

2.4.4 Gendered Access to and Control over Resources

In general, across the PPA2 sites, the research revealed that men control virtually all household resources. Women have access to valuable household resources such as land, money and livestock, but only tend to control domestic utensils. Only in some urban sites, where there are a number of wealthy, working women or where poor women have taken on the role of family breadwinner, were women said to have full control of valuable resources such as money.

Women themselves are also regarded as property under their husbands' control, due to the payment of bride price (this was reported in all the PPA2 districts except Masindi). Discussions revealed that men also control women's time and their access to information. Some forbid their wives from participating in politics, in social groups or in training, and men commonly restrict their wives access to the radio.

Control of land and production

Very few women were reported to own or control land. In general, women access land through marriage and unmarried women face severe constraints in accessing land. Although in some sites it was said that women control land if they purchase it, in others it was reported that even if women buy land they do not control it.

Men generally decide how to use land and whether to sell it, although it was reported in a few instances that men consult their wives about the sale of land. As men own land, they generally also own and control agricultural products grown on that land and decide whether to sell these products and how much to sell. Similarly, because livestock are raised on land owned by men, men generally own and control the use of livestock, although their wives may control the use of smaller livestock such as chickens.

As explained in section 2.6 below on vulnerable groups, when a man dies, it is common for his family to take his land as well as other household assets, leaving widows and children destitute.

Control over money

Although a few women particularly in urban sites control money, in general across the PPA2 sites it was reported that men control the major sources of household income. Men generally control income from the sale of agricultural products, because they are grown on the man's land, as expressed by women in Kakabagyo in Rakai: *'You grow crops but when it comes to selling it is the men who sell and decide on how to use the money. If you complain, he asks whether the land is yours and says, "Did you come with it?"'* Men also control money they earn themselves and, in general, money women earn. In some cases, women explained that this is because the home and women themselves belong to men. However, some women have control of their own earnings, particularly from the sale of alcohol.

Control over Reproduction

In many districts, women reported that they have no control over the number of children they produce. In many of the same sites, although both men and women stated that large families are a cause of poverty, women reported that they are not able to use family planning because of a negative attitude by their husbands.

How can you begin talking about a condom, you will be beaten!

Poor woman, Nakapelimen, Moroto

According to the Acholi culture, women are supposed to deliver until they finish their intestines (implying that women are supposed to deliver until they reach their menopause). When you go for family planning, he beats you up, saying that you are killing his children.

Woman, West Zone, Kitgum

Analysis: It is important that the differences in control over resources by women and men are recognised in all development initiatives and especially in the planning and budgeting activities of both the Central and Local governments. Initiatives like the Local Government Development Programme (LGDP) and the PMA NSCG that disburse resources at community level need to ensure that gender analysis is carried out when decisions are made about how to use the resources. Failure to do so may lead to investing in activities that favour only men in communities, which implies that poverty eradication will not be achieved for all community members.

2.4.5 Gendered Access to and Control over Resources and Poverty

The division of ownership and control of resources between men and women described above was perceived by women in PPA2 to contribute to poverty in the household because it leads to resources owned by or entering the household *not being used for the benefit of the whole household*. Women and men also perceived that the gendered division of ownership and control leads to *poverty amongst women* as a group because it means that women often cannot use resources owned by the household or earned by household members for their own

needs. This is one reason why communities often identified women as a vulnerable group, as discussed in section 2.5 below. Specifically, women reported that:

- **Proceeds from agricultural production are often not used for household needs or women cannot use them to meet their personal needs; instead they are largely used for the benefit of men.** In very many sites, women accused men of wasting income from crop sales, which women help to generate and which could be used for household needs, on drinking.
- **Money men earn is not used for household needs,** instead it is used for men's needs, especially drinking. Both women and men reported that women are more likely to use their earnings (when they have control over them) for household needs.

In this community, if a man gets some money, he thinks of getting another woman. When he goes to a drinking place and sees others taking 5 beers, he wants to do the same without remembering his level of income. A woman normally invests her money in the home.

Woman in FGD on causes of poverty, Kagoma Gate, Jinja

Lack of setting of priorities especially in the utilization of family resources is a cause of poverty.

Man in FGD on causes of poverty, Kagoma Gate, Jinja

- **widows and their children are often left destitute because women do not control land.**

2.4.6 Factors that Perpetuate Unequal Gender Relations

Several underlying factors were identified as helping to perpetuate unequal gender relations, while women identified literacy training as important in changing them.

Bride Price

Bridewealth payments lead to the perception amongst both men and women that men 'own' women, and therefore that it is women's job both to provide for men and serve them. In a discussion of men's assets in Kigusa in Bugiri, one woman expressed a common sentiment when she said, *'I was bought by the man, so my body is his asset to use as he wishes.'*

Bride price was also used to legitimise domestic violence. In a discussion of domestic violence in Katebe in Rakai, a male participant commented *'If you buy a cloth, do you not wash it any time you want?'* and the women agreed that as men have paid cows for them, they are property in the home to be used as the man wishes.

Domestic violence

Domestic violence was noted to be common in many sites. Many of those interviewed reasoned that domestic violence a one by-product of poverty and is often linked to alcohol abuse. Men were also noted to resort to violence to enforce 'order', 'discipline' and 'respect' among women and to use violence to ensure that women perform their traditional roles:

When he comes when I am not through with preparing his meals, I must face the wrath of his beatings.

Woman in community meeting in Kagoma Gate, Jinja

Men take themselves very special. If you tell a man to do household chores, he will beat you.

Poor woman in women's focus group, Nakapelimen, Moroto

In some cases, women accept that men have a right to use violence to 'discipline' them, but in others, they requested assistance from FIDA to 'help them access justice'.

Conservative attitudes of men and of women

Men justify the unequal distribution of resources between men and women by asserting the importance of maintaining the status quo and arguing that it is natural for certain activities to be done by men and others by women.

Research in a number of sites also demonstrated that belief in traditional gender relations is also well ingrained among many women, although of course many others want change

After selling the maize, the husband may buy a dress or lesu for the wife. If women are allowed to own property, they will be on top of men.

Man, Rwakayata, Masindi

The importance of literacy training

Women and men in 10 of the PPA2 districts stressed that they need literacy training. Women saw literacy training as a way of improving their economic position, emphasising that they need to be literate and numerate to run businesses and get loans from micro-finance organisations. They also saw literacy as important in improving their status and decision-making powers in their families and communities. In Ntoroko fishing village in Bundibugyo, community members commented with appreciation on the functional adult literacy training carried by their Community Development Assistance. It was explained that this training had been helpful in settling family disputes as it had a component on domestic relations. (See also Chapter 7, section 7.2.11, for views on and the need for literacy training.)

Analysis: From the findings of PPA2, it is clear that *unequal, non-cooperative gender relations are a fundamental cause of poverty*.

The unequal division of roles and responsibilities results in women's 'overburden', reducing their productivity and the success of their business ventures and thereby undermining family food security and welfare. Women's lack of control over assets such as land and livestock means that they lack influence on how cash income generated from these assets is used. Men decide how to spend family income and PPA2 suggests that in very many cases, they spend it for their own benefit, rather than for the benefit the whole household.

It follows that measures need to be designed to address gender equality more effectively in the framework of the PEAP. Priority needs to be given to passing the Domestic Relations Bill to provide a firm legal basis for these efforts, and to strengthening women's land rights. PPA2 indicates that functional adult literacy training and sensitization on domestic issues can reduce gender inequalities and improve gender relations, with benefits for both men and women. Funding for literacy training therefore needs to be given priority in the GoU budget.

2.5 SEASONALITY OF POVERTY

Communities both in urban and rural areas re-affirmed what was noted in the first PPA: that people's well-being is greatly affected by seasonal changes. They indicated that their income and well-being levels fluctuate with seasonal changes in climate, food availability disease incidence and expenditure patterns.

Fishing communities: In all the sites, the amount of fish caught was reported to depend on the season, with much higher catches in some months of the year than in others. Therefore the incomes of fishermen vary widely, which affects the income of the other residents in the fishing sites. In Gorofa in Bugiri, the low fish-catch season of March-June is known locally as *geyena*, which means hell in Luganda.

Farming communities: The way poverty varied with seasonal changes among farming communities was not uniform. In some parts of Arua, Wakiso and Ntungamo, poverty is highest during the dry season in the first part of the year, when crops are immature, expenditures on school fees and graduated tax are high and people are recovering from expenditure on the December festivities. However, the seasonality of poverty was reported to be different in other areas even within the same districts, with poverty seen to be more intense during the wet seasons when crops are destroyed by heavy rains and disease incidence is high. *Generally, across the sites, incomes are highest and poverty lowest when crops are harvested and sold in June and in December.*

The case study below shows how seasonal changes influence intra-household and community level poverty in rural areas. This follows the four seasons: *Itumba*, *Katumba*, *Akanda* and *Ekyanda*.

Case Study: Seasonality in Ihuriro, Ntungamo

Variables	<u>Itumba</u> Sept - Dec	<u>Akanda</u> Dec-Feb	<u>Katumba</u> March-May	<u>Ekyanda</u> June-Aug
Rainfall	*****	****	**	
Food availability	**	***	*****	*****
Water availability	*****	*****	****	
Human diseases	*****	*****	*****	***
Incomes	**	***	***	*****
Crop products	*****	****	***	**
Pregnancies	*	****	*****	*****
Absenteeism at school	***		**	
Eating habits/frequency of meals	*	**	***	*****

* Represents magnitude of the variable

The calendar shows that during the heavy rains of September-December, crops are destroyed but production is still high due to the diversified nature of the cropping system. The harsh conditions cause a major reduction in food availability. Disease incidence is very high causing increased expenditure on medical care. This has an impact on income, which reduces drastically. It is also a period when families have the least frequency of meals a day due to the magnitude of work and high incidence of diseases like cough and malaria. Due to diseases, there is reduced labour force, which leads to low crop productivity and marked absenteeism of children from school as they remain at home to provide farm labour.

Analysis: It is critical that government policies should be sensitive to seasonal changes in order to minimize negative impacts on people's livelihoods during certain periods of the year. For example, taxing people when they have least income aggravates poverty, and this may be the reason why taxation has been identified among the priority causes of poverty and factors responsible for people becoming poorer. The timing of payment of tax and school fees could be made to coincide with periods when incomes are relatively high: June and December.

2.6 VULNERABLE GROUPS FACE SPECIAL PROBLEMS

Local people described *vulnerability as powerlessness to mitigate negative household and individual shocks* (community members in Bugiri). Across the districts, vulnerability was

noted to vary with gender, age, ethnicity, occupation and social status. The ‘categories of the vulnerable’ identified in this participatory assessment confirm what was found in the first PPA with the following being among the most vulnerable: **women, widows, the youth, the elderly, neglected children and orphans, people with disabilities (PWDs), the displaced and refugees**. The characteristics of these groups and the reasons for their vulnerability are summarized below. Other vulnerable groups identified in PPA2 are: the landless, people with large families, casual labourers, the unemployed and the sick. The specific factors that make some groups more vulnerable and poor than others as identified by the communities are listed in Table 2.4.

Table 2. 4: Factors that increase vulnerability of specific groups

VULNERABLE GROUP	KEY MEDIATING FACTORS FOR VULNERABILITY
Women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of rights/control over major productive assets • Traditional roles ascribed by society
Widows	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land/property grabbed by relatives and in-laws • Burden of orphans • Many sons sharing and fragmenting land
Youth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited access to productive assets • Inadequate education or vocational skills • Early marriages • Ignorance and lack of information • Traditional roles ascribed by society (female youth)
Elderly	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of productive assets • Inability to exploit available resources • Lack a social support network – families are adopting an individualistic attitude • Burden of looking after orphans
Neglected children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being part of large families • Lack of social support and social protection mechanisms • Being physically disabled
Orphans	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of basic necessities – food, housing, clothing • Staying in large families with limited parental care • Living with HIV/AIDS • No support for health and education • Lack of productive assets
Persons with Disabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discrimination in households and community • Lack of ownership of key assets like land • Taxation • Inability to engage in income generation
Displaced and Refugees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of basic necessities • Lack of access to land / insecure land tenure • Discrimination against IDPs in host communities • Poor access to social services

Women

There was universal agreement across the 12 districts that women are an especially vulnerable group as already described in section 2.4. They remain largely dependent on men for all decision-making, household and personal goods. But it was observed that not all women are vulnerable since some do own assets. The particularly disadvantaged categories

identified by the communities include widows, single women, the divorced without property and women with disabilities. As noted in section 2.2, in a number of sites in PPA2, participants ranked community members into categories of 'well-being'. In seven of these well-being rankings, they disaggregated the households in each category by gender. These well-being rankings show no, or very few, female-headed households in the higher (better-off) well-being categories. Many more female-headed households are in the poorer well-being groups.

Widows

Widows, especially those whose husbands sold all their land before their deaths, are among the poorest. Many stories were told of widows whose property had been snatched by relatives, leaving them to care for children without any source of income. For these widows, educating their children and offering them food and other basic necessities is almost impossible, leading women in some sites to recommend that men should be legally obliged to make wills and to leave land to their wives. Below is a case study of a widow in Kigungu fishing village in Masindi who recounts a story similar to many others told in PPA2. It was, however, noted in PPA2 that although the majority of widows are very poor, a few are actually rich because they have succeeded in retaining ownership of land and cattle left by their late husbands.

'My life is tears' says Edisa Bikobo (Kigungu village, Masindi)

Edisa is a young Mugungu woman of 37 years, a widow with 5 kids who says her life is full of tears, shed and unshed. The husband died when she was pregnant. Since he died, life changed and she has no hopes of ever being the old self she knew. Since then, she has seen her life change from good to bad and she says it cannot get worse than it is.

Before the husband died, they were living in Ntinda, in Kampala where they were renting a house. The husband was a driver for some whites who worked in Kiryandongo (*missionary hospital*) and Northern Uganda. After her husband's death she went to her in-laws. But her in-laws chased her away and told her they did not care. Not long after, she came to Kigungu to fish and sell fish to earn a living because she could not get land from her husband's place. A friend to her parents, married in Kigungu, gave her a piece of land where she stays in a small house. When she thought she was getting used to fishing, her stomach started swelling and then she learnt that she had to have an operation. The problem now was how to raise money for the operation.

The operation, carried out in Congo cost Shs.7000, which was raised through family and friends. She looks so small and hungry, her hair uncombed, with her child tugging at her torn dress and asking for the sweet she promised yesterday. *'I can't go to the lake again. That would be like dying twice. Moreover, they put me on bed rest for six months. I am so weak,'* she says.

Source: Kigungu Site Report

The Youth

The youth, both male and female, were categorized among the most vulnerable in many sites due to a number of factors including: lack of access to productive resources, inability to acquire worthwhile education or vocational skills, unemployment, lack of income sources, susceptibility to diseases particularly sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS, and idleness. Their vulnerability is increased by the fact that they are sometimes left out of programmes meant for them simply because people do not categorise them among the youth. For example, in Rakai, married young girls were not considered as 'youth' but as 'women', even when in the age bracket 18-35 years. Similarly, those who are out of school and employed were not considered among the youth.

The Elderly

Many elderly people have no reliable sources of income and sometimes resort to begging for a living. In many districts, their vulnerability has been increased due to the burden of the increasing number of AIDS orphans under their care as the following quotation illustrates:

I am an old woman and used to get support from my sons and daughters but they have all died of AIDS, leaving me with six orphans to look after. I have found it difficult to pay school fees, feed them, clothe them and pay their medical bills. This has been worsened by my inability to carry out farm activities due to old age. I just pray to the government to offer some support for my grand children.

An old woman lamented during a FGD with elders, Kitende 'A', Wakiso

Poor elderly people are in many cases marginalized, as an elderly man expressed in Buntungama in Bundibugyo: *'Here the old and poor people are not allowed to contribute to public discussions or debates.'* This makes it difficult for their needs to be catered for since they are not heard. The elderly are highly vulnerable in conflict situations that result in displacement and death of their offspring. Social networks were identified as very important for the survival of the elderly. Their absence deprives elderly people of the ability to access financial, political and human capital.

Neglected children

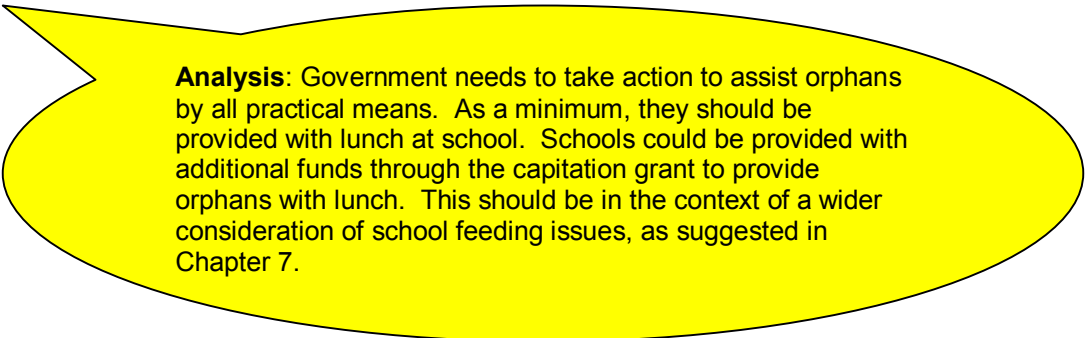
Children are neglected in a variety of circumstances, such as when they are part of large families or displaced groups and when their parents have died, are ill or just irresponsible. In most cases, there are no social support mechanisms. Such children are at risk of remaining uneducated and unemployed and are prone to get involved in various forms of anti-social behaviour. Sub-county officials in Rakai explained that sometimes guardians and relatives rob children of their assets: *'Community members who should be protecting and caring for them are the ones who make their lives more vulnerable by defiling them, selling their property, denying them from access to NGOs that could make their lives better and even stealing from their gardens.'*

Children with disabilities are often neglected, as are children born of parents with disabilities. Neglected girls face problems of early marriages and pregnancies, while boys loiter in villages engaging in alcoholism and petty theft at a tender age.

Orphans

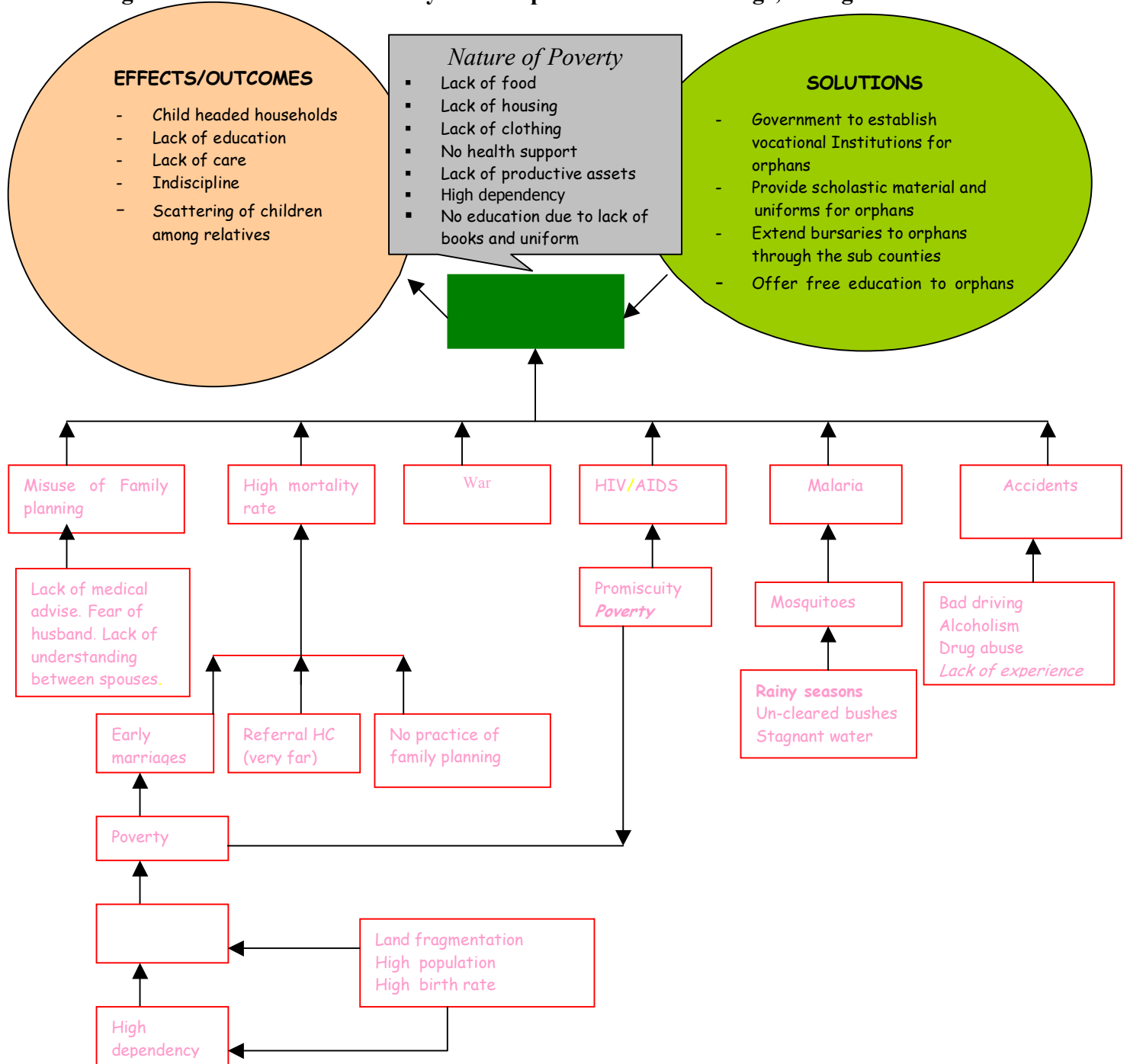
People defined 'orphans' in different ways in the PPA2 sites. For some, an orphan is a child who has lost both parents, for others a child without a mother, and for others a child without a father, on the grounds that children belong to the father. Orphans' vulnerability is increased by the fact that most stay with elderly people who have many other dependants and limited resources and hence cannot send the children to school. Some orphans live with HIV/AIDS, which these elderly people have no resources to treat. Many orphans, particularly those who stay alone, suffer from hunger. Those who attend school usually go without lunch. Failure to eat affects their attendance and concentration in class – many doze in class and fail to learn. The situation is not helped by the fact that most lack other basic necessities like clothing and bedding, and have a heavy workload. Others are heads of households looking after large families composed of their brothers and sisters and with limited livelihood means.

In Ihuriro village in Ntungamo, community members, as part of the PPA2 research, made the problem tree analysis reproduced as Figure 2.6. It shows the causes of orphans, the outcomes, their poverty and suggested solutions.



Analysis: Government needs to take action to assist orphans by all practical means. As a minimum, they should be provided with lunch at school. Schools could be provided with additional funds through the capitation grant to provide orphans with lunch. This should be in the context of a wider consideration of school feeding issues, as suggested in Chapter 7.

Figure 2. 6: Problem Tree Analysis for orphans in Ihuriro Vilage, Ntungamo



Source: Ihurio Site Report

Persons with Disabilities (PWDs)

Communities across the PPA2 districts reported widespread discrimination against PWDs. PWDs suffer discrimination when it comes to involving them in community activities, allowing them to talk in meetings, accessing some social services, marrying able-bodied men or women and involvement in income-generating activities. In Jinja Municipality, PWDs are considered as second-class citizens, as voiced by one man: *'A physically disabled person who does not pay tax how can he or she speak in public?'* But in some cases PWDs receive no special considerations in tax assessments, and communities recommended that PWDs should pay the lowest tax or be totally exempted.

Research in PPA2 in Kitende 'A' in Wakiso covered the national rehabilitation center for PWDs at Lweza. This gives a good insight into the services that are being rendered to this vulnerable group and the key challenges. The approach at the Centre views disability as a medical problem and hence little focus is given to enhancing the abilities of disabled persons and dealing with challenges facing them in terms of access to resources, power and social support. An extract is given below from the Wakiso site report.

Case study of PWDs at Lweza Rehabilitation Centre

This Centre started in 1968 as a polio round table under the Ministry of Health. In 1970 it was taken over by the Ministry of Culture but today it is under the Ministry of Gender. The Centre has 30 acres of land, staff houses, administration block accommodation for 50 disabled and a workshop that trains the disabled in tailoring, carpentry, leather works, handicrafts and agriculture. Recruits are from around Uganda through the District Rehabilitation office. It has 22 PWDs (only deaf and lame).

Challenges

According to the FGD with disabled at the Centre, the following three key challenges were identified:

- The standard of training is too low due to lack of training materials and worn out machines that necessitate only 2 trainings per week; only a few instructors can be paid.
- Training on agricultural practices not offered as instructor was retrenched during restructuring of public sector.
- After completing course, the PWDs find it difficult to resettle due to lack of a resettlement package. Trainees are required to pay Shs 150,000 to be resettled with a kit but most cannot afford this therefore they just leave the Centre with skills but nowhere to go and work.

Why others don't join this Centre?

- ⇒ One disabled person at the Centre revealed that information flow is not good as he explained: "It was a chance for me to know of this place. Someone was conversing with another that heard about this place." It is important to make PWDs know of such services that are available to them.
- ⇒ All trainees are required to pay Shs 50,000 for medical treatment and machinery maintenance every term which is unaffordable.
- ⇒ Many PWDs are unable to join the Centre due to transport problems, a cost that was in the past covered by Government.
- ⇒ The Centre has a limited capacity for trainers of only 15-20 children only.

Successful disabled persons

Key informants indicated that there are some successful disabled such as the carpenter at Kajjansi. This is a person who does not pity himself and believes that disability is not inability. The Fisheries Assistant at Ssisa Sub-county Headquarters revealed that successful disabled persons are those with patience and do not spend unnecessarily but save or re-invest their money.

Source: Kitende 'A' Wakiso Site Report

Other reports note that there are various forms of disability, some more constraining than others. In Jinja Municipality, the most vulnerable and disadvantaged among PWDs were said to be those who are physically disabled with no mobility equipment, no social networks such as relatives and friends, and also not belonging to any group for the disabled.

Analysis: Interventions aimed at improving the well-being of the disabled should clearly specify the nature of disabilities that qualify for assistance. Otherwise there is a risk of spreading resources thinly, assisting unnecessarily those who can ably engage in income-generating activities but classify themselves as disabled. Priority should first be given to the most affected.

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

IDPs are vulnerable group because they have lost their major assets due to insecurity. In particular, loss of access to land or insecure land access in some cases means that IDPs feel vulnerable, as the following voice illustrates.

Before the war we are poor, but when the war set in, now we sleep down like goats and cover ourselves like orphans. We left our homes and now we are in camps under the mercy of NGOs like ActionAid and the Red Cross.

Woman, discussion of poverty trends, Bundimulombi IDP camp, Bundibugyo

In the IDP camps of Bundimulombi and Kyamukube in Bundibugyo, the residents have access to small amounts of land around the camps. They grow crops for home consumption and sale, although marketing is a problem. Now that the security situation has improved, many IDPs are again accessing their gardens up in the mountains. Some are engaged in trade and other businesses such as bars, providing services to the army officers stationed nearby. People reported that they are eager to return to their homes, although some IDPs recognized that they will find it difficult to readjust to an isolated life back in the mountains – they have become used to a life of trading in the camps and are concerned about losing markets for their businesses.

Analysis: As the IDPs in Bundibugyo return to their homes, there is a need for the district authorities to monitor and support the process. Services need to be provided in the areas that the IDPs return to, in order to sustain and underpin the resettlement process.

In Kawiti village in Masindi and Kamama Central IDP camp in Kitgum, PPA2 research revealed serious tensions between the IDPs and the host communities concerning access to land. In Kawiti, IDPs fleeing Gulu and Kitgum have been allocated 2-3 acres per household, with male-headed households allocated most of the land and in prime locations. The host community believes that IDPs have only temporary access to the land; IDPs believe that the reallocated land now belongs to them. Threats of eviction have prevented the IDPs from making long-term investments. In Kamama Central, the host population complained of limited space for grazing and cultivation since land has been allocated to IDPs for house construction; while the IDPs complained of exploitation, local residents allow IDPs to clear

virgin land and use it for one season and then take it back. In both communities, the IDPs complained of being excluded from decision-making by the local residents.

Being displaced we are regarded as inferior here, our cases are not heard by the local leaders and by that we feel the same helplessness as the poorest person.

Young male IDP, discussion of poverty, Kawiti, Masindi

Analysis: There is currently no clear government policy on the land rights of IDPs. This has created misinformation and suspicion in recipient communities and led to a collapse of the social support systems that in the past would have allowed those without land to access idle land from a community. It has also resulted in increased pressure on the environment in areas where IDP camps have been established, as discussed in Chapter 4. There is a need for Government to define a policy on IDPs' land rights.

In Mubende, research took place in PPA2 with some of the 250 families displaced in August 2001 when the Uganda Investment Authority (UIA) leased 25 square miles of mailo land to the Kaweeri Coffee Plantation Limited, a foreign direct investment. Residents of Kitemba village in Madudu Sub-county believed the land they were occupying was legally theirs. However, following a notice period of two months, the Uganda People's Defense Forces forcefully evicted them and many people lost their property in the process. One young girl described the eviction as follows: *'Our household property was burnt. Bicycles, mattresses, cups and plates were left behind when we ran away. Even our school tank was stolen.'* Primary schools on the plantation land were closed and water points blocked off. The former landlord provided just 38 families with alternative land, on the grounds that these families were the only *bona fide* tenants. This relocation process was riddled with corruption, and some fake tenants acquired land. Most families have taken temporary refuge on forested land belonging to one of the evicted tenants. They have experienced food shortages and the children have stopped attending school. Sub-county officials complained that the information provided to the Kitemba residents on the eviction was insufficient and that they were not given enough time to move. According to some district officials, the people were just stubborn.

Analysis: It is essential that the UIA ensures that any future such evictions are handled better. Clear information on what is going to happen needs to be provided to people well in advance. Alternative land needs to be found for those to be displaced, and services such as safe water and schools made available

2.7 WHAT DETERMINES MOVEMENT IN AND OUT OF POVERTY?

There are many factors and forces that cause people to become either poor or better off. Understanding these factors from the perspective of the poor is important for learning from ‘best practices’ and for establishing policies to minimize negative factors. In a number of districts, there was consensus among the community members that it is easier for one to become poorer than to become richer.

2.7.1 Downward Mobility

The factors cited in PPA2 that lead people and households into further poverty are shown in the Table 2.5.

Table 2. 5: Priority factors responsible for moving people into poverty

<i>Factor</i>	<i>Proportion of communities reporting of total (%)</i>
Alcoholism	42%
Polygamy	42%
Insecurity & displacement	42%
Large families/many dependants	37%
Illness	37%
Theft	32%
Landlessness	26%
High/unfair taxes	21%
Failure to pay loans	21%
Old age	21%
Payment of dowry	21%
Loss of property – land, livestock	16%
Lack of savings/saving culture	16%
Death of breadwinner	16%
Drought and famine	16%
Payment of school fees for secondary/tertiary education	16%
Unemployment/loss of job	11%

Alcoholism, primarily among men, stood out as the number one factor responsible for movement into poverty, followed by polygamy, and insecurity and displacement. Note should be made of the fact that insecurity as a factor featured predominantly in the Northern districts. The movement into poverty in this case is due to the fact that people lose their animals, property and cannot access their gardens where they grow their food and cash crops. A case study from Kitgum illustrates this point.

Case Study of Yokonia Aduni (54)

An old man who moved into poverty due to insurgency Bura Central, Kitgum

Before the LRA rebels and cattle rustlers invaded our village, I was categorized as one of the well-off people in this village. I had a large herd of cattle and cultivated both food and cash crops on a very large scale. I realized very good harvests that I sold to pay my children's school fees and reserved some for consumption at home. My family was doing very well, but now I have nothing – nothing at all. My cattle were all rustled, the rebels looted the grains in the granary and the balance was burnt up! My houses were burnt down and all the property was looted in 1989 and since then I only scratch for a living. The LRA rebels abducted three of my children – up to now, I have not heard of them! The young ones who were left have only been benefiting from UPE, but after Primary 7 they will just sit at home. My three wives go to dig with their children but what we realize is not even enough for home consumption. The Karimojong and LRA rebels really mistreated me!

Source: Bura Central Site Report

Other factors seen in the PPA2 reports to lead to worsening livelihoods were unfair taxation and high market dues, hospitalization, decline in soil productivity, prostitution, exploitation of women by men, spending on witchcraft, imprisonment, laziness, pests and diseases, accidents and domestic violence. In urban areas, moving into poverty was also associated with stiff market competition, rent, unofficial market dues and confiscation of merchandise by tax enforcement officers.

Why alcoholism?

Consultations with local people provided some insights into the problem of alcoholism and some of the explanatory factors for this behaviour. Particularly in areas affected by conflict, both men and women argued that people drink to avoid frustration and problems. Across the districts, high unemployment levels among the youth who drop out of school early was given as a major reason why they tend to resort to boozing.

In Nakapelimen, a slum on the edge of Moroto town, poverty is so extreme that people drink to avoid hunger. Women complained that most men spend their earnings on alcohol, sometimes even incurring debts that the women have to pay, resulting in impoverishment. However, in a community meeting it was clarified that there are two types of drinking: drinking all the time, and drinking that serves as a substitute for food. People argued that because their daily earnings are usually too meagre to meet food requirements, they prefer to purchase local brew, which is consumed as food. The beer is brought home to feed the whole family including the children. The children become tipsy, so they do not disturb their parents because they are hungry, but rather fall into deep sleep.

2.7.2 Upward Mobility

Examples were also given in the participatory assessment of poor people who had become better off due to a number of factors. Table 2.6 shows the priority factors that have been responsible for moving people out of poverty across the sampled districts.

Table 2.6: Priority factors for moving out of poverty in 19 communities

<i>Factor</i>	<i>Proportion of communities reporting (%)</i>
Working hard	53%
Gainful employment/multiple income sources	47%
Access to land, property	47%
Education/literacy	37%
Having start-up capital	21%
Petty trade (especially women)	21%
Surplus production and good prices	21%
Corruption/theft/robbery	16%
Having savings	16%
Access to affordable loans	16%
Rearing small animals for sale	11%
Dowry	11%

Working hard, access to gainful employment or multiple income sources, and access to land and property such as through purchase or inheritance, stood out as the major factors explaining upward mobility in close to half of the sampled communities. Working hard is largely associated with being healthy and able to engage in any work that may be available to earn an income. Multiple income sources were said to be important in enabling risk management.

Land and livestock were viewed by some communities as the main engine for moving out of poverty through increased household income. Other priority factors included having a small family, group formation, living for a longer period, which allows one to accumulate wealth, and acquiring skills and accessing education, particularly higher-level education. Access to start-up capital is key to upward mobility as is petty trade, which was mentioned as particularly important in moving women out of poverty. In the Northern districts, movement out of poverty depends largely on the prevailing security situation. Upward mobility is experienced in periods of peace when people can access raw materials and petty traders are able to sell at a profit. Bad practices like corruption, theft, robbery and gun trafficking (especially by youth in the North) were also viewed by some communities as means of moving out of poverty in cases where opportunities for improving livelihoods are minimal. This possibly sheds light on why these practices are increasingly common in the country.

The case study below is an example of how hard work and individual acumen can enable movement out of poverty. There are a number of case studies with similar features in the PPA2 site reports.

Joseph Okori of Nakapelimen, Moroto, moving out of poverty

Joseph Okori, 42, was born in Lokopo sub-county in Bokoro county. He is husband to three women and father to 20 children. He is a Primary 3 drop-out who had to leave school in 1969 because his father wanted him to help in herding. He fled his village during the 1980 famine and he went to Tororo where he worked as a domestic servant for a couple of years. By 1982, he had accumulated savings that he turned into capital. Since there was food shortage again, he bought some maize from Tororo that he sold in Moroto. From then, he established a stall at the main market in Moroto – just next to Nakapelimen.

About 1994 he started buying some livestock for himself. He acknowledges the fact that investing in livestock in Karamoja is a risk since the likelihood that they will be raided is high. However, he argued that society would not respect him as a man if he did not own livestock – even if he has profitable business in town. He also argued that livestock is like his bank. When the business is slow he sells some of the livestock not only to meet expenses like paying school fees, but also to boost the business. His business is often at its peak when there is general food shortage in the district, and at such times he switches from trade in general household essential to produce. By the time of this interview, he was boasting of a herd of 33 head of cattle and 90 goats.

He attributes his success to the opportunity he got to see what life is like outside Karamoja, and to his being hardworking and outward-looking, which enabled him to make the best of the new situation he found himself in. He appreciates the spirit of saving that he developed that enabled him to get start-up capital. He believes that he would do better than this if he was well educated. This is what motivates him to educate his children, in his words, ‘...up to as far as they can go’. None of his 20 children have been able to go beyond primary level education but he says this has not discouraged him. He says he has been advising all who associate with him to educate their children.

He has currently applied for credit from the Karamoja Projects Implementation Unit (KPU), which he hopes will help him expand his business.

Source: Nakapelimen Site Report

2.8 POVERTY TRENDS

In this PPA, there was no clear pattern to people’s perceptions of poverty trends, as most communities identified both improving and worsening dimensions of their livelihoods. Even in those districts where communities said that, overall, poverty had reduced, communities still identified dimensions of their livelihoods that had worsened. Some communities reported declining poverty, others painted a mixed picture, while some reported increasing poverty. The trend analysis focused mainly on the 1990 to 2002 period and to a lesser extent on the 1980s. Most communities focused on social service delivery, the productive sector and purchasing power to give indications of poverty trends.

In communities where people’s welfare was said to be improving overall, this was linked to improvements in social service delivery, housing, land access, roads, security, lifting of the fish export ban, access to improved seeds and technologies, and income-generating activities, particularly petty trade. In a few communities, improved access to micro-credit had played a crucial role in ensuring positive trends. Clearly, many or all of these factors that have led to improvements in people’s welfare over the past decade are the same factors that were identified by communities as key in moving people out of poverty (refer to section 2.6 above).

A typical example of communities that reported an overall improvement in well-being is given in the box below.

Poverty Trends in Rwamutunga Village, Ntungamo

The Rwamutunga rural community made an evaluation of trends in poverty in their area between 1992 and 2001. Overall the community members feel that they are better off now than 10 years back. The trends were based on assets owned by the household as compared to 1992. This was done at two levels: community and household. At community level, improvements were noted in the area of health, education and access to safe water. These services have been brought nearer to the people. *'Now we have piped water, which was not the case 10 years ago when we used to access water from Kibishi stream,'* said one woman in a focus group discussion. However, a decline in well-being at community level was noted in the area of marketing of agricultural produce, especially coffee, which has become more difficult.

At the household level, two categories of households were noted, those who had prospered and those who had registered a decline in their well-being. The households that had registered improvements were able to feed their members better and could cater for the educational needs of the schooling children. Households in this category were noted to have members that are hardworking and educated and have access to productive resources acquired through either purchase or inheritance. On the other hand, households that had registered a decline in their well-being in the last 10 years had experienced a reduction in household assets and were facing difficulty in providing for the school needs of their children. These households had faced drought problems and had sold off their assets, especially land, to pay tax, hospital bills and school fees, particularly for secondary school children. One young woman commented: *'One time I was sick and was admitted to Kisiizi Hospital, my husband sold part of the land to pay my medical bills. After getting well I was discharged from the hospital, and my husband asked me to pay back his money. I did not have it and I was beaten as a compensation for his money that he had paid.'* Other household heads had sold off part of their property and spent the earnings on alcohol.

Negative poverty trends were largely associated with poor market access and low prices, persistence of insecurity, increase in taxation, prevalence of HIV/AIDS and the burden of orphans, low yields, crop and animal pests, limited agro-processing and poor access and quality of social services.

Five key messages seem to emerge from the trend analysis:

- i) **Access to social services**, particularly education, water and health have dramatically improved during the past decade but the *quality* of service delivery has deteriorated and hence requires urgent attention. This was reported in districts of Soroti, Ntungamo, Jinja, Mubende, Rakai and Wakiso.
- ii) The **productive sectors** (crops, livestock and fish farming), are faring badly, particularly crop farming, and this has negatively affected households' levels of income. This trend was reported in nine districts: Bugiri, Rakai, Wakiso, Soroti, Ntungamo, Moroto, Kitgum, Arua and Masindi. The following case study gives a typical example of the kind of comments that farmers made regarding the productive sectors.

Trend analysis of the changing fortunes of farmers in Bugiri

..... However from the 1990s onwards, things changed. Today we are told that prices have been liberalized..... and government's role is only to inform farmers about what they should grow. This is not how to improve poverty in Uganda because farming is the backbone of this economy and we are the majority. As of now traders come and dictate what to pay for our produce. We are the losers, not them. Our land is depreciating in quality but we cannot afford the hybrid seeds and expect to afford to fertilise the land..... Produce trade has become restricted to a few who can afford the exorbitant costs of a licence. Local traders are only offered permits to sell produce within Uganda under Local Government, which is very limiting. Worse still, every market you pass by with produce has to tax it. Districts have this thing called District Development Fund (DDF) that fleeces traders entering a different district. In combination with Uganda Revenue Authority and Graduated Tax, tax has become the single most impoverishing factor under the present regime. With taxes limiting trade in produce, poor yields, low prices for maize and limited markets, poverty of farmers' households is increasing. We recommend the following:

- Revival of capitalized produce co-operatives.
- Aggressive export marketing of local produce by the Government of Uganda.
- Re-instatement of subsidized farm inputs.
- Revive produce processing industries especially ginneries.
- Government to ensure that prices remain profitable to farmers.

Community members, Busanzi 'B' Bugiri, Town Council

- iii) **Insecure areas:** Unsurprisingly, people who have been subject to shocks such as displacement and insurgency, and who continue to live in unstable conditions generally feel that they have become poorer, as they have lost household members, property and social support. Communities that have been severely affected by insecurity among the sampled districts included Kitgum, Moroto, Soroti and some parts of Bundibugyo.

Though there was poverty in the past, it was not as painful as it is today. At least we used to own enough fertile land on which we produced enough for consumption, with the surplus sold to earn income. But now that we are in the camp, we have no land for cultivation and we are just idle and unproductive and have to depend on relief food.

Male IDP, Kamama Central, Kitgum

Insecurity is not just reducing the quality of life in these communities. Repeated child abuse and traumatization is sowing seeds of hatred and revenge. The potential for further conflict is considerable. Some of those who have been relocated to more stable areas, as in Bundibugyo, have been able to adapt and even improve their welfare but many still face the threat of eviction. Access to land is insecure, and the host community sometimes isolates them.

- iv) **Pastoral communities:** In the sampled districts, other than Moroto, some people have experienced improved well-being, which is attributed to the increased availability of cattle markets and access to land for grazing. But this seems to be true for the medium and well-off categories and not the poorest or destitute. They are losing land to the richer categories, as discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.3.3 on livelihoods in pastoralist communities. The major concern is about low prices for cattle products and increased access to water and grazing land.

Pastoralists in Moroto, on the other hand, seem to be experiencing worsening living conditions associated with cattle raids, drought and low yields and animal diseases that are on the increase. The cattle raids have been particularly potent in impoverishing the communities over the past decade given that harvests are also on the decline. *'There was*

no government here, but we had what to eat, but today, even what to eat is lacking. For four years now we have not harvested,' one poor old man in Lokileth, Moroto, commented.

- v) **Fishing communities** universally reported a declining fish catch, a key factor behind the increasing poverty for some at the sites. The dwindling fish catch was largely attributed to the rampant illegal fishing methods and over-fishing due to opportunities to sell fish to processing factories and, in some sites, to the problem of the water hyacinth. But people in fishing communities were also quick to acknowledge that the lifting of the fish export ban has been a positive factor that has led to improved facilities and hygiene to meet international standards, and in some places to rising prices. Much of the fish is purchased immediately by fish processors. The major challenge is that social services and facilities – schools, water, roads and health facilities – have not improved in the majority of fishing landing sites.

Analysis: The trend analysis by communities indicates that major investments by government in social service delivery in recent years are paying off, as evidenced by the increased access in the majority of districts. But improving the quality of services remains a key challenge that must be addressed urgently.

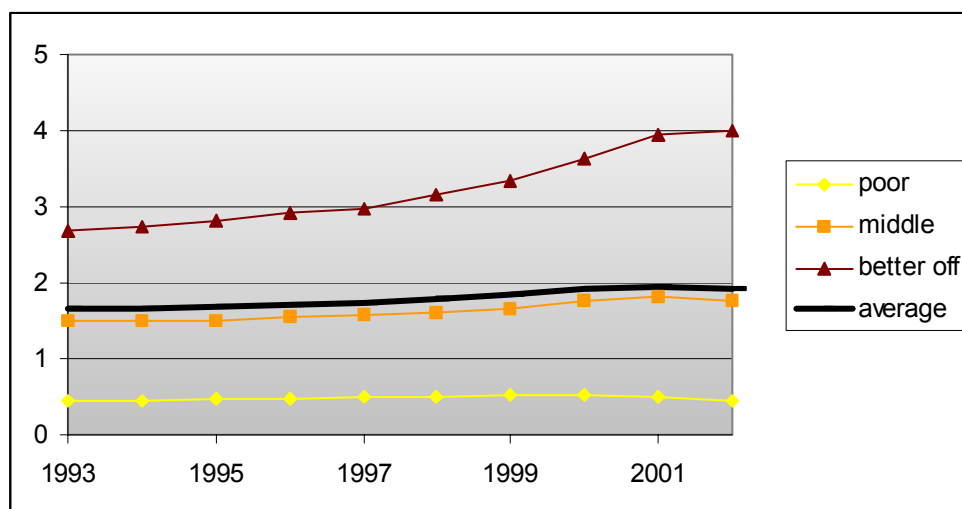
If household incomes are to rise substantially, Government and its partners need to move faster in implementing the PMA nationwide so as to deal with the economic and social problems in the productive sectors.

It is also evident from PPA2 that while there are some universally reported factors, poverty trends are largely context-specific and require targeted interventions. Districts need to identify and address the context-specific constraints and challenges.

Findings on trends in the Village Census

In the Village Census, people were asked about their asset ownership over the last decade. The report notes that an upward trend in asset ownership is to be expected, as households are anticipated to accumulate possessions over the years. However, the Village Census found that only the wealthiest houses in the sample increased their asset holdings between 1993 and 2001. Ownership of assets by the poorest category is stagnant, as shown in the graph below.

Figure 2. 7 : Evolution of asset ownership by households (not including land) ¹⁴



Source: Village census

2.9 COMMUNITY PRIORITY POLICY ACTIONS FOR POVERTY REDUCTION

This section presents the priorities of communities and different social groups on what needs to be done to reduce poverty in their respective localities. Shared needs were predominant in some groups but in others priorities differed significantly and hence recommendations were made for specific social groups. The disaggregated data provides useful information that could be used in policy targeting.

2.9.1 Overall community priorities

The following were the priority needs identified by specific categories of communities in order of importance based on the number of communities reporting:

Rural communities

1. Increased market availability
2. Access to micro-credit
3. Increased access to, and affordability of, farm inputs and implements
4. Fair tax assessment
5. Health care
6. Extension and skills training
7. Improved access roads.

Other priorities mentioned include empowerment of farmers to resist exploitation (such as by forming cooperatives), introduction of alternative crops that fetch high prices, and dealing with the problem of land shortage and access.

¹⁴ An asset index was calculated and it is the evolution of this asset index that is shown here. The asset index was calculated as the weighted sum of different assets as follows: $\text{index} = 2 \times \text{cattle} + \text{goats and pigs} + 0.01 \times \text{chickens} + 0.5 \times \text{plough} + \text{enterprise equipment (value Shs. 50,000)} + \text{enterprise equipment (value over Shs. 100,000)} + 2 \times \text{enterprise equipment (value over Shs. 250,000)} + \text{buildings for agricultural purposes} + \text{buildings for business purposes} + \text{boat} + \text{motorbike} + \text{bicycle} + 0.5 \times \text{sofa} + 0.1 \times \text{radio} + \text{corrugated iron roof}$.

Pastoral communities

1. Health care
2. Water for production and home use
3. Veterinary services
4. Increasing access to agricultural inputs such as hoes, high yielding and fast-maturing seeds, ox-ploughs and oxen
5. Increased access to education
6. Improved roads

Other priorities included security in Karamoja, increasing land access and markets.

IDPs

The priorities of the internally displaced were context-specific, with access to micro-credit being a common need. Other priorities in specific camps included the need to access cash crops such as palm oil, clonal coffee and cocoa (in Bundibugyo) and small animals.

Fishing communities

Each fishing community had its own priorities. but some common needs were water transport, sanitary fish-handling facilities, improved social services particularly safe water, health care and functional adult literacy, and improving road access.

Urban/peri-urban

A case study is given here to illustrate the needs of urban communities as most were found to be context-specific.

Case study of suggested priority policy actions for the poor in Masese III, Jinja

Social group	Needed priority policy actions
Men	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Power2. Market3. Clinics4. Water5. Public toilet6. Garbage skip
Women	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Capital2. School fees3. Inclusion4. Health services5. Water6. Sanitation
Youth	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Employment2. Health services3. Accommodation4. Education5. Road improvement
Elderly	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Welfare2. Health services3. Tax exemption4. Security5. Accommodation6. Employment
Orphans	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Education

Social group	Needed priority policy actions
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Food 3. Medical services 4. Clothes 5. Accommodation 6. Employment
People with disabilities (PWDs)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Entandikwa 2. Markets 3. Support equipment 4. Health 5. Education 6. Welfare

As shown in the table from the Masese III report, a number of priority actions were widely shared by the different groups. They included provision of health services, education and water. However, another key message of the Masese III study is that there are marked differences in the priority needs of different groups. Notably, employment is a priority need for the youth while men emphasized the need for power and markets as means to income generation and improving the working conditions of women. Power was also needed to decrease insecurity, which escalates during darkness. Women ranked capital as the number one priority need, as did the PWDs. Interestingly, women also feel strongly that they need policy action around the area of inclusion in the development process. The elderly ranked welfare as the number one required action, but they are also interested in tax exemption and security.

2.9.2 Priorities for Specific Categories of the Poor

Beyond the community priorities, specific social groups made particular recommendations.

Priorities of People with Disabilities (PWDs)

The communities in Mubende and Jinja indicated the need for increased access to **health services and facilities, education and adult literacy support** and **entandikwa or start-up capital and loans** as the priority needs for people with disabilities (PWDs). Regarding health facilities and services, PWDs in Jinja Municipality in particular indicated the need for free or subsidized orthopedic devices and sign language interpreters in hospitals (these, they said, are also required in other public places like police, prison, schools, etc). In the case of education, they proposed that they should be provided with bursaries for secondary and tertiary learning and in particular they felt that the 1.5 extra points accorded to girls in Makerere University should be extended to include 1.5 points for disabled girls.

PWDs in difficult conditions, particularly in IDP camps, had slightly different needs and below a case study is presented that is disaggregated by needs of different gender and age-groups within the PWDs. Overall, PWDs (men and women) in Kitemba Mubende, an IDP community-ranked their priority needs requiring policy action as: adult literacy support, unity as PWDs to acquire vocational skills (those who have hands) and spectacles for those with visual impairment, food, shelter, bedding and health facilities, in that order. Further disaggregation is shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.7: Priorities identified by male persons with disabilities in IDP Camp (Kitemba, Mubende)

Priority	Rank
Food	1
Housing	2
Blanket	3
Entandikwa	4
Tax Exemption	5
Saucepans	6
Walking stick	7

These needs of the male PWDs are compared to those of the other groups of PWDs and are graphically represented below.

Graphic presentation of Case study of priorities identified by PWDs in Kitemba Mubende District

Priority Needs	Men	Elderly	Women	Youth
Food	*****	*****	-	*****
Housing	*****	*****	-	*****
Blanket	*****	*****	-	-
Entandikwa	*****	-	*****	-
Tax exemption	****	-	-	-
Saucepans	***	-	-	-
Walking stick	**	-	-	-
Medical care	-	*****	-	*****
Adult Literacy	-	-	*****	-

Analysis: The problems and priorities generated in the focus group discussions with Persons With Disabilities varied according to differences in age, sex and type of disability. Overall, food and housing stood out as cross-cutting priority concerns. However, while the physically disabled emphasized economic power and literacy, the blind focused on a guiding walking stick, shelter, bedding and food. The blind seem to be the most disadvantaged as they need support to get around. The younger PWDs emphasized Entandikwa and literacy compared to the elderly who were worried about shelter, food and medical care. The younger PWDs have access to youths who could more readily support them than their elderly counterparts.

Government should develop appropriate strategies that can address the different needs of different types of PWDs, by age, sex and type of disability.

Women's priority policy recommendations

Nine¹⁵ of the 14 site reports where information was disaggregated reported on women's priority policy recommendations.

- Of the nine communities, located in Soroti, Bundibugyo, Ntungamo, Mubende, Moroto and Jinja, seven identified access to credit/loans as a priority need and relatively better-off women in Soroti and Mubende particularly indicated this as priority number one. The better-off women in the 2 sites had similarities in their recommendations. In addition to increased access to loans and start-up capital, they identified a need to make available to them improved crop varieties and livestock breeds, adult literacy and sensitization on better farming methods especially in high-value crops like mushroom, flowers, and coffee.
- Increased market access for agricultural produce and market information and group formation were generally agreed upon among women in the above districts as priority needs. Group formation was noted to be key to poverty reduction – groups may be formed for income generation, pooling labour to increase acreages and enhancing bargaining power in the market.

Youths' priority policy recommendations

The following were the key priorities identified for action:

1. Vocational training
2. Access to micro-credit
3. Employment opportunities
4. Health services
5. Secondary education
6. Fair tax assessment
7. Sensitization/bylaws to improve discipline, morals and attitude for work. The church should play a role in this.

Other priorities included extension services to youth in agriculture and increasing gender sensitivity in schools such as having separate toilets for girls and boys.

¹⁵ Kabola, Soroti; Kyamukube, Bundibugyo; Rwamutunga, Ntungamo; Awoja, Soroti; Kitemba, Mubende; Lorukumo, Moroto; Bubanda, Mubende; Masese III, Jinja; Nakapelimen, Moroto.

CHAPTER THREE

LIVELIHOODS AND THE PLAN FOR MODERNISATION OF AGRICULTURE

Key Findings and Policy Messages

Cross-cutting problems in improving livelihoods and modernising agriculture

PPA2 has important findings about the livelihoods of different groups among the poor in Uganda today. These have significant implications for policy, especially the implementation of the PMA. Some of the strongest findings are cross-cutting:

- Confirming the findings of other research, PPA2 suggests that local taxes, levies and bureaucratic controls – legal and illegal – are a serious constraint on the expansion of economic activities that are necessary to reduce poverty. This, and the whole system of tendering revenue collection, needs to be looked at urgently by both the PMA Secretariat and MoLG.
- NAADS must make special efforts to make clear that it covers marketing and market information, because poor people will not expect that from an extension service.
- NAADS performance targets need to be clear that getting support to poor farmers, including women, is the key ‘result’ expected from extension agents, so that they do not target model farmers in order to ‘get results’.
- PPA2 suggests that the Non-Sectoral Conditional Grants are not yet benefiting the poor. Close monitoring and learning from experience is now necessary, and if there are no improvements, different disbursement modalities should be considered.

Fishing communities

In all the fishing sites, the findings suggest there is a serious deficit of organisation. There is a need for legally-empowered community organisations that would be capable of bargaining with the more powerful actors in the sector, disseminating information, and playing a part in designing and enforcing regulations.

Across the landing sites, social infrastructure has been left behind by the rapid expansion of the fishing economy. Social provision needs to catch up if severe welfare problems are to be brought under control. AIDS awareness, in particular, should be targeted strongly at the landing sites.

Estate workers

PPA2 highlights the need for regulation and enforcement of regulations in the estate sector. It should not be assumed that big investments in estate agriculture are automatically good for the development of Uganda and benefit poor people. The balance of costs and benefits needs to be assessed in each case, including the scale and quality of the employment generated, the tax regime being applied and the environmental costs. The PPA evidence suggests that negative aspects of estate farming, including illegal employment conditions and environmentally damaging practices, are significant in some cases.

Pastoralists

According to the PPA evidence, disarmament has not worked to solve the acute livelihood problems of the pastoralists of the north-east. Government measures were insufficient to protect the resources of those who disarmed, partly because they did not encompass what happened on the Kenyan side of the border. Insecurity remains an outstanding cause of poverty among pastoralists in the north-east. Animal diseases are prevalent while veterinary services are non-existent– the private sector and the market are not working to solve this problem, so it calls for attention from Government.

In the south and west of the country, access by poorer pastoralists to communal grazing land is diminishing as richer pastoralists lease land and ownership becomes concentrated in their hands. Ways need to be found to protect the access of the poor to common property resources.

More generally, the PPA found that pastoralists’ livelihoods continue to be threatened by the prejudices in society about the flexible, migratory lifestyle by which they manage their relationship to the environment.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents information gathered in PPA2 that may be useful in guiding some areas of implementation of the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA). The PMA, developed as a key pillar of the PEAP, aims to ‘eradicate poverty by improving the natural resource based livelihoods of the rural poor in a sustainable manner’ (MFPED, 2001: 120). Its multi-sectoral focus and priority areas for action were influenced by the findings on rural poverty of the first PPA, and particularly by the perspectives of poor crop farmers. Box 3.1 outlines the principles of the PMA and its major implementation areas.

This chapter first presents information collected in PPA2 relevant to two of the PMA’s seven priority areas for action: *marketing* and *agricultural advisory services*. Information relevant to two other priority implementation areas, *natural resource utilisation and management* and *agricultural education*, is given in Chapters 4 and 6 respectively.

This chapter then discusses livelihoods in fishing and pastoral communities and of casual workers on large-scale agricultural estates, drawing attention to particular problems and policy issues for these groups. The rationale for this is two-fold. First, although the PMA is commonly perceived to be relevant only to crop farmers, it in fact seeks to address poverty amongst all those gaining a livelihood through the utilisation of natural resources, and there are particular issues in fishing and pastoral communities and for estate workers that need to be addressed by Government. Second, as noted in the Introduction to this report, PPA2 sought to identify the specific conditions and needs of fishing and pastoralist communities.

Finally, the chapter presents the findings of PPA2 on the Non-Sectoral Conditional Grant (NSCG) of the PMA (see Box 3.1. for an explanation of the NSCG).

Box 3.1 The Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture

The PMA’s vision is ‘*poverty eradication through a profitable, competitive, sustainable and dynamic agricultural and agro-industrial sector*’ (MAAIF/MFPED, 2000: vi). It recognises that to realize this vision, multi-sectoral interventions that address the different and various constraints that stop poor people improving their livelihoods are needed. For example, efforts to improve agricultural output or fish catches will not bear fruit if there are no markets for produce and no roads to take produce to market. Alternatively, reducing poverty is likely to entail people diversifying income sources, but this is difficult if they have no access to capital. The PMA therefore aims to ensure that sectoral policies and the efforts of both central ministries and local governments complement each other to provide an enabling environment and the means for people to improve their livelihoods - whether this is primarily through crop farming, fishing, utilising forest resources, or off-farm activities. For example. In relation to farmers, the PMA specifically envisages that poverty eradication will entail poor subsistence farmers producing and selling more to the market, so that they earn higher incomes.

The PMA was officially launched in December 2000. An implementation Steering Committee and a Secretariat were established in 2001 to be responsible for coordinating the efforts of key stakeholders. There are currently seven priority implementation areas, in which major reforms are underway. These are:

1. Research and Technology Development
2. National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS)
3. Agricultural Education
4. Improving Access to Rural Finance
5. Agro-processing and Marketing
6. Sustainable Natural Resource Utilisation and Management
7. Physical infrastructure.

Under NAADS, natural resource users such as crop farmers, fisherfolk and forest dwellers, are to be assisted to form groups that will identify what types of advisory services they need. These groups will then use government funds (plus a small contribution of their own – currently 2% of total costs) to contract-in services

from private sector providers. NAADS only came into existence in 2001 and is just starting to operate in 16 districts where it is replacing the current extension system and staff. It was not operating in any of the PPA2 sites when the PPA2 research took place.

In implementing reforms in the areas above, the PMA is stressing the importance of empowering the poor to give them greater say in and control over government service delivery, how natural resources are managed, and ultimately over what options they have to improve their livelihoods.

The PMA also seeks to reduce poverty through the Non-Sectoral Conditional Grant (NSCG). This is money that Government is giving to Local Governments (LGs) to assist rural communities to carry out community projects. The projects should enable the communities to solve common problems that keep their incomes low. As many of the constraints that rural communities face in agriculture lie outside the agricultural sector, the use of the NSCG is not restricted only to agricultural production projects. The grant should be used for the benefit of the whole community, including specifically small, poor producers. The first NSCG, totaling Shs. 2.0 billion was disbursed in April 2001, for the 2000/01 financial year, to 17 districts but minimal guidance was given at this time on how to use the grant. However, comprehensive guidelines have now been issued and the value of the grant has also increased significantly, to Shs. 4.9 billion for 2002/03.

3.2 PMA PRIORITY IMPLEMENTATION AREAS

3.2.1 Marketing

Marketing problems are a cause of poverty

Across the PPA2 districts, people drew attention to the problems they face in marketing their agricultural produce, in many instances identifying lack of markets and the associated problems of low prices and exploitation as key causes of poverty.¹⁶ As in the first PPA, lack of markets was one of the most frequently cited causes of poverty, and was mentioned more frequently than problems of low productivity or agricultural pests and diseases (see section 2.3, Chapter 2). Problems with marketing were reported by farmers in places with good infrastructure as well as in remoter sites. They were mentioned in most urban areas as well as in rural sites, as many urban dwellers still depend on agriculture for part of their income.

Marketing problems lead to low prices and reduce incentives to invest in agriculture

In half the PPA2 districts, farmers noted that marketing difficulties act as a disincentive to production and to investment in agriculture.

Most visitors I have seen including our own politicians come to our village tell us to have bigger gardens and produce more but thereafter, they all don't help us to get market and we end up losing all the produce. Now government is talking of modernising agriculture but where will all this produce go? I feel we should wait to produce until markets are got. Then we can produce.

Respondent in livelihoods analysis exercise, Kisarabwire, Masindi

In many districts, people saw marketing problems in terms of *low prices*. This was the case especially for coffee, maize, beans and cassava. It seems to many people growing these crops that the more they produce, the further prices fall.

¹⁶ People drew attention to problems with agricultural marketing in 33 sites.

The harder we work and the more we produce, the more we are impoverished.

Women discussing marketing problems and low prices in Kifamba, Rakai

Production has increased but prices have continued to fall. We therefore stay poor even though we produce a lot of maize. This has increased the extent of poverty in our village.

Man in discussion of causes of poverty, Rwakayata, Masindi

Marketing difficulties and low prices were also associated with *exploitative traders and middlemen* in half the PPA2 districts. In some sites, this led people to look back with nostalgia to the days when government set prices and cooperatives purchased produce. However, in others, while liberalisation was noted to have led to exploitation, it was praised for enabling farmers to get cash payments on the spot when they sell their produce. In some districts, officials recommended group marketing as a way of increasing farmers' bargaining power.

Lack of market information was also noted to cause marketing problems in four districts. For instance, in Kyamukube in Bundibugyo, farmers explained how lack of information on prices coupled with lack of access to alternative markets due to poor roads undermines their ability to negotiate prices with traders.

Analysis: The new National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) that is part of PMA needs to prioritise offering advice to farmers on marketing, as unless farmers have markets they have no incentive to invest. It will need to be made clear to farmers that advice, and access to information, on marketing is available through NAADS – they may not perceive and therefore request this, as extension services have traditionally focussed on production issues, not on marketing.

Causes of marketing problems

Poor roads were reported to lead to marketing difficulties in eight of the 12 PPA2 districts.¹⁷ However, good roads are not necessarily sufficient to solve marketing problems – farmers in Katogo in Mubende explained that although the Kampala-Fort Portal highway has been improved, they still face problems marketing their produce.

¹⁷ In PPA2, poor roads were also said to raise the price of consumer goods and agricultural inputs, stop children going to school, lead to health problems due to women struggling to market with heavy loads on their backs, make access to health services difficult, resulting in maternal deaths, and to lead to high transport costs. Roads were seen to have improved in recent years in some parts of 8 districts. However, people in many sites complained about poor workmanship in road construction.

People do not come to buy our maize because of the road, and we cannot transport it to better markets. The roads in this village are like footpaths, they are all covered by sugar cane on all sides. That is why there are no taxis here. We only depend on bicycles to go to the main road.

Women, Lwitamakooli, Jinja

If roads are improved we can come together as a group of farmers and hire a lorry and take our produce to Kasese.

Man, Kyamukube, Bundibugyo

As discussed more fully in Chapter 8, the *tax regime* also hampers people's efforts to market their produce. Heavy and multiple market dues eat into profits and are leading people to abandon selling in formal markets. In Busanzi 'B', in Bugiri, farmers also explained that their efforts to sell their maize are hampered by the costs of licences and by inter-district taxes on trade (see also time-trend analysis with farmers in Chapter 2, section 2.8).

Analysis: Other recent research also suggests local taxes and licensing arrangements are an important constraint on local trade and other off-farm income generation by poor people (Ellis and Bahigwa, 2001). Given the PMA's objective of ensuring a policy environment that does enable poor people to improve their livelihoods, the PMA Secretariat needs to investigate to what extent bureaucratic controls over trade, such as licence requirements, and taxes and dues levied by districts are hindering agricultural marketing. Also, it needs to be noted that there will be no point investing public money in physical market infrastructure if district tax regimes act as a disincentive for farmers and traders to use markets.

Ready markets do not necessarily reduce poverty

In PPA2, research took place in Godia in Arua where small farmers sell a much higher proportion of their output than most in Uganda and have a guaranteed market for their main cash crop. However, due to social/cultural factors – in particular unequal gender relations and lack of effective farmer organisation – market orientation is doing little to reduce poverty, as discussed in Box 3.2.

Box 3.2: Tobacco Farming in Godia

In Godia in Arua, farmers have a ready market for their main cash crop, tobacco. However, the PPA2 research found that few farmers are using the opportunity this presents to reduce their poverty. Due to unequal gender relations, men squander income from tobacco on drinking. As the farmers are not well organised, they are open to exploitation in how their tobacco is graded and priced. The study therefore shows that gender relations will need to change and farmers will need to be well organized if increased market orientation is to benefit the whole family and farmers are to improve their returns. It also points to the need for Government to oversee and regulate the activities of large companies in a monopoly position, in order to ensure that farmers are not exploited.

In Godia in Arua, as in the many of the PPPA2 sites, most families depend on a mixture of food and cash crop production for their livelihoods, producing on small plots of land using traditional methods. However, the site is unique in the PPA2 sample in that the majority of residents are involved in out-grower production for a large company. About 80% of the local residents grow tobacco for British American Tobacco (BAT), the only

company allowed to deal in tobacco in the area. BAT provides inputs and wood fuel for curing the tobacco on credit to farmers and technical advisory services on tobacco production.

Due to population increase, pressure on land in the area is intense. Most households own about one acre and hiring land on which to grow tobacco is common. Tobacco production is labour-intensive and men, women and children are involved. Although women's labour is critical in tobacco production, no women are registered with BAT as tobacco growers and, in general, men decide how to use the income from production. Men concentrate on tobacco production while women also grow small quantities of food crops for home consumption. Women are responsible for feeding their families. Other common livelihood strategies are animal rearing and, by women, brewing. Drinking was said to be a hobby of many community members, particularly men, and a priority area of expenditure for men.

During the PPA2 research in Godia, residents identified both positive and negative aspects of tobacco growing. These are summarized in the flow diagram in Figure 3.1. As shown on the diagram, on the negative side, people pointed to:

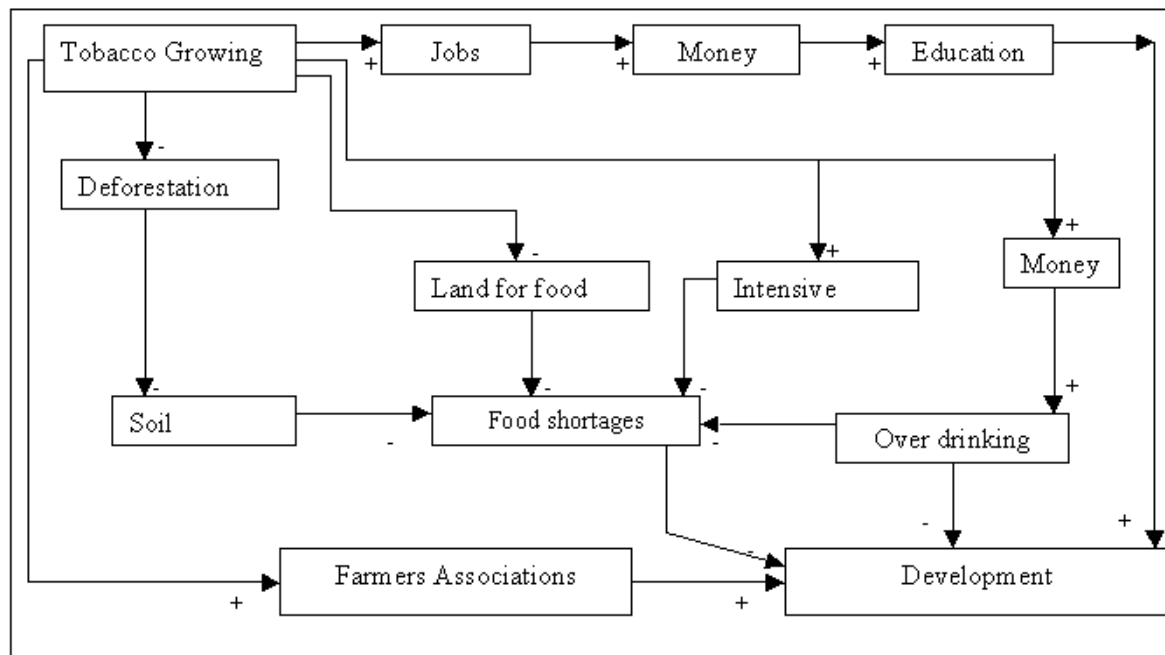
- **Environmental problems:** tobacco curing requires a lot of fuel wood. Together with demand for wood for domestic fuel and for building, this has led to severe deforestation in the area. In turn, deforestation has led to drought and there are severe water shortages for about 5 months of the year.
- **Low returns:** farmers alleged that returns on tobacco are poor. Even if yields are low, farmers still have to pay BAT for the inputs they receive, so that some end up in debt to the company. However, some farmers make a profit and have managed to cut their costs of production. As one farmer explained: *'I have learnt to raise my own nursery beds for tobacco and eucalyptus seedlings. This cuts down the amount of loan from the BAT company.'* According to BAT extension staff, most farmers do not keep records of their income or expenditure or treat tobacco growing as a business. Farmers also complained that they do not understand the grading system BAT uses to decide on the quality and therefore the price of their tobacco, and that their tobacco is always graded as low quality, therefore receiving a low price. According to one tobacco farmer, *'The Assistant Leaf Technicians [of BAT] cheat us in grading tobacco. I alone cannot raise the complaint unless we farmers cooperate and I can name all these grades. There are about 16 of them.'* Although the tobacco farmers have an association, it is not assisting them to find ways to increase their profits through, for example, providing training on methods to improve the quality of tobacco produced, in record keeping or understanding the grading system. Farmers alleged that the association leaders are corrupt.

On the positive side, people acknowledged that tobacco income, paid out as a lumpsum when the farmer sells his crop, can be invested in livestock, buildings and trade. Community members identified that, with good planning skills, income from tobacco could be used to help a poor person become better off.

However, women complained that men do not use their income from tobacco wisely. Instead, income is squandered on drinking. According to district technical staff, poor planning is due to the low levels of education among tobacco farmers, most of whom are illiterate. They recommended functional adult literacy training as a way of creating awareness among farmers of their situation and to enable them to keep good records.

Source: Godia Site Report

Figure 3. 1: Flow diagram of effects of tobacco growing



Analysis: To realise the PMA vision, comprehensive action must be taken to assist poor farmers with marketing. Two recent studies on marketing in Uganda have advocated that GoU support to collective farmer marketing should be an absolute top priority (NRI/Foodnet, 2002; Bibangambah, 2002). Experience elsewhere in Africa shows that small poor farmers can overcome marketing constraints, get better prices for their traditional cash crops and move into production of higher-value cash crops with input credit provided by companies if they are effectively organised in collective farmer marketing groups (CFMGs).

This experience also shows that building effective CFMGs is not easy. Small-poor farmers need viable, sustainable and democratically operated CFMGs **that empower rather than exclude women**, because without this they will not be effective for either marketing or poverty reduction. In building these, small-poor farmers need help with institutional development and management, establishing links with traders, using and understanding market information, enterprise planning and management, and functional literacy and numeracy training.

It is therefore urgent for NAADS to learn about these issues and define how it will support farmers to form CFMGs and how it will ensure service providers in Uganda have the capacity to deliver this support effectively. Otherwise it can be anticipated that in the next PPA, people will again identify agricultural marketing problems as a key cause of poverty, just as they have in PPA1 and in PPA2.

3.2.2 Agricultural Advisory Services

In many sites in all the PPA2 districts, community members reported that they receive no assistance from extension workers (employed under the old, pre-NAADS, extension system). Most of these said that they have never received any assistance. As a result, people reported that they do not know how to improve yields, control crop pests, or crop and livestock diseases, and avoid soil exhaustion.

In sites in four districts, people reported that extension agents are active in their areas, but that they only deal with better-off farmers. In Kisarabwire in Masindi, subsistence farmers were therefore suspicious that well-off farmers will hijack the NAADS programme when it starts operating in their area. In Godia in Arua, women complained that extension agents are biased against them. However, extension agents themselves noted that they are forced to select above-average farmers to work with, because ‘government emphasises results’.

We never received and never benefited from improved seeds from agricultural workers. We are told we have no knowledge in agriculture and women do not own land.

Woman in community meeting, Godia, Arua

(In the sub-county covering Godia, improved seeds were bought with the NSCG)

Analysis: the PMA and NAADS secretariats need to ensure that small poor men **and women** farmers do benefit from the advisory services provided by private sector service providers under NAADS. Many of the private sector service providers will be retrenched Government extension agents. Given current biases, it will need to be clear to them that through NAADS, Government is aiming to assist small poor farmers. Performance targets need to be set which emphasise this ‘result’.

Across the fishing communities where research took place in PPA2, there was criticism of the work of the fisheries officers. They were viewed as corrupt and as people who just serve to make the lives of fishermen difficult, rather than assisting them with technical advice. This is discussed more fully in section 3.3.1 below.

In the pastoral sites where PPA2 research took place in Moroto, livestock diseases are rampant and are causing cattle deaths, while pastoralists are not accessing veterinary services. Yet the extreme poverty and multiple constraints to sustainable livelihoods in the area, discussed further in section 3.3.3, point to the need for urgent action by the PMA to make veterinary services widely available.

3.3 LIVELIHOODS OF SPECIFIC GROUPS

The first PPA gathered a wealth of information on the livelihoods of small crop farmers, and this was used in the development of the PMA. The first PPA also recognised that more information is needed on the specific conditions and needs of pastoralists and fishing communities. PPA2 therefore focussed on these groups, collecting information in 6 fishing

and 8 pastoralist communities. Research also took place in three sites with casual workers in large-scale estate agriculture. The PMA, as noted above, seeks to help all those dependent on the natural environment for their livelihoods to move out of poverty, not just crop farmers.

This section therefore describes the main livelihood strategies and major assets of people living in the fishing and pastoralist communities where PPA2 research took place and the livelihoods of the estate workers. It aims to identify commonalities and differences in issues of concern within the different groups and to highlight policy issues of specific importance to them, which the PMA may need to address if poverty is to be eradicated.

3.3.1 Livelihoods in Fishing Communities

Research took place in 6 fishing communities in PPA2. Three of the villages are on Lake Victoria:

- Kasensero, in Rakai, is a busy village of around 5,000 inhabitants. The fishing industry has been transformed in recent years due to improvements in infrastructure, which have allowed large companies to buy from the site, using refrigerated trucks.
- Busabala, in Wakiso, is another busy village. Fishermen sell Nile Perch to commercial fish processing plants direct from their boats, although poor road access hinders marketing of other fish, agricultural produce and access to services.
- Gorofa, on Lolwe Island, Bugiri District, is a big landing site comprising 3 LC1s. It has a population of 7,000, rising to 10,000 during the peak fishing season.

Research also took place in two fishing villages on Lake Albert: Ntoroko in Bundibugyo, at the southernmost end of the lake, and Kigungu in Masindi. Both of these sites border wildlife reserves. This limits livelihood opportunities and options, and tensions with the reserve authorities run high. Concerns about a decline in the fish catch were expressed in all sites, but were particularly noted in Ntoroko and Kigungu.

The sixth fishing site in PPA2 was Acomia, in Soroti, a village of 350 households on the edge of Lake Kyoga. District officials regard Acomia and its neighbouring fishing villages as amongst the poorest in the district. Infrastructure is very poor, making fish and agricultural marketing difficult.

All six fishing sites have many similar features and problems, although of course there are important points of distinction. The asset ownership structures and power relations are similar across the sites: the poorest own little or no assets, while the wealthier employers/owners of major assets such as boats tend to live away from the sites. In all cases, poverty/wealth is seasonal, depending on the level of the fish catch. Social problems are similar, with high levels of alcoholism, prostitution and insecurity. Ethnic composition in all sites is diverse, as the fishing industry has attracted many newcomers. There are, for example, landless people hoping to improve their lot by moving to Kigungu, Congolese escaping war and disruption in Ntoroko, and in Kasensero women looking for 'greener pastures', orphans seeking means of survival and criminals fleeing their home communities.

In all the sites, people's livelihoods depend on and revolve around the fishing industry, with few involved in agriculture (except in Acomia), due to an absence of available farmland. As discussed below, different groups engage in different activities.

Boat owners

The boat owners are the wealthiest group in the six different sites, but in Busabala, Acomia, Kasensero and Ntoroko, they tend not to live in the villages themselves. Fishermen hire boats from them and, in Busabala and Acomia, nets as well.

In Kasensero, since the bridge on the main road to the site was repaired in 1999, the fishing industry has expanded rapidly. The numbers of boats fishing from the site has increased and the boats have become more sophisticated and expensive, carrying larger numbers of nets. Poorer boat owners, many of them youths, can no longer afford to operate and they now work for others. The average capital reported to be required now to operate a boat on the water was said to be 7 million shillings. However, both boat owners and fishermen were reported to be earning more money than in the past.

Around 200 motorised and nearly double the number of non-motorised boats operate from Gorofa, and there are two classes of boat owners:

- The richest, owning up to around 20 engine-powered boats, who fish for Nile Perch and sell it to fillet-producing and exporting firms on the mainland or agents of the processors. These wealthy fishermen have invested in shops, video halls, restaurants and lodges at the landing site and are the local leaders and opinion formers.
- The poorer boat owners, who mostly fish for Tilapia.

In Kigungu, the boat owners appear to do their own fishing and to live at the site. They are all Bagungu, one of the 3 main ethnic groups in the village. They invest their profits from fishing in bicycles, shops and particularly cattle, employing Bahima people to look after the cattle. The richest boat owners also own the large and illegal beach nets or seines, known locally as *'kokota,'* that cost around Shs. 400,000. They hire labourers, who have been attracted to the site from Congo, Kenya and other parts of Uganda due to the increasing numbers of these nets and therefore employment opportunities.

Women do not tend to own boats, although a few of the wealthiest boat owners on Gorofa are women.

Fishermen

Men also dominate fishing itself. They are hired by the boat owners and share the fish catch with them. In Acomia and in Kasensero, the owners and fishermen split the catch equally. In Acomia, one fisherman gave an illustration of how much might be earned in a day (of course earnings at this site could be expected to be lower than at others, due to the marketing problems at Acomia).

A good day's catch can total to Shs. 2,000 for a boat with two fishermen using an ordinary net.... But the income goes up to Shs. 5,000 if a seine (kokota) net and boat with three fishermen is used... half of this goes to the boat owner and the other half is divided among the fishermen.

Fisherman in Acomia, Soroti

In Gorofa, terms for fishermen are poorer with fishermen receiving 20% of the catch or the equivalent in cash and kind. A few boat owners cater for their workers when they are sick or during the low-catch season when it is uneconomical to send out boats. However, most do not and the fishermen complained of dismissal without warning, physical abuse and sometimes non-payment. In Ntoroko, women complained that men cause poverty by fishing

only twice per week, while the men explained that they do not fish more often in order to watch over their wives, whom they accuse of having affairs.

In Ntoroko and Kasensero, cultural norms prohibit women from fishing. In Kasensero, both men and women (particular by the older among them) have beliefs that prohibit women's involvement in fishing. For example, older women believe that '*if a woman were to swim in the lake then the fish would disappear*'. Other women complained that these cultural beliefs have excluded them from the most profitable activities at the landing site and condemn them to poverty.

We have to rely on the men all the time because we cannot go to get the riches ourselves from the resource, the lake. Our poverty will be continuous until we are allowed to go to the lake.

Young woman in FGD, Kasensero, Rakai

In all of the 6 fishing sites, boys were said to drop out of school to go fishing. This was commonly attributed to the easy returns from fishing and the resulting lack of commitment among parents to the education of their children.

Seasonality of incomes for fishermen – and therefore for others

In all the sites, the amount of fish caught was reported to depend on the season, with much higher catches in some months of the year than in others. Therefore the incomes of fishermen vary widely, and therefore also the income of the other residents in the fishing sites.

Once there is no fish, then no one will spend in the restaurants or they will spend very little and thus we cannot continue but close the business until the catch is good.

Woman in FGD, Kasensero, Rakai

Fishermen do not often become boat owners

There appears to be little upward mobility in the communities, with few fishermen becoming boat owners. Fishermen ascribed this to lack of capital, and this was commonly attributed to the absence of a savings culture. Fishing offers immediate profits for a while, and these profits are also immediately consumed, often in alcohol. In Busabala, fishermen admitted that to them saving for tomorrow is a dream and that they have a higher propensity to consume than to save.

We have a problem on how to prioritise our spending because of our extravagance. We spend whatever we earn daily on our families and concubines.

Young fisherman, Busabala, Wakiso

The Busabala fishermen noted that they are not formed into an association, which might have offered a forum for discussing their problems and offered opportunities for training in business management and savings skills. They also alleged that neither the landing site nor the hinterland offers obvious small or medium investment opportunities.

Declining fish catch

In all sites, fishermen reported a declining fish catch. This was attributed to: use of the wrong type of nets (reported in Ntoroko, Kigungu, Busabala and Gorofa); over-fishing, in Busabala and Kasensero; fish dying due to an increase in algae on Lake Albert, in Kigungu; poisoning of fish by fishermen and pollution of Lake Victoria by fish processing companies, in Gorofa.

We used to get fish within a radius of 2 km but now we have to go deep into the waters to be able to have a reasonable catch.

Fishermen in Kasensero, Rakai

In Busabala, fishermen blamed use of illegal nets on failure by Government to regulate the size of nets manufactured and sold, the high cost of legal fishing methods, and ignorance of the right size of nets by fishermen. In Ntoroko, use of illegal nets was attributed to both cost and insecurity. It was explained that legal nets are expensive and are particularly targeted by thieves. When illegal nets are confiscated and burnt by the marine police, net theft increases as people try to recoup their losses. Fear of net theft was said to deter fishermen from getting loans to buy legal nets.

Analysis: Poor fishermen and women need to be involved as equals with more powerful stakeholders in decision-making processes that affect the resources upon which their livelihoods depend. They must be allowed to do this through membership of legally recognised fisheries community organisations. Such organisations could help to give a sense of ownership of resources to fishing communities and awareness of rights and responsibilities in access to and management of resources.

Fish processing and marketing

The development of the fishing industry for export is transforming fish processing and marketing and the livelihoods of those involved in 4 of the 6 fishing sites where PPA2 research took place, with gains for some and losses for others. In Busabala, in Wakiso, now that fish processing companies are buying Nile Perch directly from fishermen, the fishmongers (all men) who bought and smoked fish are going out of business. Fishermen prefer to sell to the plants as they buy in bulk and pay better prices. In Kasensero, much of the fish used to be smoked by local women. Now, however, refrigerated lorries from 5 different companies visit the site regularly. This has pushed up fish prices, making smoking fish unprofitable. The number of women smoking fish has therefore declined, from 18 in 1992/93 to 3 today. In both Busabala and Kasensero, local people, particularly the poor in Kasensero, complained that rising prices mean they can no longer afford to consume fish or that they have to buy bad fish rejected by the large purchasers.

Refrigerated trucks also buy Nile Perch in Kigungu, and this has led the price to more than double. Nile Perch is about 50% of the catch. However, the market for other fish caught at Kigungu was said to have declined, due to the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo, which has reduced outlets and therefore prices.

In Gorofa, local fishmongers, many of them women, buy Tilapia and other types of fish for local processing and sale, whereas wealthy boat owners or fishmongers sell Nile Perch to fish processing plants on the mainland. Prices for Nile Perch were said to be declining because of the unequal power relations between the processing plants and the sellers. The sellers complained bitterly of being cheated by the processors.

At the time when you take the fish to the factory, the [factory owner] says “Shs. 1,600 per kilogramme”. Then when you go back to collect the money you find it [the price] lower! On other occasions they will tell you the price was cut after weighing your fish and it is already inside [the factory]. And other times, after seeing several container boats coming in fully loaded, he [the factory owner] will put up a notice saying that the price has been cut, with no explanation.

Fillet agents, group discussion, Gorofa, Lolwe Island

Gorofa fish sellers also complained bitterly of restrictions (referred to as a ‘ban’) on export of fish to Kenya, where prices are higher. Residents requested assistance from Government in the formation of associations to bargain with fish processors, as well as liberalisation of trade with Kenya. The local Fisheries Officer (FO) recommended inspections of factories to enforce uniform standard setting and weighing of fish.

Analysis: These problems also indicate the need for community-based co-management of fisheries resources by communities with local governments, with fisheries CBOs providing a legal and institutional means of protecting the rights and improving the bargaining power of fishermen in their relations with more powerful stakeholders.

Other livelihood activities at the fishing sites

People earn a living in a variety of other ways at the landing sites. Women engage in trade and run bars and restaurants. Men build boats, clean and prepare nets and fish stalls, and load/unload trucks. In Busabala and Kigungu, unemployment was said to be high amongst male youth, resulting in drinking and drug abuse.

Prostitution is a major source of livelihood among women in four of the sites. In Busabala, prostitution was reported to flourish for a number of reasons. Single men from other parts of the country visit Busabala for fishing and, once there, no longer observe the social/cultural controls that they were accustomed to. Fishermen earn incomes daily and so have money available for alcohol and prostitutes. And fishing normally starts at 3pm and ends by 5-6 am, leaving “redundant and idle time”. HIV/AIDS was said to be increasing in Kasensero and common in Gorofa. In Ntoroko, most prostitutes do not protect themselves from AIDS because their clients prefer not to use condoms and women noted that there is a lack of awareness of the danger of sexually transmitted diseases, especially about HIV/AIDS. However, there is no health centre near Kasensero, and in the other sites, the health units appear to be functioning poorly with shortages of drugs and qualified personnel and an absence of outreach programmes.

Analysis: Awareness campaigns on STDs, especially HIV/AIDS, need to be increased and to target fish landing sites where there are high levels of prostitution.

Physical and social assets

Housing, water supply, sanitation and roads are generally in a poor state in the fishing sites visited in PPA2.

There are few permanent buildings, due to poverty in Ntoroko and Kigungu, and lack of land titles and space for building in Busabala and Kasensero. In all the sites, few houses have latrines. In Kasensero, Ntoroko and Gorofa, the sandy soils were said to make construction difficult. People relieve themselves in plastic bags and dispose of them in the lake, defecate in bushy areas around the site or use the lake. At the same time, many people use lake water for drinking, leading to problems with dysentery, cholera and diarrhoea. In Kigungu, the community noted that though many use the lake water, ensuring that it is not contaminated is nobody's business.

In Ntoroko, Busabala and Acomia, the poor condition of access roads to the sites leads to fish marketing problems and pushes up the cost of goods and services. In Acomia, improvement of access roads was ranked as the most important action that could be taken to reduce poverty. From Gorofa, water transport was said to be underdeveloped and dangerous.

It appears that fishing communities lack vertical networks and connections to those wielding power in the districts, resulting in inadequate service provision. Residents complained of neglect and discrimination by the district authorities, attributing this to the fact that fishing communities are remote and are perceived to have mobile populations, although in fact they have permanent residents. In Gorofa and Kasensero, residents complained bitterly that although the fishing industry is generating large amounts of tax revenue for Government, there is little investment in services at the sites. As noted above, fishermen in Busabala and Gorofa noted that they lack associations that could represent their views.

Analysis: Landing sites attract large numbers of people every day yet have very poor physical assets and this is creating serious health risks. Government needs to target support to improve infrastructural facilities at major landing sites, including providing clean water and sanitation, hygienic fish processing and marketing facilities, and improved feeder roads, schools and clinics.

Institutions and policies impacting on people's lives

Security, the Fisheries Act and taxation were common concerns across the sites.

Security

As noted above, theft of nets is a big problem in Ntoroko, acting as a disincentive to the use of legal nets. Theft of nets was also reported to be rampant in Kigungu. In Acomia, security

was seen to have deteriorated since a management committee replaced the traditional Gabunga system.

For the landing site, it used to be the Gabunga who kept all the boats with his committee. So if anything got lost at the site, he was responsible and liable for payment for any lost boat, nets, etc. To provide security, he had askaris so there were few theft cases. Now there is a management committee at the site but many boats and nets have got lost.

Discussion with LCI Committee, Acomia, Soroti

In Kasensero and Gorofa, security concerns revolve around clashes between Tanzanian and Ugandan fishermen on Lake Victoria and there have been many thefts of nets and engines. Murders of fishermen by Tanzanians were also reported in Gorofa while in Kasensero locals accused the Tanzanian police of confiscating their gear and of keeping Ugandan fishermen in jail. In Gorofa, residents argued that security is central to poverty eradication, pointing out that as long as their means of production (boats, nets and engines) and their lives are not secure, they lack motivation to invest in fishing.

In Kasensero, people complained bitterly that the marine police are useless, partly because they lack fuel. In Gorofa, locals resented that although government has deployed armoured boats for marines to enforce the ban on fish exports to Kenya, little has been done to ensure security of fishermen. Residents called on government to increase resources for the police and to negotiate with the Tanzanian government to improve security.

Fisheries Officers and the Fisheries Act

Across the sites, there was criticism of the work of the fisheries officers and condemnation of the Fisheries and Crocodile Act.

In Ntoroko, the Fisheries Officer stationed in the village has been sensitising fishermen on the Fisheries and Crocodile Act. However, the fishermen explained that this work is ineffective in preserving the lake because it is not being done in other areas such as Kibaale and Congo. Although the 'kokota' net which catches young fish is not being used in Ntoroko, fishermen pointed out that it is being used in other villages on Lake Albert, as was confirmed by the PPA2 research in Kigungu. Fishermen from Kibaale cross to Ntoroko and use the *kokota*, causing conflicts with the locals.

In Ntoroko, Kigungu, Gorofa and Busabala fishermen reported bribing the local fisheries officers not to burn their illegal nets, and, in Busabala, not to destroy boats under the legal minimum size of 7 foot. To use a *kokota* in Kigungu costs Shs. 30,000 per net per month in bribes.

There were various complaints about the Fisheries Act. In Ntoroko, Kigungu and Busabala fishermen complained that the Fisheries Act is against the interests of poor people, who cannot afford expensive legal nets or boats or to have their assets destroyed. In Kigungu, the FO reported that the Act is out of date, as the legal minimum mesh size would catch young Nile Perch. In Gorofa, boat owners and fishermen reported that using layered nets is illegal but this is in fact necessary to catch Nile Perch.

Analysis: Local stakeholders need to be legally empowered to engage in setting local fisheries rules and directly play a part in making national fisheries policy and laws, and even enforcing them.

Many new regulations have been introduced recently relating to boat size and gears, tax levels, etc. There is need to broadcast this information more loudly as residents in fishing communities do not seem to be aware of the new rules.

Taxation

Across the sites, residents complained of multiple taxes on fishing. Taxes mentioned included: income tax; graduated tax; licence fees for boats, engines, nets, fish trading and processing paid to the fisheries officers; charges on landing a boat and on selling fish in the market paid to the tenderers of landing sites.

Revenue collection has been tendered out at the landing sites of all the fishing communities visited in PPA2, except Gorofa. In Ntoroko and Acomia residents complained that tenderers have hiked market dues and recommended that government should abolish the tendering of markets. In Busabala, residents complained that the cleanliness at the landing site has deteriorated since it was tendered. In Kasensero, the tenderer and the community concurred that the money raised at the landing site by the tenderer should be reinvested there by the district.

Analysis: Government urgently needs to review and reform the system of tendering revenue collection, as it is leading to exploitation and corruption and is undermining small businesses and trade. This is discussed further in Chapter 9.

3.3.2 Livelihoods of Estate Workers

In PPA2, research took place in three sites with people involved in large-scale commercial agricultural production: with casual workers at the Mwera Tea Estate in Mubende; with contract migrant workers on the Kakira Sugar Estate in Jinja; and in Butema village in northern Bugiri where people work as casual labourers on the adjacent Tilda rice growing scheme. The findings of this research have been brought together, with a view to assessing to what extent large-scale estate agriculture is contributing or has the potential to contribute to poverty reduction in Uganda.

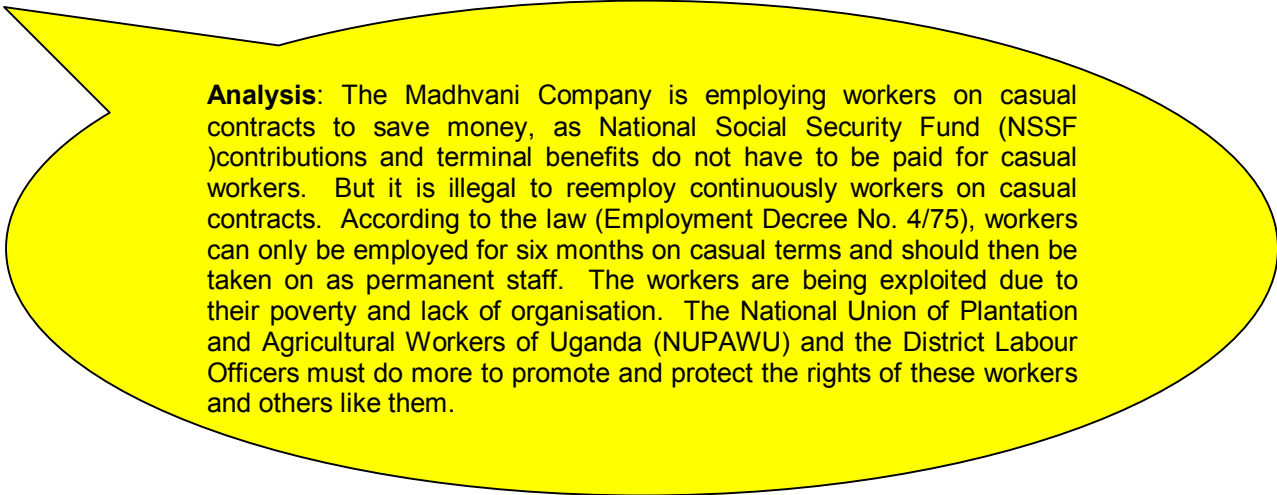
Plantation workers at Mwera Tea Estate and Kakira Sugar Estate

The reports on Mwera and Kakira paint a dismal picture of the lives of the temporary and casual workers on the estates. They show that casual plantation work offers just a means of basic survival, not a route out of poverty. Both estates are owned by the Madhvani Group of Companies and have similar histories. Both were started in the 1950s, nationalised in the 1970s, when production declined, and later repossessed (Kakira in 1985 and Mwera in 1992).

Livelihoods at Mwera

To date at Mwera, 50% of the 400 ha. estate has been brought back into production and 506 people are employed, of whom over 200 are casual labourers, mainly employed to pick tea. A tea factory on the estate processes the tea from Mwera and a sister estate in Mpigi, producing tea for both local consumption and export. The PPA2 research took place in two villages neighbouring the estate where most of the casual workers live, as well as on the estate itself, although it was hampered by the hostile attitude of the company management.

At Mwera, the casual tea pickers are employed on 3-month verbal contracts. As green leaf production declines in the dry season (June-August), most are employed for around eight months of the year. The same group of people are continuously re-employed. Most originate from neighbouring countries and north, western and eastern Uganda, they or their parents having been recruited in the 1950s/60s to work on the estate when the local population was unwilling to do so due to the poor conditions. However, some locals have now started casual work at Mwera due to the decline in the coffee industry in the area. Lack of job security makes the workers feel vulnerable and many reported paying bribes to the supervisors in order to retain their jobs. Women are not entitled to maternity leave, but are laid off and have to reapply. Elderly casual workers have recently been laid off in preference for younger, more energetic and productive workers.



Analysis: The Madhvani Company is employing workers on casual contracts to save money, as National Social Security Fund (NSSF) contributions and terminal benefits do not have to be paid for casual workers. But it is illegal to reemploy continuously workers on casual contracts. According to the law (Employment Decree No. 4/75), workers can only be employed for six months on casual terms and should then be taken on as permanent staff. The workers are being exploited due to their poverty and lack of organisation. The National Union of Plantation and Agricultural Workers of Uganda (NUPAWU) and the District Labour Officers must do more to promote and protect the rights of these workers and others like them.

The company does not provide protective clothing and the workers complained of lack of protection from the chemical sprayers and from snakes. Management explained that they used to provide protective wear but that the casual workers sold it off, so it is now up to them to provide it themselves. However, the workers find it hard to prioritise this expenditure, due to pressure to provide basic necessities from their wages.

There are foxes and snakes that live in the tea bushes. In addition the dew makes our skin around the thighs peel off. We are not allowed to make an alarm when we see a snake as that may scare other workers and halt work.

Casual worker at Mwera

Most tea pickers work six days per week, from 7am to 6:30pm, with a break of an hour for lunch of posho and beans, provided by the company. Payment is on the basis of the amount of tea picked. For 1kilo of tea a worker is paid Shs. 48 and the company stipulates that a minimum of 21 kilos must be picked per day, so most people earn around Shs. 1,000 per day or Shs. 20-30,000 per month.¹⁸ Tea slashers are paid Shs. 800 per day. Tea pickers complained of corruption by those weighing the tea.

The workers who manage the tealeaf weighing point can pour away what one has plucked, citing poor quality; so we have to bribe to have our tealeaf weighed.

Woman in focus group discussion

Analysis: The hours that the casual workers at Mwera and the contract workers at Kakira (see below) are expected to work are illegal. People are not supposed to be employed to work more than 56 hours per week and any hours worked in excess of eight hours per day are regarded as overtime and are supposed to be paid at one and a half times the going rate.

Like the urban poor, most of the casual workers depend on their wages for all their needs, as very few have land in the vicinity and the long hours of work make additional income generating activities difficult. The main expenditures are food, rent, paraffin, clothing, medical treatment, school materials/uniforms and beer. The women casual workers complained that the wages are not enough to satisfy their basic needs and some noted that they depend for food on the lunch provided by the company. Many survive on credit from the company's welfare shop, so that at the end of the month their net pay is zero. Casual workers' hand to mouth existence means they cannot save. All those interviewed during the research, including sub-county officials and district service providers, agreed that the casual workers are amongst the poorest people in the sub-county. However, requests by casual labourers for their wages to be increased have met the response from Mwera management that the company is paying more than the legal minimum wage.

¹⁸ Most permanent workers on the estate earn Shs. 30-60,000 per month. In addition, they are entitled to housing on the estate, paid public holidays and annual leave and receive a Sunday bonus.

Analysis: The low wages paid at Mwera highlights the urgency of revising the minimum wage legislation in Uganda. The minimum wage has been set at Shs. 6,000 since 1984. In 1997 the Wage Review Commission recommended that this should be increased to Shs. 75,000. The Cabinet then reduced this amount to Shs. 53,500, but at the time of writing this has still to receive the assent of the President.

To save on rent, it is common for groups of five or more casual workers to rent a room to share. About 30% of the casual workers are single women and some have multiple partners as a way of getting shelter or earning income – men are said to eschew permanent relationships for fear of the expense and responsibility. A few casual workers have accommodation in mud and wattle houses on a camp on the estate where the permanent workers are housed. Although conditions are poor and crowded, this accommodation is seen as a privilege and people feel desperate when they are told to leave. Due to overcrowding, defilement cases are common.

Casual workers are treated as if they are not human beings.

Woman resident at Camp III on Mwera Estate

Most of the casual workers are illiterate and have very limited horizons. Limited income and time and fear of being arrested for defaulting on graduated tax payments mean that most do not venture beyond Mwera and the surrounding parishes. Most are the children of casual labourers and most expect their children to become casual labourers too. While they complain about oppression and poor terms and conditions, few attempt to leave, deterred by lack of skills and alternatives. The daily struggle to meet practical needs serves to retain the status quo.

The casual workers are not members of NUPAWU, which represents the permanent workers on the estate, and they believe that the union leaders sometimes side with the company. Sit-down strikes by both permanent and casual workers sometimes take place, and due to the need to keep the tea factory going, these strikes have won some concessions, such as the addition of beans to the posho lunch provided by the company.

Livelihoods of temporary workers at Kakira

In contrast to Mwera, at Kakira sugarcane estate, most of the temporary workers are employed on 12-month contracts and do not work for longer than this on the estate. However, the appalling working and living conditions of the contract workers raise similar issues to those raised by the Mwera study: the need for stronger and better union representation, employment legislation that better protects the rights of workers and inspection machinery to see that the legislation is actually enforced.

At Kakira, close to 10,000 workers are employed, on the 49 sq. km sugar estate itself and in the sweets, edible oil and soap factories situated there. About 80% of the employees are

young men working as cane cutters on one-year contracts, mainly recruited from Arua, Mbale, Kabale and Kamuli districts and housed in 23 residential camps on the estate. PPA2 research took place in one of these camps, Kyenda. Most of the recruits are primary school drop-outs, although some leave gainful employment to come to Kakira, tempted by the promise of good remuneration.

As at Mweru, the temporary workers complained of job insecurity. Although the contracts are for 12 months, they can be terminated for 'gross misconduct'.¹⁹ It is up to management to define what constitutes this and there are many instances of summary dismissals and terminations. Workers complained bitterly of perpetual harassment by supervisors, leading to anxiety, depression and low self-esteem. The contracts can be renewed twice at most, and the workers must return to their home areas to have the contracts renewed by the Madhvani recruiting offices there.²⁰ Only about one in ten workers choose to renew their contracts. Promotion to permanent status is difficult and there is no established appraisal system to lead to this, so bribes and other forms of corruption are common to secure permanent positions. The PPA2 research report notes that the Madhvani Group pursues a policy of casualisation of labour because short-term workers do not have many employment rights or the time to organise themselves to protest against bad conditions of service.

The cane cutters work from 5am until 7pm, with a break at 3pm for a cup of porridge provided by the company. These hours of work violate the Memorandum of Agreement between NUPAWU and Kakira Sugar Works of 1985 on the terms and conditions of employment, which states that the working week should be for 40 hours.

As at Mweru, payment is on a piece-rate basis. The workers are expected to cut 85 bundles of 15 canes each or to harvest a specific number of rows covering a specified area.

This is a very extensive task given that the sugar-canes are very heavy and long and have to be carried to form the bundles. Carrying these canes is a double task – it's twice the effort.

Cane cutting is the most rugged of steps in the sugar making process. It is heavily manual and labour-intensive and very dangerous to one's health.

Cane cutters in focus group discussion.

If a cane cutter cannot complete the task within a day, he must do so the next morning in order to receive payment for one day's work. This results in many workers working for a whole week but only being paid for three days of work. Workers therefore earn much less per month than the Shs. 100,000 they are told to expect when they are recruited in their districts. Deductions from the workers' wages total about Shs. 65,000 per month, for PAYE, subscription to NUPAWU, NSSF contributions and payment for lodging and utilities in the camps. A common complaint by the contract workers was that it was not made clear to them when they were being recruited that these deductions would be made from their wages, so that work at Kakira appeared much more attractive than it actually is.

¹⁹ The Memorandum of Agreement between NUPAWU and Kakira Sugar Works (1985) has detailed provisions on the circumstances under which contracts can be terminated but these provisions do not apply to contract and casual workers.

²⁰ At the end of their contracts, the company provides groups of workers with transport back to their home districts.

Some of the workers form rotational savings schemes of 5-7 members, in which the participants hand over their entire monthly salary to each member of the group on a rotational basis. These schemes enable some to buy sought-after items such as radios and bicycles, but others waste the money on drinking and prostitutes or have the money stolen by thugs who search out the recipients of the group payments. While the group members wait their turn to receive a payment, they borrow money to survive. The workers are not allowed to run any kind of businesses in the camps.

Like the tea pickers at Mwera, the Kakira cane cutters are not provided with protective clothing, although the Memorandum of Agreement states that they should be. When it rains, there is no protection. Snakebites, cuts from sugarcane stumps due to lack of gumboots, and sickness caused by septic wounds, are common.

Analysis: The occupational health and safety inspectorate of the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MGLSD) needs to be strengthened so that it can work effectively with District Labour Officers to make sure that workers are not being exposed to such hazardous working conditions.

The living conditions in the camps on the estate are very poor. Four to six workers share one room in dilapidated houses that have not been repaired for over three decades. Contact with spouses is not allowed during the period of the contract. The water provided is unsafe, as it is pumped directly from Lake Victoria, and most camps do not have electricity.

They [the recruiting agents] deceived us by saying that when you start working in Madhvani sugar plantation, you are given a mattress and a big radio. But this is not true. Everything is dirty, our rooms are dirty and we sleep badly on papyrus mats.

Cane cutter in community meeting.

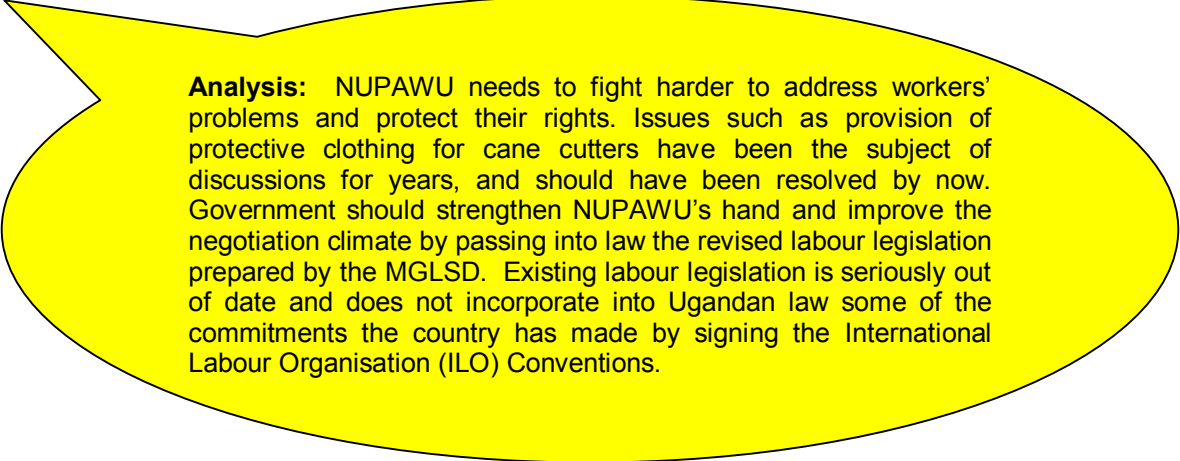
When the contract workers start at Kakira, they automatically become members of NUPAWU. Workers interviewed during the PPA2 research perceived the union to be an oppressive force whose officials have been compromised by the management and cannot be trusted by the workers. To reduce the risk of industrial action, care is taken by management to keep old and new recruits apart. Sometimes workers resort to sugar-cane burning as a way of avenging the employer's perceived injustices.

When one makes a complaint on pay, management and union officials will ask for the computer registration number, the camp where the culprit stays and threaten to throw him out. We therefore resort to strikes, to cover up...

When a strike takes place, our leaders coerce us into returning to work on the pretext that they are going to talk to management on the salary rise. This does not happen. We keep on waiting in vain.

Cane cutters at Kakira

Following interviews with NUPAWU officials, the PPA2 study team concluded that the union has tried to table the woes of the plantation workers identified above, but that its power to win concessions from a strong investor is limited. Communication between the contract workers and union officials was found to be very poor, with very limited feedback to the workers on addressing their grievances.



Analysis: NUPAWU needs to fight harder to address workers' problems and protect their rights. Issues such as provision of protective clothing for cane cutters have been the subject of discussions for years, and should have been resolved by now. Government should strengthen NUPAWU's hand and improve the negotiation climate by passing into law the revised labour legislation prepared by the MGLSD. Existing labour legislation is seriously out of date and does not incorporate into Ugandan law some of the commitments the country has made by signing the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Conventions.

Livelihoods and the Tilda rice scheme

The rice-growing scheme, Tilda Uganda Limited, in Bugiri, raises both similar and different issues regarding the potential for large-scale commercial agriculture to contribute to poverty reduction in Uganda.

At Tilda, men from the neighbouring village, Butema, are employed as casual workers, mostly to scare off birds. Their working conditions appear similar to those of the tea pickers at Mwera: they work from 7am to 6pm, earn Shs. 1,200 per day and are not organised. However, they do not depend on the casual work for survival. Rather, it is a component of the livelihood strategies pursued by the men and their families, so their conditions are not so desperate. Most of them have small pieces of land on which they grow food, they keep a few poultry and their wives may engage in petty trade and brewing. They were ranked in the 'poor' category in a well-being ranking exercise in the village, above those in the 'poorest' group, and it was noted that through hard work, saving and investing in income-generating activities people in the 'poor' category could become better off.

In the past, the scheme was under Government ownership and Chinese management. It employed far more casual workers on much better conditions, and people in Butema Village recall this period with nostalgia. In 1997, the scheme was privatised. Local people made a number of bitter complaints about the privatisation process and its impact on their livelihoods:

- People who owned land on the immediate periphery of the rice scheme lost it to the new company and are still waiting for compensation. According to the management, compensation is just starting and will be completed by 2003.
- Most casual workers were laid off as manual drying and winnowing of the rice was mechanised and transplanting of rice stopped. Women were most involved in these activities, now the work available (scaring off birds) is mainly done by men. According

to the company management, the changes in production methods were introduced to improve the quality of the rice produced.

Analysis: Economic theory predicts that investments in developing countries will use labour-intensive production methods, but it appears that quality requirements make mechanization necessary at Tilda, thus limiting employment opportunities. At the same time, there is pressure on land in the area due to population increase. This has led to thin soil cover on the hills due to cutting of trees for settlement, and as a result there is now serious flooding. People have also started settling in the low-lying flood-prone areas due to pressure on land, so the floods have a greater impact on them than in the past.

The rice scheme is taking up a lot of land, but is only providing limited employment opportunities. Tilda is on a 7-year tax holiday. So the question arises, what is Uganda really getting out of the scheme?

- After harvesting, women used to pick up the leftover rice and sell it. Now the fields are burnt.
- Local people have been stopped from fishing in the River Kibimba that runs through Tilda's land.

River Kibimba has fed us since time immemorial. We used to get fish both during the dry and wet seasons, we didn't have to buy meat. Now I get puzzled and ask myself 'Did they come with this river from India?'

Old man in Butema Village

- The company carries out aerial spraying. According to local people, this is to kill birds and weeds and they reported that it is killing their poultry and livestock. They are also frightened about its impact on their own health.

Analysis: it is illegal for Tilda to stop people accessing the river. Tilda does have authority to do aerial spraying for weed control, but local people's perceptions that the spraying is to kill birds and is killing their poultry and livestock are cause for concern. These issues highlight the fact that poor people are not aware of their rights and do not appear to feel able or know how to raise their concerns with the authorities. In theory, through the LC system, they could request the District Environmental Officer to ask the National Environmental Management Authority (NEMA) to carry out an inspection of Tilda's operations. In practice, this does not happen.

Tilda is planning an out-grower scheme. Perhaps this will bring more benefits to the local population than the limited opportunities for casual labour. However, it is clear that in Butema, as in other PPA2 sites, men control income especially from cash crops. So the out-grower scheme is unlikely to benefit all household members unless there are concomitant changes in gender relations, as the case study above on the tobacco out-growers in Godia indicates.

3.3.3 Livelihoods in Pastoralists Communities

In PPA2, research took place in eight communities classified as ‘pastoralist’ on the basis that most residents derive the bulk of their livelihood from keeping livestock. All these communities are in what is known as the ‘cattle corridor’, which spans diagonally from Karamoja in north-east Uganda through Masindi District at the centre, down to Mbarara District in the south-west.

Three of the sites are in Moroto District, which is in the semi-arid part of the cattle corridor in the north-east. Rainfall is scattered and unreliable. Livelihoods in these sites have been much affected recently by the disarmament exercise. The sites are:

- Naoi village on the plains in the north-west of Moroto. This is an agro-pastoral area that has experienced severe droughts and poor harvests were identified as one of the biggest causes of poverty. The Jie people have mounted numerous raids in the area.
- Lorukumo in eastern Moroto near the Kenyan border. This is the driest part of the District and the people of Lorukumo reported that they have not had a successful harvest for eight years. Droughts and raids by the Turkana from Kenya since the disarmament exercise have led to loss of livestock and people are experiencing severe food shortages.
- Lokileth on the southeastern slopes of Mount Moroto, near the Kenyan border. This is characterized by rugged and rocky terrain, but is also an agro-pastoral area. Following disarmament, the people withdrew their herds from the plains where they used to graze because of fear of raids by the Turkana. The livestock were taken up the slopes of Mount Moroto, where they died in large numbers from tick-borne diseases.

The other five sites are in central and south-western Uganda, with sub-humid conditions. Research took place in Bubanda within the rangelands of Mubende District, Katebe in Rakai, and Kihagani in Masindi. In all these sites, the pastoralists are migrants from western Uganda while the people indigenous to the area depend on cultivation. Research also took place in a small community in Ntungamo, Kabanda, and in Buntungama on the Semliki plains bordering the DRC in Bundibugyo. Although the climatic conditions in these sites are more suitable for agriculture, in Masindi, Rakai and Bundibugyo there are long dry spells and, in Bundibugyo, floods.

Major assets and livelihood strategies

Cattle keeping is important to the livelihoods of most residents in the sites. However, the communities are highly socially differentiated and in five of the sites, cattle owners are actually in a minority (Naoi and Lokileth in Moroto, Katebe in Rakai, Kabanda in Ntungamo and Buntungama in Bundibugyo).

Numbers of cattle owned vary widely both within and between the communities. For example, in well-being ranking exercises, in Katebe in Rakai, each of the 10 richest households were said to own 100-500 local cattle, around 40 exotic breeds and 300-700 acres of land. The ‘medium rich’ (20 households) had 100 head of cattle and 20-30 acres of land.

Meanwhile, the 'poor' and 'very poor' (50 households) are landless and own just a few goats and chickens. In Buntungama, Bundibugyo, the cattle owners comprise just 10% of the population. The rest of the population largely depends on looking after the cattle of the small group of owners, in return for being allowed to consume the milk of the cattle in their care.

In the Moroto sites, due to drought and insecurity, large numbers of households, particularly female-headed households, do not own cattle. They were placed in the poor and destitute categories during well-being ranking exercises.

In the sub-humid sites, cattle are sold to get cash to purchase food and meet other basic needs such as food, clothing, medical care, educational costs and veterinary care for the livestock. Sale of cattle did not feature as a major source of livelihood in the Moroto sites, although distress sales, especially of small stock such as goats and sheep, was mentioned as a source of income in Lorukumo.

In all the sites, cattle-keeping is largely undertaken on a traditional basis. There are few attempts to improve either the quality of the stock (exotic breeds were mentioned only in Katebe, Rakai) or the quality of the pasture. As a result, the pastoralists were accused by district officials of destroying the environment. In Bubanda, Mubende, soil erosion is severe as a result of overgrazing and burning of grass during the dry season. In Kabanda in Ntungamo, there is very little tree cover as the pastoralists have cleared the trees to create grazing land and avoid pests, especially tsetse flies.

In the sub-humid sites, the pastoralists live in the same localities as farmers. There is competition between the two groups for land and the pastoralists were accused of grabbing most of the land. There were also complaints that the movement of livestock sometimes resulted in destruction of crops, creating conflicts within the communities.

Insecurity, disarmament and access to grazing land in Moroto

People in all three Moroto sites reported that there is communal grazing land, but that access to this is compromised by insecurity. Prior to disarmament, the gun was a major resource ensuring access to grazing areas. A number of people brought together their cattle to one kraal under the leadership of one kraal leader, and it was the responsibility of the leader to ensure the security of the livestock, and access to water and pasture. Under this system, a cattle owner was free to move his livestock to the kraal thought to offer the best opportunity for the survival of the herds.

This system has been greatly affected by the disarmament programme launched during the course of the PPA2. After the guns were removed from the people, the responsibility of providing security for both people and property passed to the national army, rendering the 'warriors' that previously provided security in the grazing camps redundant.

PPA2 found that the local people where the research took place initially welcomed the disarmament process. In Lokileth, one elder explained, '*We were tired of dying.*' However, people are now disillusioned. Following the removal of the guns, neighbouring pastoral groups launched raids against those communities that had disarmed. In Lorukumo and Lokileth, most people claimed to have lost livestock to Turkana raiders. The people of Lorukumo had actually been at peace with the Turkana since reaching agreement with them in 1973. In periods of hardship, they had survived by selling firewood, building material and casual labour to the Turkana on the Kenyan border, in return for relief food.

We used to graze together because we would allow them to graze here. They also used to share with us relief food given by their government. We thought we were friends, but they have also now turned against us.

Old man, Lorukumo, Moroto

The removal of the gun has caused us more misery because of the Turkana. They have chased us from their places as well as our land. Our remaining cattle are now here at Nakiloro. We have become defenceless because we don't have what to defend ourselves with. The deployment of the army does not follow the directions of the people who know where there is danger.

Poor old man, Lorukumo, Moroto

During PPA2, the researchers in Moroto observed the impact of the raids in Lorukumo:

The impact of raids in Lorukumo, Moroto

During PPA2 fieldwork in February 2002, the research team in Moroto was able to visit the kraal where most of the people of Lorukumo kept their livestock. It was a large kraal with various livestock including camels, donkeys, cattle, sheep and goats. On the day of our visit, we observed the various stocks returning over a period of more than one hour. Because of lack of food at the homesteads, there were women and children living in the kraal so that the children could take advantage of milk and blood.

However, when we went back for after a period of about two months, this kraal had been raided by suspected combination of Tepeth and Pokot warriors. Overnight, the Lorukumo families that had survived famine through their livestock had turned desperate because they had nothing to turn to in the light of the fact that they did not have food crops.

Source: Lorukumo Site Report

In both Naoi and Lokileth, people relocated their cattle to safer areas. However, these areas are tick-infested and, as a result, cattle died from disease.

Analysis: The disarmament policy was a welcome move even amongst the warriors and that is why they handed in their guns. However, the effects create the impression that Government had not made adequate preparations. The trust the people had in Government has waned and should be restored if the process is going to be a success. Active collaboration with the Kenyan authorities would seem to be an essential condition for workable solutions.

Access to grazing land in the sub-humid areas

In the sub-humid areas, communal grazing land, once freely available, has diminished since the passage of the 1998 Land Act and access to grazing areas is now determined by wealth. In Katebe in Rakai, Bubanda in Mubende and Kihagani in Masindi, the richer pastoralists have leased land and access to pasture and water has increasingly become a problem for the poorer pastoralists. Some have migrated away from the areas while others rent land or graze the cattle of the rich and in the process access pasture for their own cattle.

In Bubanda in Mubende, the privatisation of land has led to conflicts between landowners and the tenants over changing terms for accessing land, as captured in the quote below. Some poorer pastoralists have migrated to Masindi to avoid what are perceived to be exorbitant rents. However, they have not always been welcomed in other areas and there were reports of killings of the migrants and their cattle.

Sometimes they increase the number of animals. The landowner can agree that you pay one cow for a year then before the year ends, he changes the agreement and requests for more than one cow.

Women, Bubanda, Mubende

Analysis: Access to grazing land and water forms the basis for the survival of pastoralists. The Land Act needs to be used to protect common property resources and the access of the poor to these resources. The Ministry of Lands, Water and Environment needs to work with districts to ensure this happens.

Mobility is a livelihood strategy

Mobility was identified as a major adoptive strategy that was used in livestock management in all the sites. In the sub-humid regions, the height of the movements is in the dry season when the cattle are moved to areas where pasture and water are available. The movements are to locations within and outside the districts where the sites are situated. In Ntungamo, livestock are sometimes moved into Rwanda and Tanzania. However, when the rains return, so do the herders return to their respective homes.

In the villages in Moroto district, the herds are moved because of drought and insecurity. The disarmament process has affected the movement of the herds. The process was launched at the height of the dry season, in December. The herds were moved closer to military detachments for protection from raids, rather than to strategic locations where the resources were available. As a result, the herders covered long distances everyday to access grazing land and water.

In the course of the PPA2 research, district officials expressed negative attitudes to movement by pastoralists. They accused pastoralists of lacking respect for borders both within Uganda and internationally, noting that the mobility of pastoralists makes it difficult to plan and deliver services. The pastoralists themselves admitted that the movement of herds brings them into contact with other livestock and in the process these livestock contract various diseases.

Analysis: Traditional pastoralism depends on a flexible relationship with the physical environment, especially water and pasture. When nature does not provide water and pasture, the pastoralists have to move their herds for the survival of both the herds and the people. Such movement is a normal and natural part of their livelihood, as well as a means of coping with a crisis. This reality of the adaptive strategies of pastoralists should be better appreciated by government and development agencies. Policy-makers should rid themselves of prejudices about the way pastoralists take advantage of the natural environment.

Gender roles

The traditional division of labour between men and women is common to all the eight pastoral sites where research took place, although recent events have led to changes in Moroto, as discussed below.

In the sub-humid region, men look after the cattle, undertake de-silting of dams, make watering troughs, excavate water sources, water animals, and drive cattle into the kraals. The women milk, churn milk to make ghee, sell ghee, look after calves, clean kraals, cook food and clean the compound. They also engage in cultivation on a small scale.

In the Moroto sites, traditionally men look after and protect the livestock while women build houses, cultivate and take care of children. However, in Lorukumo, following the loss of livestock to raids and disease, women and men agreed that women have taken on virtually all responsibility for providing for the household and that men now depend on women for survival. As discussed in Chapter 3, women in other sites affected by crisis have similarly taken on greater responsibilities for fending for the family. In Lorukumo, women's major income-generating activities are collecting firewood, grass for thatching, reeds for construction and clay for making pots and taking these products to Moroto town for sale. They also engage in mining, fetching water for brewers and charcoal burning.

In the period gone by men were kept busy because they had cattle to herd. But nowadays the cows have been raided. The men just sleep under the trees.

Poor elderly woman, Lorukumo, Moroto

These days barely has a woman delivered than she is back in the bush looking for firewood.

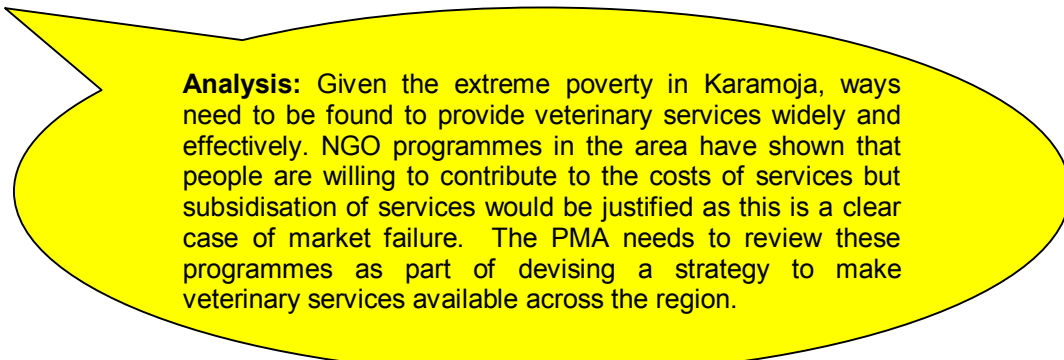
Very poor woman, FGD, Lorukumo, Moroto

Lack of access to veterinary services in Moroto

In Moroto District, pastoralists complained that disease incidence has surged and that *Anaplasmosis* (locally called *lopid*) is the most fatal disease. According to local people this disease cannot be treated. However, the Veterinary Officer in charge of Matheniko County where Lorukumo and Lokileth are situated explained that *lopid* is a treatable tick-borne disease. He argued that the reason the disease appears untreatable to the people is because the district veterinary department is no longer responsible for treating livestock since the

introduction of liberalisation policies. The provision of curative drugs is now left to the private sector and all the department handles is preventive treatment like vaccination. The private sector has not been attracted to Moroto because of insecurity and because people are believed not to be willing to pay for veterinary services.

The escalation in the prevalence of *lopid* is associated with the increased insecurity that followed the disarmament exercise. As noted above, when the people of Naoi and Lokileth left the grazing areas in the plains and sought refuge higher on the slopes of Mount Moroto to escape raids, they brought the livestock to a humid environment conducive to ticks. There are no dips or cattle crushes for spraying the livestock to rid them of ticks.



Analysis: Given the extreme poverty in Karamoja, ways need to be found to provide veterinary services widely and effectively. NGO programmes in the area have shown that people are willing to contribute to the costs of services but subsidisation of services would be justified as this is a clear case of market failure. The PMA needs to review these programmes as part of devising a strategy to make veterinary services available across the region.

3.4 THE NON-SECTORAL CONDITIONAL GRANT

Eight of the 12 PPA2 districts are receiving the NSCG (all districts except Moroto, Bundibugyo, Masindi and Rakai). Information was collected in 30 sites in these districts about the use of the first NSCG disbursed in April 2001 for the financial year 2000/01. As noted in Box 3.1 at the beginning of the chapter, no guidelines were issued to districts on the use of this grant, although guidelines have now been distributed.

Use of the grant

In the sub-counties and parishes where the PPA2 sites are located, the most common uses for grant were:

- PMA sensitisation workshops;
- Distribution of mosaic-resistant cassava cuttings either to individuals or to farmers supposed to multiply them and distribute them for free or sell them to others;
- Distribution of clonal coffee seedlings;
- Purchase of local goats and piglets, distributed to individuals or groups, sometimes on the understanding that the first beneficiaries should pass on offspring to others;
- Purchase of exotic goats for cross-breeding with local breeds; and
- Cassava and improved groundnut demonstration plots.

Some or all of the grant was reported to have been embezzled in 3 sites.

In all the eight districts, at least some of the grant was used for investments that fall outside the current guidelines for the use of the NSCG, as the funds were used for improved seeds/cuttings or animals which benefited only a few community members. (The guidelines indicate that the NSCG should be used for investments that benefit whole communities.)

The chairperson of the parish who happens to come from the neighbouring village met me at the trading centre and told me that the following day, the Sub-county was giving out goats free. I did not tell any one, and got up very early next morning and went to the Sub-county. All people were told to stand in one place and we were later told to rush to pick a goat each. Those who could run fast got the best mature goats.

Man in the poor category of well-being who benefited from a goat bought with the NSCG in Rwamutunga, Ntungamo

The research also suggests that the non-sectoral nature of the grant was not well-understood, as in most cases, the funds were used for projects within the agricultural sector. However, in three districts some of the grant was used for perceived constraints to livelihoods outside the agricultural sector, with the funds used for adult literacy training and road construction.

Analysis: The implementers of the PMA NSCG now need to follow the NSCG guidelines and select projects that will benefit the whole community and not just a few individuals. This is critical because previous Government programmes targeting individuals have a very poor track record in terms of poverty focus. Community members made comments in 21 sites in 5 districts on the restocking programme and in several sites on the Entandikwa scheme, often when discussing the NSCG. These programmes were universally condemned for benefiting the better-off and well-connected. The PMA Secretariat needs to ensure that districts, sub-counties and parishes are all now well aware of what types of investments are permissible with the NSCG, and to ensure that the NSCG guidelines do guide local governments to appraise which investments are going to be the most effective at improving the livelihoods of the poor.

The Sub-county Chief and the Sub-accountant, the Parish Development Committees (PDCs) and Sub-county Investment Committees most commonly decided upon the use of the NSCG. District authorities justified this in many cases on the grounds that the late arrival of the funds in the financial year made any broader consultations on how to use the grant impossible.

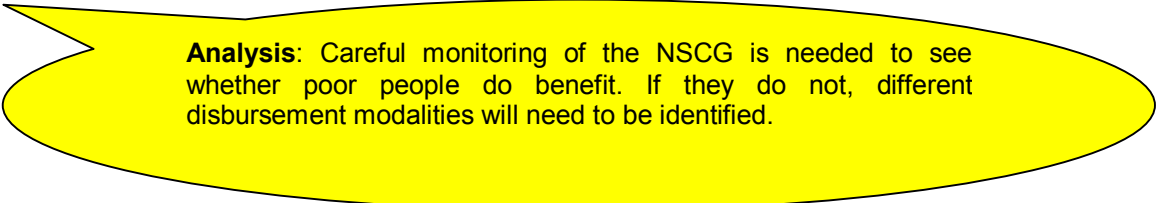
In a large number of the sites, district officials and politicians complained that the late arrival of funds in the financial year made planning, disbursement and implementation difficult. The funds were also too small to make an impact on the ground. In several sites, district officials complained that political interference in the implementation of NSCG projects undermined their effectiveness.

Who benefited?

In just 6 PPA2 sites in 4 districts, some people were reported to have benefited directly from the use of the grant.²¹ In four of these sites, as well as in three others, community members reported that poor people within the communities did not benefit from the use of the grant. In three other sites, those responsible for decisions on or implementation of NSCG projects appeared to be of the view that the NSCG cannot or should not be used to benefit poor

²¹ In the other sites, the NSCG was received and used in the sub-counties and parishes where the sites are located but people in the sites themselves did not benefit directly.

people, but should rather be used to assist those ‘able to pay’, ‘manage’ or ‘achieve results’. In addition, awareness about the NSCG and the PMA in general appeared to be lower amongst poorer people in the PPA2 sites. In three sites, women were said to have been excluded from attending workshops by their husbands or from receiving seeds, cuttings or animals by local councillors or extension workers.



Analysis: Careful monitoring of the NSCG is needed to see whether poor people do benefit. If they do not, different disbursement modalities will need to be identified.

CHAPTER FOUR

ENVIRONMENT AND POVERTY

Key Findings and Policy Messages

Importance of environment-poverty linkages

Environmental degradation imposes severe costs on the poor, contributing to further impoverishment. Coupled with lack of alternative choices, this leads poor people into undertaking actions that are environmentally deleterious. Current policies intended to eradicate poverty pay insufficient attention to poverty-environment linkages and the causes of environmental change and decline. There is a need for double-faced policies that address specific causes of environmental decline and degradation while at the same time contributing to various dimensions of poverty eradication.

Balancing regulation with opportunity

Poor people resort to natural resource exploitation for the lack of alternative income generating activities. Current environmental regulations on wetlands, riverbanks, shorelines and other fragile ecosystems should be enforced more effectively than they are at present, or environmental degradation will result. But policy interventions intended to protect the environment need to consider ways of broadening the range of choices that are available to and affordable by poor people, so that the pressures to break the regulations are also reduced.

Challenges to land policy

Particular issues in land policy that need more attention include:

- The counter-productive effects of the Land Act so far on the security of ownership and access to land of some mailo landowners and tenants.
- The steady erosion of the ability of nomadic pastoralists to pursue their livelihood pattern of seasonally tracking pasture and water, as a result of changing attitudes to land.

PPA2 suggests that secure access of poor people to common-property or open-access resources which are critical for their survival should be a primary objective of a policy aiming at poverty reduction.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the linkages between poverty and the environment. It is based on an analysis of the findings of PPA2, supplemented by Participatory Poverty and Environment Assessment (PPEA) studies undertaken in three districts. The findings show that people's interactions with their environment are structured at the macro level by the policy/regulatory framework. Meanwhile, at the micro level (individual, household and community) they are constrained by tenure arrangements governing access and control over environmental resources, social relations (such as gender) and social networks, capital endowments and availability of technology.

The communities in all the PPA2 sites where research was carried out derive their livelihoods from exploitation of natural resources. In very many cases, the overwhelming dependence of the poor on the environment, coupled with increasing environmental decline, is undermining the livelihoods of the poor.

4.2 DEPENDENCE OF THE POOR ON THE ENVIRONMENT

The poor derive their basic needs from environmental goods and services

Research in PPA2 showed that the poor perceive poverty in essentially environmental terms, and that the environment is critically important for their survival:

- In all the 12 districts where the PPA2 studies were carried out, poverty was invariably defined as the lack of basic necessities of life, including food, shelter, clothing and medicine. Many of these basic necessities are derived either directly from the environment and the natural resource base or indirectly by harnessing resources from nature to generate incomes.
- All the various forms of livelihoods observed during PPA2 are dependent on the exploitation of environmental goods and services in broad terms.²² In the communities where the PPA2 studies were conducted, different households also engage in a wide range of environment-based economic activities, including: firewood collection/gathering and selling; brick making; charcoal production and selling; craft making; selling of water to households and building sites in urban areas; sand mining and stone quarrying; hunting and gathering of wild fauna and flora for food and herbal medicine. The latter provide useful 'safety nets' for the poor, which enable them to secure their livelihoods.

The poor are inherently vulnerable because their survival is dependent on the environment

In PPA2, poor people explained that due to their heavy dependence on environmental resources, their livelihoods are highly vulnerable to sudden shocks and changes in physical conditions. As poor people command a very minimal asset base, they lack alternative opportunities to make a living. In turn this means that their incomes are variable and unstable. Any slight change in the condition of the physical resource base on account of a shock, stress or disaster worsens their well-being.

²² Environmental resources refers to 'resources' that are useful for human survival and are often obtained/extracted from nature to provide for people's livelihoods; hence usage of the term 'environmental goods'. The environment also performs 'service functions' essential for sustaining livelihoods of present and future generations; hence the reference to 'environmental services'.

For example, in nine PPA2 districts, people reported that unpredictable weather patterns and climatic conditions, characterised by usually heavy and erratic/unreliable rains, lead to crop and infrastructural damage, causing food insecurity. Strong winds and hailstorms, which destroy crops or disrupt fishing activities (by increasing risks of drowning, blowing away nets, and causing boats to capsize) were noted to be causes of poverty by people in five districts. In 10 districts people reported that flooding damages crops and physical infrastructure, and contaminates domestic water sources, increasing vulnerability to diseases such as cholera.

Drought was said to be common in 11 districts, causing declining crop yields and food shortages. Households cope by reducing the number of meals eaten per day, which affects the health of women and children. Water problems associated with drought were mentioned in four districts by cattle keepers, forcing the cattle keepers to move their livestock, leading to degradation in water places where herds are moved to. In these conditions, humans are forced to share whatever water is available with their livestock.

These calamities [unfavourable weather and other physical factors] are beyond our control. We only pray to God to bail us out of these problems.
**Group of elders discussing causes of moving into poverty,
 Moruapesur, Soroti**

While poverty makes people vulnerable to changes in the physical environment, research in PPA2 showed that it can also lead to actions that increase risk, such as farming in marginal areas, as discussed in section 4.4 below.

4.3 EVIDENCE OF ENVIRONMENTAL DECLINE²³

In PPA2 and the PPEA, people reported that the quality of their environment is declining in the following ways:

Environmental decline reported in PPA2	No. of Sites	No. of Districts
Clearing of tree cover for settlement, arable and grazing land, wood-fuel for cooking and provision of alternative sources of income. As a result women and children walk longer distances to access firewood.	36	12
Declining soil fertility and productivity of land.	21	11
The depletion of fish species and stocks.	10	9
Land degradation, characterised by rill erosion along steep slopes and sheet erosion on the plains, resulting from poor farming methods.	9	7
Swamps / wetlands under pressure from encroachment/reclamation for farming, construction of settlements and brick making to generate income for poor households.	7	6
Pollution of lakes, rivers and streams determined by a general increase in refuse and waste disposal in water bodies, sedimentation and changes in the appearance of the water	5	5

²³ Other recent studies also draw attention to evidence of environmental decline in Uganda, for example Moyini and Muramira, 2001.

People stressed that declining soil fertility, deforestation, pasture degradation and decreasing fish stocks are impacting heavily on their livelihoods by constraining their ability to increase their income and making them more vulnerable. Women, in particular, were concerned about these changes. They now have to walk longer distances and to more isolated places to collect resources such as wood, grass and wild fruits. This is increasing their work burden and exposing them to new risks.

I used to get about 10 bags of sorghum from my garden but now I can only harvest one and a half bags. The rain is too little and we don't harvest enough to feed us.

Poor man, community discussion of the causes of poverty, Atango, Kitgum

An increase in environmental resource-use conflicts was also reported in PPA2 in 10 districts, which is a sign of environmental decline. Many of these conflicts were associated with disputed land ownership and competing forms of land use (e.g. livestock grazing versus crop cultivation).

Analysis: Many of the key natural resources on which the livelihoods of the poor depend are deteriorating. This is having negative affects on their livelihoods and is making them more vulnerable to risks and shocks so they are less able to move out of poverty. There is an urgent need for action to address the causes of environmental decline discussed in section 4.4 below.

4.4 CAUSES OF ENVIRONMENTAL DECLINE AND THE POVERTY-ENVIRONMENT RELATIONSHIP

Research in PPA2 and the PPEA indicated a number of key causes of environmental decline, as discussed below.

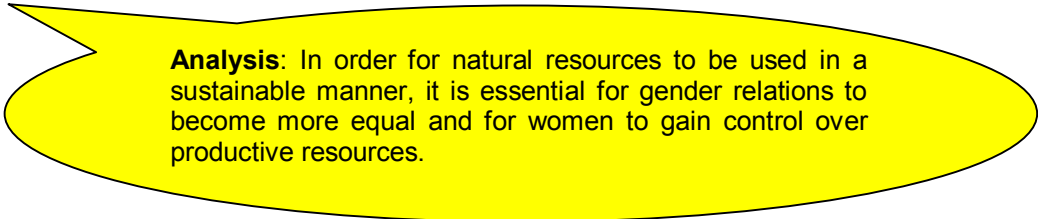
Poor farming methods

In nine PPA2 and PPEA districts, poor people noted that they use poor farming methods and that this leads to land degradation, soil fertility loss and declining yields. They reported that they do not know about modern farming methods, especially soil and water conservation techniques and, in most sites, they have no access to agricultural extension services. As discussed in Chapter 3, where extension services are available, they are mainly provided to rich farmers who can afford to pay for them.

Analysis: It is important that NAADS ensures that advisory services are easily available to the poor on **sustainable natural resource use**, such as forestry, fisheries and use of common property resources, as well as specifically on crop production and livestock. This is essential if the poor are to derive a sustainable economic income that lifts them out of poverty.

Unequal gender relations

As discussed in Chapter 2, women have the primary responsibility for providing for their families but lack control over the resources with which to do this while their options for income generation are limited. This drives them into activities such as brick making which degrade the environment. Women's lack of control over land also means that they lack incentives to invest in conservation measures. In Masindi, a women's tree-planting initiative sponsored by the Protected Areas authorities was reported to have failed because of lack of interest and cooperation from women due to their lack of control over the land on which the trees were being planted.



Analysis: In order for natural resources to be used in a sustainable manner, it is essential for gender relations to become more equal and for women to gain control over productive resources.

Demographic pressures and land shortages

As noted in Chapter 2, large families were cited as a key cause of poverty in PPA2. Large families raise the expenditure required to provide the basic needs of a family and this puts pressure on natural resources. Large families are also one of the key reasons for land shortages and land fragmentation amongst the poor. In turn, land shortage leads to a number of consequences that put pressure on the environment:

- **Over-cultivation:** In 11 districts, poor people explained that they are forced to over-cultivate the small pieces of land available to them without fallowing, increasing the risk of degradation.
- **Environmentally destructive income-generating strategies by youth:** In PPA2, there were many reports of parents refusing to pass on their small portions of land to their sons, causing landlessness among youth. Young men, therefore, reported resorting to brick making in swamps and to charcoal burning as a means of livelihood.
- **Population migration:** Lack of land combined with uneven development opportunities were observed to result in population migration in seven districts, from rural to rural and from rural to urban areas, by people looking for new opportunities. This leads to strain on environmental resources (e.g. infrastructure), which leads to environmental decline as they are quickly run down.
- **Land renting** was reported to be common response to land shortage. Those who rent land are unable to invest in land improvement (e.g. use of fertilisers) because land is rented on a season-by-season basis, and the tenants are not allowed to grow perennial crops or plant trees. Many rent small pieces of land in different villages, and spend a lot of time travelling between their homes and the rented pieces. Rental payments are made up-front, and there is no refund when crops fail. Those who rent intensely exploit land to accumulate as much as they can, and always have to struggle to break even because of high production costs.
- **Use of fragile areas:** Due to lack of land and poverty, it was reported in Ntungamo, Bushenyi, Bugiri and Bundibugyo that the poor have been forced to exploit fragile natural

resources, especially steep slopes, for crop cultivation. This has increased vulnerability to disaster (e.g. landslides and flooding in the downhill flood plains) and resulted in soil erosion. Communities in Bugiri and Soroti districts identified the parent rock as a key obstacle. The soil layer on which arable crop cultivation is possible is thin, comprising mainly sandy particles and rocks, which are easily washed away once disturbed by cultivation.

Analysis: As noted in Chapter 1, it is important for poverty reduction that action is taken to reduce Uganda's very high rate of population growth. As suggested by participants in PPA2, there is a need to increase access to family planning, to sensitise people about it, and to provide functional adult literacy training and ensure education of the girl child as a way of helping women to control their reproduction.

Limited non-farm income-generating opportunities

Non-farm incomes have become a main source of livelihood among poor communities where crop cultivation is no longer a sufficient basis for household food security. Since there are limited non-farm economic activities that the poor can engage in, many rely on trade in natural resource products such as firewood, charcoal, poles, crafts, bricks, etc. Petty trade in these products is affected by low returns, which means that people have to continue exploiting the natural resources, which leads to depletion.

The area is a fragile environment and the need for firewood to burn bricks has resulted in cutting of trees, which will cause further deterioration of the climate, consequently affecting other forms of livelihood.

Community member, Buntungama, Bundibugyo

Analysis: Poor people resort to natural resource exploitation for lack of alternative income-generating activities to support their livelihoods. Policy interventions intended to protect the environment need to include actions to broaden the range of income-generating options available to poor people.

Lack of efficient energy sources

Dependence on firewood for cooking by poor people was observed in 10 districts, leading to the cutting down of trees and hence deforestation over a period of time.²⁴ In three districts, poor households reported that they have adopted the use of dried cow-dung, banana leaves, and banana stems to cook food because of lack of firewood resulting from tree resources depletion.

²⁴ It should be noted that although poor people usually depend on firewood for fuel and this can lead to deforestation, deforestation by large fuel-wood consuming enterprises was also noted in five districts in PPA2, for curing tobacco and for a cooking oil processing factory.

Analysis: The promotion of technologically-improved cooking stoves is important to ensure the sustainable use of firewood for cooking. The establishment of sustainable woodlots should also be promoted. These actions are particularly important whilst other energy sources, such as electricity, continue to be unavailable or unaffordable to the poor.

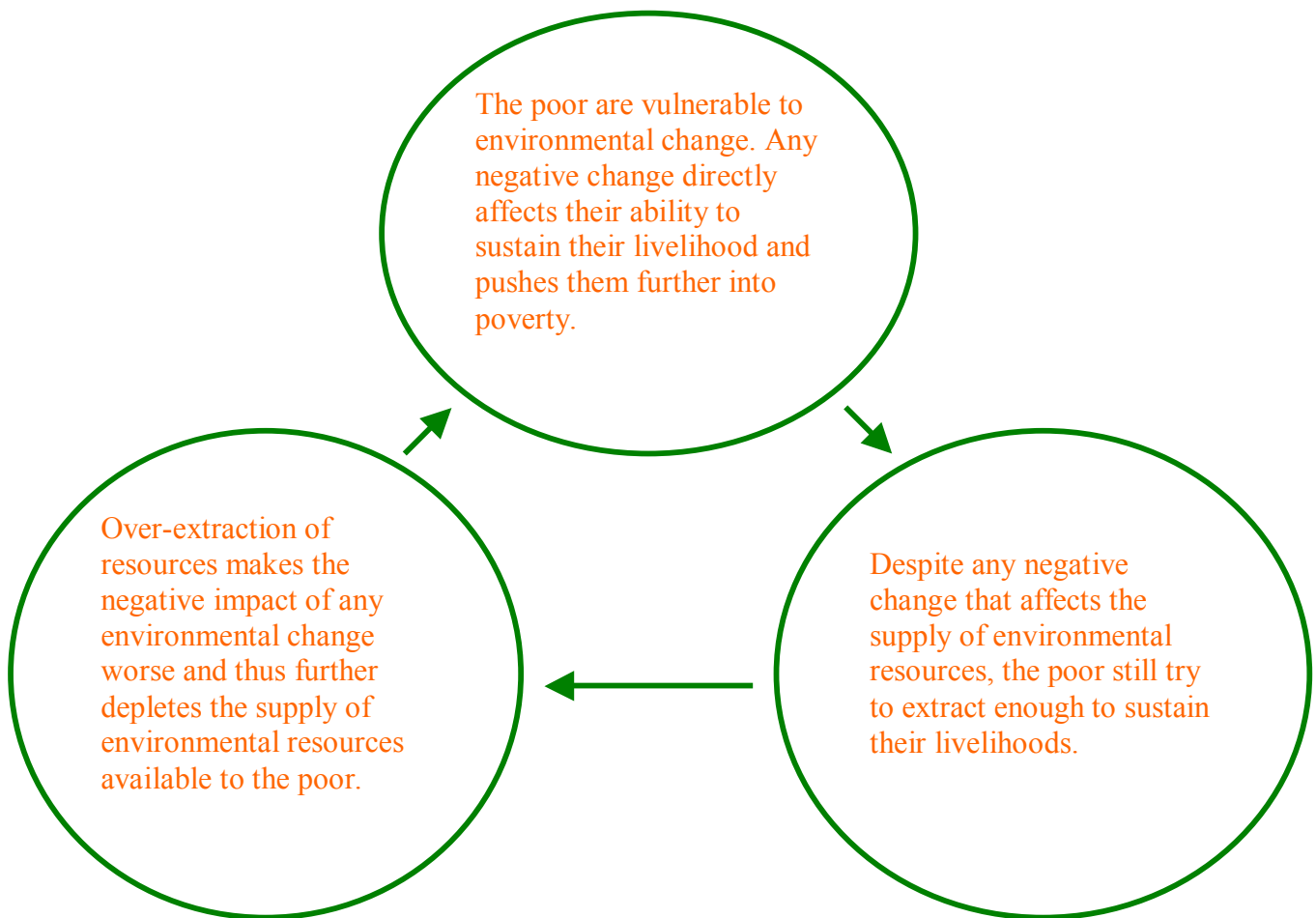
Armed conflicts

In five districts where PPA2 research took place (Kitgum, Soroti, Bundibugyo, Moroto and Masindi), armed conflict has caused loss of lives and property, and displacement. While the rich relocate to the safety of towns in other parts of the country, the poor who remain in war-torn areas and who run to the safety of displaced people's camps have to depend on natural resources for survival. They mainly resort to non-farm activities such as brick making and firewood collection to support their families. Where cultivation is possible, the soils quickly become over-cultivated, leading to soil exhaustion. In areas where livestock are kept, they are usually confined to secure areas, which are sometimes fragile, leading to fast degradation.

Analysis: The poverty-environment relationship: Most of the causes of environmental decline described above result from poverty and also deepen poverty. For example, poor people do not use soil and water conservation techniques because they do not have the resources or opportunities to access extension services. The land on which they depend, therefore, becomes degraded but they are forced to continue farming it for lack of alternatives. Yields then fall, increasing poverty in the household and reducing food security. The relationship between poverty and the environmental degradation, therefore, becomes mutually reinforcing, and it appears from the information collected in PPA2 and the PPEA that in many areas, a vicious circle has been created as described in the diagram below.

Current policies intended to eradicate poverty pay insufficient attention to poverty-environment linkages and the causes of environmental change and decline. There is a need for double-faced policies that address specific causes of environmental decline and degradation while at the same time contributing to various dimensions of poverty eradication and setting up a virtuous circle, as shown in the diagram.

POVERTY AND THE ENVIRONMENT THE VICIOUS CIRCLE



The poor derive a livelihood from environmental resources and, where possible, derive some small additional income from environment-based activities such as firewood collection, selling surplus crops, brick making, etc. This provides food security and a chance to move out of poverty.

As resource exploitation is carried out at sustainable levels, the environment is able to sustain the use of its resources through continual renewal.

4.5 ACCESS TO ENVIRONMENTAL AND NATURAL RESOURCES

As noted above, environmental resources are the main life support of the poor. Yet in PPA2 and the PPEA, poor people in several areas reported that their access to these resources is reducing due to concentration of resources in the hands of the wealthy. They also raised concerns about restrictions on access due to the establishment of Protected Areas and the way these areas are managed, as discussed below.

Resources are concentrating in the hands of the wealthy

PPA2 research suggests that, in several places, land is being concentrated in the hands of a few rich people due to the following reasons:

- ***Distress sales:*** In several districts, distress sale of land was reported to be a common cause of poverty. The poor, who already have small pieces of land, sell their holdings to cover sickness, funeral expenses, pay graduated tax, pay for scholastic materials for children attending UPE schools and to meet other domestic requirements. Many, therefore, become landless, while those who retain any land portions quickly degrade them through continued use.
- ***Mass evictions from land:*** Evictions from land by developers were reported in Kitemba in Mubende and in Gbukutu in Arua. These evictions led to total and sudden collapse of the livelihoods of several hundreds of households, and increased strain on the environment in the areas where they were relocated. The affected households lost access to basic social amenities, infrastructure, and arable land and, in some cases, to crops that had already been grown and were ready for harvesting.
- ***Privatisation of communal property resources through land sales:*** Loss of access to resources critical for the survival of poor people has also been caused by privatisation of the land on which these resources are located through sale. In Lwitamakoli in Jinja, the withdrawal of Butamira forest land from the community when it was sold to the Madhvani company affected the livelihoods of residents who derived open access resources from the forest, including firewood, building materials and medicines, or who used it for growing crops. In Butema in Bugiri, when Tilda (Uganda) Ltd. took over Kibimba rice scheme from government, community members nearby lost access to fishing, water and other resources in River Kibimba.

We have been denied so many of our resources. Butamira forest has been the only source of firewood in the village ... There are no trees in the village. All our gardens are on that land. Now, with the sale of the forest to Madhvani, there is going to be a food shortage and you are going to see people in this village dying of hunger.

Elderly man, community discussion of causes of poverty, Lwitamakoli, Jinja

- ***Enclosures of communal grazing areas*** As discussed in Chapter 3, in cattle keeping areas, former public lands are being leased to establish ranches. This process is occurring at the expense of customary use of land, whether for communal grazing or subsistence cultivation. The cultivators cannot expand their fields having been encircled by ranches. Some landlords evict squatters after leasing land. Those pastoralists who have purchased

and leased land have begun investing in modern livestock husbandry, including fencing and excavating water points. This is leading them to a more settled life, and the possibility of managing environmental resources better.

I used to get many problems of cattle diseases because of communal grazing and it was very expensive to treat them. Since I bought land, I have seen a change.

Settled pastoralist, Bubanda, Mubende

However, traditional pastoralists (apparently the majority), who practise communal grazing, have been denied access to grazing resources, restricting their resource tracking systems and forcing them to exert more pressure on remaining environmental resources that have not yet been enclosed.

Analysis: The alienation of communal grazing lands constrains sustainable grazing systems practised through nomadic pastoralism whereby cattle keepers track seasonally available pastoral resources. Among the majority of cattle keepers, these tracking systems have broken down, leading to degradation due to overgrazing of those limited resources cattle keepers do have access to. As noted in Chapter 3, action needs to be taken to protect common property resources and the access of poorer pastoralists to these resources.

- ***Sale of mailo land by absentee owners:*** In Wakiso and Mubende, where absentee mailo land ownership is common and communities hold usufructuary rights (*bibanja*), people reported evictions and a decline in access to common property resources as a result of the Land Act of 1998. The Act formalised *bibanja* tenancy for those who had stayed on a piece of land for more than 12 years before the coming into force of the 1995 Constitution. This rendered landless many recent squatters/tenants, and created insecurity among mailo landowners by recognising *bibanja* holders as *bona-fide* occupants entitled to a customary certificate of occupancy. To deal with this insecurity, many (mainly absentee landowners) were reported to be selling off their heavily tenanted landholdings. Some landowners have been successful in evicting tenants, albeit forcefully. Others have sold (or are looking to sell) their land to investors, which has created tensions and hostilities. The resulting insecurity has constrained access to common property resources on registered land which usufructuary rights' holders had unrestrained access to.

Analysis: Attempts to formalise customary holdings on already registered land (especially mailo land) have created insecurity for both mailo landowners (some of them absentee) and the tenants. Most of those who had settled on land after 1983 were rendered completely landless, since their tenancy was not recognised by the new land law. Policy-makers need to take action to address this possibly unintended consequence of the 1998 Land Act.

Protected Areas

In nine districts, people complained that their access to resources in protected areas (PAs) is constrained, thus compromising their ability to survive. For example, in Masindi, communities lost access to land and other resources when the boundary of the Bugungu Wildlife Reserve was extended.

We went to dig, but we were greeted with people telling us: “Get out, this is a park.” ... Government should help us and give us our part they took.

Poor old man, Kigungu, Masindi

People explained that as they lack alternative resources to fall back on, they end up stealing resources from PAs or using force to access them. They also noted that the restrictions related to PAs create opportunities for field staff to extort bribes from those intending to access some of the resources. In six districts, people reported that although permits are issued to access resources inside PAs, such as firewood, grass and herbs, these still restrict access to a few days, which compels some individuals to pay bribes to be allowed unlimited access.

Due to their environmental functions, wetlands are protected resources, access to which is limited, especially if it involves undertaking non-traditional wetland use such as cultivation or brick making. In seven districts, wetlands were reported to be under serious pressure from encroachment for cultivation (by mainly poor landless youth) and settlement (mainly by rich people). Among the different encroachers, sustainable utilisation was not being undertaken, causing wetland degradation. In some districts, strict exclusion from converting wetlands was being enforced, with consequent effects on the livelihoods of those who have come to rely on it.

Rice has been our single most important cash crop. Now we can no longer access the swamps. How are we expected to earn a living?

Youth, Awoja, Soroti

4.6 COMMERCIALIZATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL DECLINE

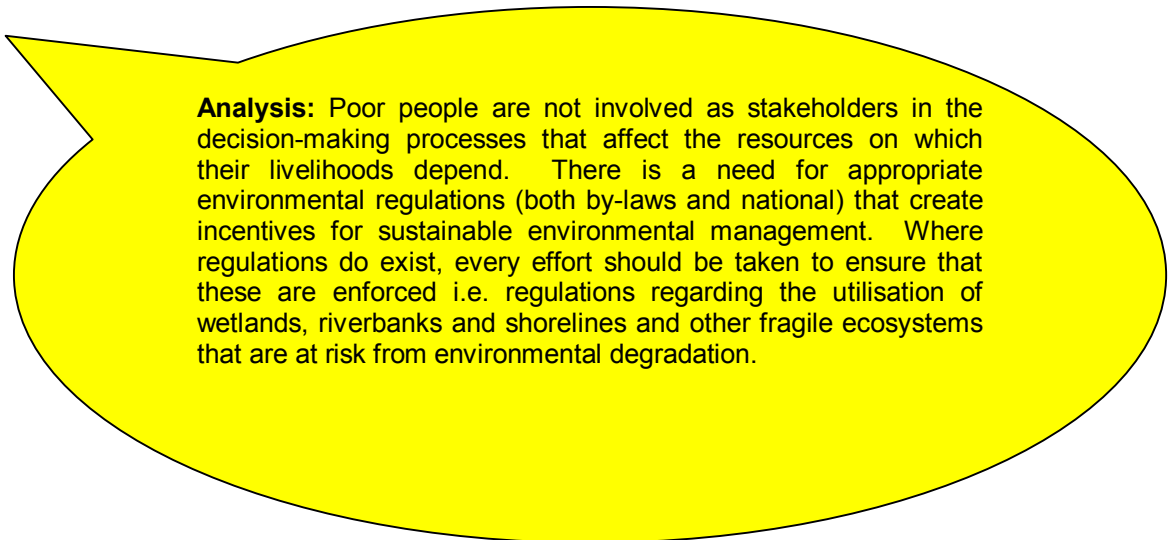
While the actions of poor people are leading to environmental decline in some areas, as discussed above, research in PPA2 and the PPEA also indicates that commercialization of extraction of environmental resources by the rich is causing environmental degradation:

- In three districts on the shores of Lake Victoria, where commercial fishing is taking place, the depletion of fish species and stocks was reported to be a serious cause of concern.
- Environmental decline resulting from mining was reported in Butungama, in Bundibugyo District, and Lorukumo, in Moroto District. The local people involved in mining barely earn a living from selling the ore because it fetches very little. They have no control over the price of the ore, which is determined by the buyers. Those involved in the mining expose themselves to several dangers. Huge craters are formed from the ore removed from the ground by the mining process; these craters, in due course, become a health hazard.

- Pit-sawing (legal and illegal), observed in seven districts, was reported to be threatening forest cover in the few areas where forests still exist.
- In two districts, pollution resulting from spraying pests on a large scale by commercialised agricultural undertakings was reported. As noted in Chapter 3, the Tilda rice growing company in Bugiri was reported to be using aerial chemical spraying to kill birds; and, in Wakiso, export flower companies were reported to be using chemicals to control pests. The large-scale use of pesticides was reported to have led to the death of domestic livestock, as well as other wildlife. In Lwitamakoli, in Jinja, communities reported that the Madhvani company dumps wastes from Kakira sugar factory in Butamira forest.

4.7 ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATION

In five districts, environmental decline was attributed to the absence of minimum standards. Where standards exist, they were perceived to be inappropriate, difficult to enforce or are simply not enforced. The failure to enforce existing regulations regarding appropriate fishing gear has led to depletion of fish stocks, as reported in the last chapter. In urban areas, minimum planning standards have not been adhered to, leading to congestion and poor infrastructure. Environmental rules regarding the use of fragile ecosystems such as swamps and steep slopes were reported to be difficult to enforce in five districts and individuals cultivate riverbanks and lakeshores that are supposed to be protected.



Analysis: Poor people are not involved as stakeholders in the decision-making processes that affect the resources on which their livelihoods depend. There is a need for appropriate environmental regulations (both by-laws and national) that create incentives for sustainable environmental management. Where regulations do exist, every effort should be taken to ensure that these are enforced i.e. regulations regarding the utilisation of wetlands, riverbanks and shorelines and other fragile ecosystems that are at risk from environmental degradation.

CHAPTER FIVE

HEALTH AND POVERTY

Key Findings and Policy Messages

Poor health causes poverty

As in the first PPA, the most frequently cited cause of poverty in PPA2 was ill health and disease.

Reaping the benefits of widened access

The PPA2 findings are quite clear that abolishing cost sharing has helped to widen access to services for poor people, and is greatly appreciated because of this. GoU was therefore right to abolish cost sharing but to reap the benefits, substantial improvements in quality of service are needed. The main areas of service delivery where poor people want to see quality improvements are: drug availability, the presence of qualified health staff, access to services and transport for referral patients.

To improve service coverage and quality, it will be necessary to substantially increase total public and non-profit spending on primary health care, which remains severely inadequate. However PPA2 makes clear that it will also call for better regulation and monitoring – to curtail ‘drug leakage’ to the private sector, control bribery and informal fees, and regulate private practice. Some local experience shows that this *can* be done.

A closer look needs to be taken at whether HUMCs can be motivated to play a positive role in this.

Focusing on prevention

PPA2 also reminds us that the burden of preventable disease in Uganda is enormous. This indicates that preventative primary health care activities should be stepped up. By-laws should be passed and enforced where they can be effective, such as in latrine construction.

5.1 POLICY

The Health Sector Strategic Plan (HSSP) was launched in August 2000 and covers the financial years 2000/01 to 2004/05. It aims to make a basic minimum package of health services available to the entire population through the rehabilitation and construction of health units, provision of essential drugs, recruitment of new staff and training of unqualified staff. The objective is to improve access, so that 80% of the population lives within 5 km of a health facility by 2005. It is planned that every health Sub-District (serving approximately 100,000 people) should have a health centre (called a Health Centre 4) staffed by a doctor with a small theatre for operations such as caesarean sections and repair of hernias. The HSSP also aims to ensure the availability of essential drugs, other medical supplies and logistics at all levels of health care delivery.

The HSSP is being financed through a Sector Wide Approach, with donors encouraged to contribute directly to the GoU budget. The health budget is, therefore, rising significantly with a 43% increase in 2000/2001 compared to 1999/2000 (the year before the start of the HSSP) and funds available for staff increasing by 38% and drugs by 57%. However, project financing is falling as donors move to budget support, so the overall funding for the health sector remains fairly static at around \$15 per capita from all financing sources. This should be compared with the Ministry of Health's estimate that \$28 is needed, per capita, to finance a basic package of health care services through Government and NGO units. Clearly, therefore, funding to implement the HSSP is woefully inadequate.

In order to improve management, accountability and community participation, the HSSP envisages the establishment of Village Health Committees and a strengthening of the role of Health Unit Management Committees (HUMCs). However, little has been done so far to make Village Health Committees a reality, while funding for the HUMCs is very limited.

A controversial aspect of health policy has been cost-sharing (patient fees), which was abolished in March 2001, after findings from both the Interministerial Review in 1999 and PPA 1 that it was not for the poor. Accordingly, therefore, treatment and drugs are now supposed to be provided free at all health units. At hospitals, private wings can be established but free services should still be available in public parts of the hospital. In order to deal with the surge in demand for services that followed, the MFPED immediately released the balance of all Primary Health Care (PHC) budgets to the Districts. In addition, it raised district budgets for drugs by 69% in 2001/02. Furthermore, the Ministry of Health (MoH) temporarily allowed districts to purchase drugs from any source, rather than restricting purchases to National Medical Stores.

5.2 FINDINGS

5.2.1 Poor health leads to poverty and poverty leads to poor health

PPA2, like PPA1, found a strong link between health and poverty with poor health cited as a cause, an effect and a dimension of poverty. Poor health was the most frequently mentioned cause of poverty in PPA2, as noted in Chapter 2. People explained that poor health causes poverty because:

- When people are sick they cannot work;

- People, especially women, spend time taking care of the sick, thereby reducing time for productive work;

Malaria has always attacked me and these days I am much weaker than before, so I no longer dig for hours. When my husband or children are sick this also affects my schedule and at the end of it, all we have is less food and less produce to sell.

Woman, Kawiti, Masindi

- Treatment often costs money.

The children and we the parents fall sick and we have to spend the few savings on treatment, only to recover after the planting season, then poverty increases in the household.

Old woman, Butema village, Bugiri

Analysis: Poor people see ill-health as an economic issue, not just as a quality of life issue and this needs to be recognised in the PEAP. Improving the health status of the population will increase the incomes of the poor.

AIDS and malaria were specifically mentioned as crippling people's productive capacity, with AIDS leading to families with large dependency ratios. Often grandparents are left struggling to care for large numbers of orphans.

The findings show that sometimes people sell their property and assets, such as household utensils and land, to access health care, which makes them poorer. However, as sickness is often an emergency, people may fail to get immediate buyers for their property, with dire consequences, as was reported in Lokileth in Moroto:

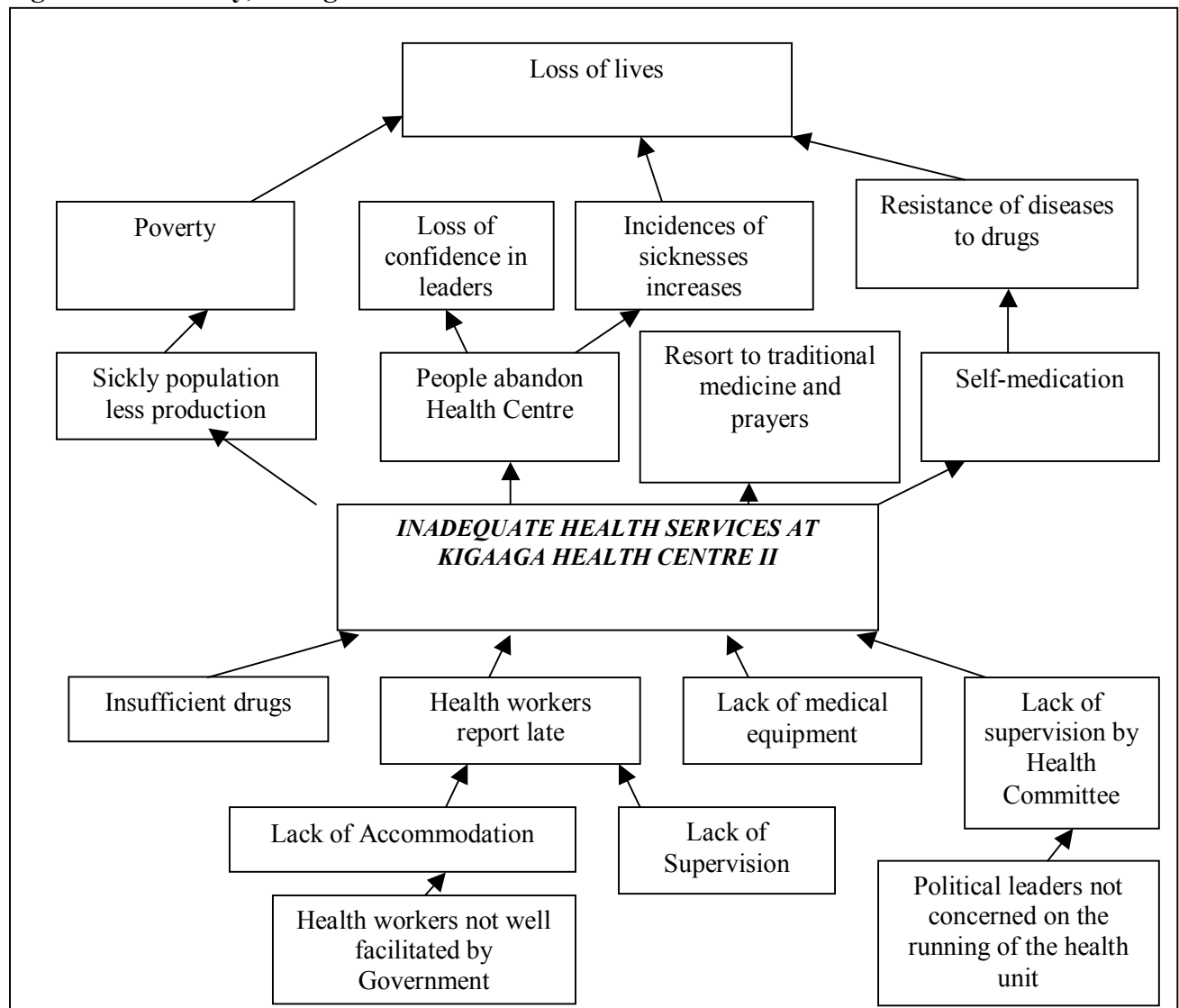
Case study on paying for health care from Lokileth, Moroto

One time while I was in the kraal, my wife sent me a message that our child was sick and that I should sell a goat immediately to raise the money for treatment. I responded to the call and came back home with a goat because there was nowhere I could sell it in the kraal. When I reached home, indeed the condition of the child was very bad, so I told my wife to carry the child to Tapac dispensary. When we arrived at the dispensary, the nurse told us that we needed to pay some money to have the child treated. I explained that there was no money because I had failed to sell my goat, but she insisted that we pay the money or take the child back. Because I could see the child was badly off, I offered the nurse the goat as payment so that she could treat my child. She refused and asked us to leave. ... When it became dark, I gave up and went back home. Unfortunately for my child, he could not see the next daylight.

Source: Lokileth Site Report

The linkages between health and poverty were brought out clearly in a flow diagram from Kabanda site in Ntungamo, as shown below.

Figure 5. 1: Casual Flow Diagram on Inadequate Health Services in Kabanda Village, Ngoma Sub-county, Ntungamo



Source: Kabanda Site Report

5.2.2 Health Problems

Malaria, as in the first PPA, is still considered the major cause of ill-health in all districts visited in PPA2. Diseases due to poor sanitation (with diarrhoea a common complaint) were also reported in most sites, but given particular emphasis in IDP camps, fish landing sites, peri-urban areas, and pastoralist communities. Eye diseases are reported to be on the increase in Moroto District and poor sanitation is given as a causal factor (see Chapter 6). HIV/AIDS was identified as a health problem in a third of sites, including conflict areas, fish landing sites and a few pastoralist and peri-urban communities. Therefore despite the reported national decrease in HIV prevalence rates, people in some PPA2 sites observed that incidence is on the increase. In some sites, women expressed a specific concern that they are helpless in the face of HIV/AIDS, as the following voice shows:

You know that AIDS has entered the home and you accept to die of AIDS, because the men do not know how to protect themselves against AIDS.

Woman, Barungwee, Kitgum

A specific consequence of HIV/AIDS is the large number of orphans, who have been identified as a group vulnerable to poverty (see Chapter 2). This has also led to large family sizes – another cause of poverty identified in PPA2, as discussed in Chapter 2. Other health problems reported include poor nutrition (especially in areas affected by insecurity, notably Moroto and Kitgum); tsetse flies in Butamira Forest, Jinja; mental health problems among plantation workers, and occupational health hazards in the informal sector.

Analysis: All the major health conditions that cause ill-health and later poverty, namely, malaria, poor sanitation diseases, and HIV/AIDS, are preventable. This calls for the strengthening of *preventive* primary health care activities. Already there are campaigns going on, but these should be stepped up and given greater relative emphasis in public spending plans. Some of the preventative activities should be given the support of by-laws, for example, construction of latrines.

5.2.3 Accessing Health Services

PPA2 found that at least 40% of the sites have health units within the Government's definition of accessibility of 5 km. However, people still often feel that these services are not accessible. This is because of lack of transport and poor roads to the units, which often affects the elderly. Transport to health facilities was a major problem, especially in rural sites and has resulted in the deaths of many patients. This is further exacerbated by shortfalls in ambulance services to transport seriously ill referral patients to higher levels of care. Where ambulances are physically available, in most cases the patient has to pay for this service and, at a minimum, is charged for fuel. For example, in Gbukutu, Koboko town, Arua District, patients refund 10 litres of fuel for the ambulance. In Naoi, Moroto, a bicycle is hired at Shs. 15,000 or an ambulance at Shs. 40,000. Low physical and financial access to ambulance services can have dire consequences:

You can watch someone dying helplessly of a disease that could have been prevented, just because of lack of appropriate medical services and transport facilities.

Women in focus group, Bundimulombi IDP Camp, Bundibugyo

Poor physical access to health was reported to be a major problem for maternity care and was reported to have resulted in many maternal deaths. The following case is illustrative:

Recently a lady expecting went to a health centre but was not helped because her case was a complicated one and required equipment not available. Therefore she decided to go to Karugutu, 48 km from Ntoroko, but died on the way.

Community member, Ntoroko Fishing Village, Bundibugyo

Poor access to services by disabled people was mentioned in Kitende 'A', Wakiso, and in Jinja. The disabled people of Jinja cannot access family planning services; they produce many children. With both parents disabled, this makes the children more vulnerable. Health

workers were also reported not to be able to use sign language to communicate with the deaf patients. These cases seem isolated, but point to a bigger problem of access to health services by people with disabilities. Such issues need to be catered for in the training of health workers.

5.2.4 Impact of the Abolition of Cost-sharing on Access to Health Care

In an attempt to remove the financial barriers people face in accessing health care, the GoU abolished cost-sharing for health services in March 2001, as noted in section 5.1 above. This is perhaps one of the most significant policy changes introduced by Government since the first PPA and one that, therefore, justified extensive research in PPA2.

No cost-sharing means more patients

In almost all sites, community members and health workers reported an increase in utilisation of health service since the abolition of charges, with some health units reporting massive increases.²⁵ In all fifteen sites where research was carried out by socio-economic group, the poor reported that they are happy cost-sharing was scrapped as they can now access health services, and in particular drugs. This is illustrated in the following quotations:

In the past I did not go to health units because the charges were much – Shs. 4,000-5,000 in private clinics. Now I go to government health unit because they are free.

Elderly woman, Nakirya, Mubende

I can confidently say that the number of patients in these units has tripled ever since cost sharing was scrapped. The current policy of free health services should not be tampered with since it mainly benefits the poor who cannot afford expensive drugs in health clinics. Government should, however, provide more of these drugs.

Sub-county Chief for Masese III, Jinja

The report from Gbukutu in Arua notes that most of the patients at the (very congested) Health Centre 4 in the town are poor people, especially women and children who did not previously access health services due to lack of money. However, in three of the five PPA2 sites in Moroto, the poor cannot enjoy the no-cost-sharing policy because the health units that are near to them and which are of good quality are mission health units, which charge a fee. People complained that even with government support of the private not-for-profit providers, the charges are still unaffordable.

In some PPA2 sites where information was collected by social group, some 'rich' and relatively well-off people also reported that they are happy with the abolition of cost-sharing,

²⁵ These findings accord with the results of four other studies on the impact of the abolition of cost-sharing on utilisation, all of which found significant increases (see WHO, 2002). Also, the Ministry of Health's Annual Performance Report for July 2001/June 2002 records a 40% increase in outpatient attendances (MoH, 2001/2). The Village Census did not investigate trends in utilisation following the abolition of cost-sharing. However, people were asked about their choice of health service provider (Government, NGO Unit, Private Clinic or Traditional Healer / other) before cost-sharing was abolished and afterwards. The results show that poor people have an increased preference for Government health units now that cost-sharing has been abolished and a reduced preference for Traditional Healers. In contrast, the better-off have a reduced preference for Government units following the abolition of cost-sharing and an increased preference for NGO Units. (MFPED/UPPAP, 2002.)

because they can get free consultations and prescriptions, and then buy the right drugs from private clinics or drug shop.

Analysis: PPA2 found that the abolition of cost-sharing has significantly increased utilisation of government health services. Abolition of charges was therefore a positive, pro-poor policy and the GoU should be applauded for this bold initiative.

More patients means quality problems

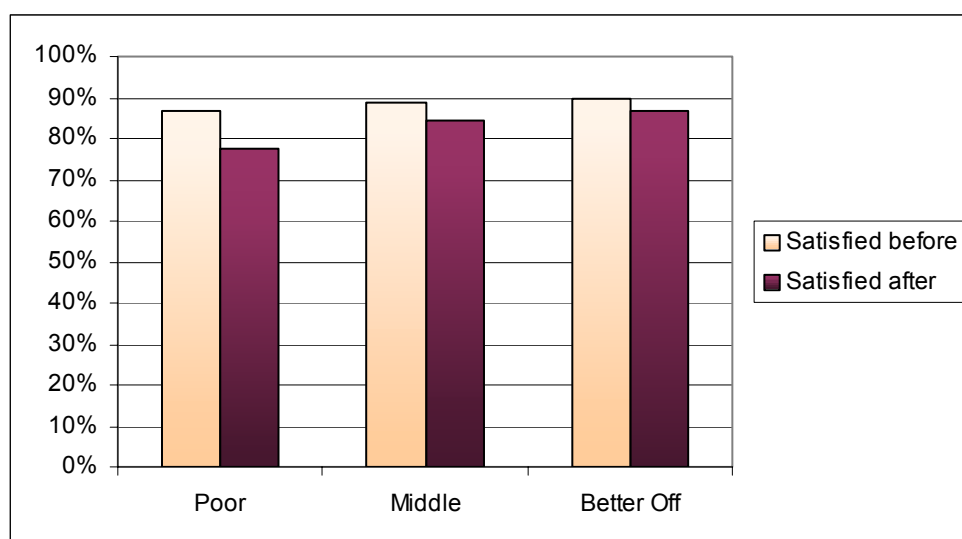
However, the abolition of cost sharing is seen by many community members and/or health staff to have led to deterioration in the quality of health services. The high demand for health services has led to congestion in health units, drugs being used up very fast and an increased workload for health workers. Poor people still report problems in accessing good quality affordable health services. This is because diagnosis is often the only free service and they have to buy medicines. Rudeness of staff and increases in waiting times were also reported.

Abolition of cost-sharing has enabled me and other poor members of the community to access treatment, but when you go to a health unit, there are hardly any drugs and I believe medical personnel steal them. Even when the drugs are there you are told to buy syringes/needles and distilled water and this amounts to Shs. 500. Where do our taxes go? This makes me wonder if these are free services! We the poor need help because we cannot afford to pay for services in the clinic. In most cases when you go to a health unit you are referred to a particular clinic. My request to government is to address the issue of drugs.

Otim Fred, 27 years of age, with a family of 6 children

The Village Census also found that patients wait longer to be seen by a health worker since cost-sharing was abolished. Both before and after the abolition of cost-sharing, poor people were found to wait longer than the ‘middle’ and ‘better off’ groups in the Village Census. However, surprisingly, the Village Census still found very high levels of general satisfaction with health services after the abolition of cost-sharing, as shown in the graph below, even though satisfaction levels have decreased somewhat.

Figure 5. 2: General satisfaction about treatment before and after abolition of cost-sharing by wealth category



Source: Village Census

Because of the deterioration in quality, most ‘rich’ community members in those sites where data was disaggregated by socio-economic group in PPA2, appear to prefer the situation when cost-sharing existed, as illustrated in the following quote.

During cost-sharing, the treatment given was good because drugs were available all the time, health workers were always at the health unit full time, and they were active and responsible. Many people go to the health centre now but do not get full treatment.

Rich person, Nakirya, Mubende

In all sites, health workers decried the abolition of cost-sharing. This is mainly because its removal led to the termination of additional allowances they used to get from user charges, reducing their ability to buy basic provisions; and because the increased utilisation has increased their workload. The following quotes are typical of many health workers’ feelings:

During cost-sharing, I would get soap to wash my clothes and at least buy a trouser but now I even fail to buy a piece of soap. I am defeated. I have nothing to do. I have a small garden at the health centre and I also borrow land from the neighbourhood..

Health worker, Nakirya, Mubende

It is clear that the abolition of cost-sharing – which was implemented before the Ministry of Health was in a position to implement supplementary funding for primary health facilities – did not just affect health workers’ conditions, but also weakened the running of the health units in some respects. The following complaint illustrates this.

Sometimes you do not have basic things like soap, patients’ cards, paraffin or stationery. There is no money to buy them. In some cases you are even ashamed when patients come to such a place when you have been to tell them about hygiene!

Health worker, Kigumba Health Centre, Mubende

On balance, though, it appears that, despite the problems (especially the drug shortages), most poor people are happy that cost-sharing has gone. This is because poor people

appreciate that they are benefiting from the, usually free, service of seeing a health worker. Even when no drugs are available, they can at least see a doctor and get a prescription. They can, therefore, be confident in buying the correct dose of appropriate medicines in the private sector:

Hospitals/health units are still more reliable in diagnosing health problems than clinics, which are cash oriented.

Community meeting, Kakabagyo, Rakai

Some people reported that they continue to go to government health units because they know it is their right to get these services.

Even when we are told that there are no drugs at the health unit we keep going there because we feel we belong to it and have a right to be treated. We keep hoping that we could be lucky to be treated!

Women in focus group in Bura Central, Kitgum

Analysis: It is not surprising that people in PPA2 report overstretched and poor quality health services, because funding for the sector is inadequate, as noted in section 5.1 above. To improve the quality of services, the health budget needs to be increased significantly. However, PPA2 findings (discussed below) also show that it is essential to improve the management of health services and the accountability of health workers if a quality service is to be provided.

Bribes are still common

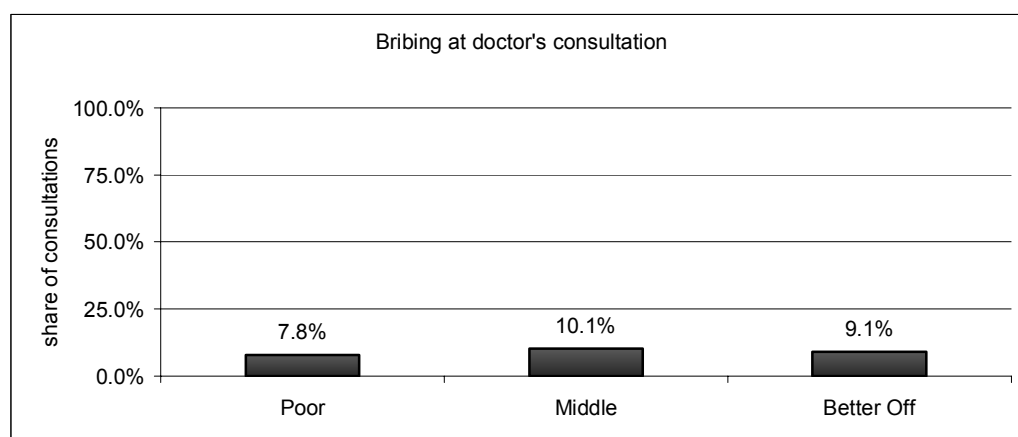
Although cost-sharing has been abolished, community members still often have to make under-the-table payments. This was reported in a third of sites and implied in others. Services/items for which people reported having to make unofficial payments included: drugs (apparently the most common), consultation with a doctor, laboratory services, operations, medical supplies (e.g. syringes and drips) and administration charges. The following example from Arua illustrates the range of items and services for which people are being charged.

One day on 27 October 2001, I accompanied my friend to Koboko Town Council Health Centre for treatment. She was suffering from typhoid fever. She was asked by the medical personnel for paper for prescription but she had none and so had to pay Shs500 for the medical form. The problem continued when we went to the laboratory. She was asked to pay Shs2,000 but she had no money. In the end she was given some chloroquine and panadol tablets as treatment for typhoid. My friend was not treated for typhoid and is sick to now.

Schoolgirl, Koboko Town, Arua

In the Village Census, some 20% of households reported paying 'consultation fees' and a small proportion bribes, as shown in Figure 5.3 below.

Figure 5. 3: Bribing after abolition of cost-sharing, by wealth category



Source: Village census

However, in many instances, senior health officials and the health management committees of the units concerned refuted the allegations made in PPA2 of unofficial charges. In isolated cases, there appeared to be confusion between legitimate charges in private Class A hospital wards and unofficial payments in public Class B wards.

Analysis: It is worrying that some 20% of people were found to be paying 'consultation fees' in the Village Census. This indicates that not everyone is clear about the no cost-sharing policy. The Ministry of Health needs to take action to ensure that everyone is clear across the country that services should be free in Government health units except in private wings in hospitals.

Some improvement in access for women – but barriers still exist

Women generally lack financial and decision-making powers in the household regarding access to health care services and generally have to seek permission from their husbands before seeking care. PPA2 found that the abolition of cost-sharing appears to have improved access for women to some extent in some sites, but if drugs have to be bought, access is still limited. It was noted that this situation might be alleviated if the woman has her own money. In addition, where women have to travel long distances to health units, they may need to get permission from their husbands. The time spent at the health unit (sometimes as much as eight hours) has adverse effects on relations in the household as in the following case.

You have to wait for long. This makes you come back home late. At home you find the husband hungry and angry, and he may end up beating you.

Women, Okunguro, Soroti

5.2.5 Key Health Care Inputs: Drugs

Sick People Want Drugs

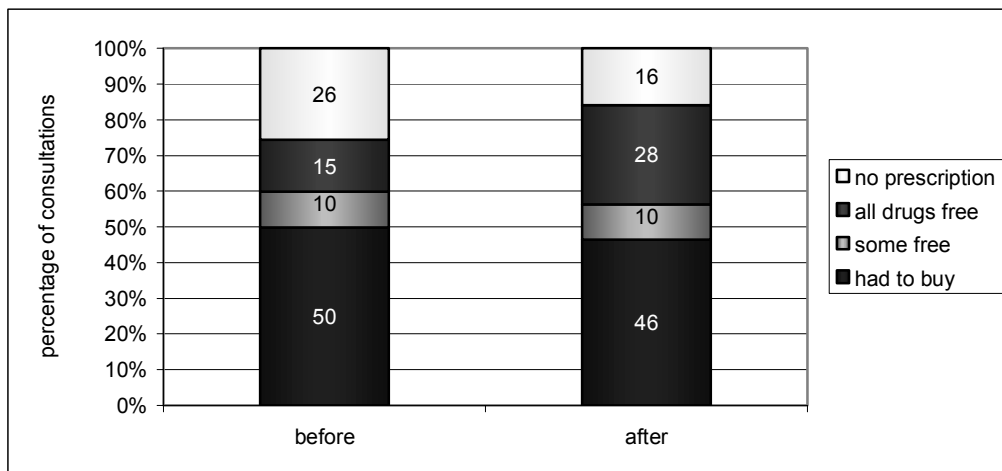
One significant effect of the decision to abolish cost-sharing has been to put pressure on drug supplies, with large numbers of patients demanding free drugs, resulting in drug stock outs. Shortages of drugs were reported in all sites. In addition, it was reported that when people

hear of deliveries of drugs to health units there is a surge in demand, with some patients appearing to stock up with medicines. It was reported in some sites that the two essential drug kits provided to health centres for a three-month period frequently run out of certain drugs in a matter of days. The shortage of drugs is exacerbated by shortage of the means to administer them – like syringes and needles – and often patients are asked to provide these things.

Analysis: The PPA2 finding that utilisation of health units fluctuates with drug availability is consistent with Ministry of Health data showing the same phenomenon, and demonstrates how important it is to increase drug supplies.

The Village Census found that a greater proportion of consultations now result in prescriptions being issued by health workers and that a larger share of the prescriptions lead to the issuing of free drugs by health units, as shown below.

Figure 5. 4: Share of consultations resulting in drug prescription, and method of acquiring the drugs before and after abolition of cost-sharing (100% = all the consultations in the respective time-periods)



Source: Village Census

The information collected in PPA2 suggests that problems with drug supplies vary in intensity between districts. How acute drug shortages are is related to how well health services are being managed and monitored. In Ntungamo, drug shortages do not appear to be as acute as in other PPA2 districts. The contributing factor seems to be close supervision and monitoring, as explained further in the box below.

Better management means better drug supplies in Ntungamo

In Rwamutunga village in Ntungamo, drug supplies were actually reported to have *improved* at the local Health Centre 3 since the abolition of cost-sharing, although supplies were still reported to be insufficient. The In-charge reported: *'Although the unit sometimes runs out of antibiotics, it takes a short time to get more from the Assistant Director of Health Services of Rubaare Health Sub-district.'* In Kabanda, people reported that their nearest clinic, Kigaga, a HC 2, runs out of some types of drugs 'occasionally'. One old woman commented: *'You cannot go to Kigaaga Health Unit and come back empty handed.'* The Health Centre 4 near to Ihuriro village was reported to have supplies of essential drugs such as Septrine and Panadol, and if these run out they are replaced within two days.

Monitoring of health services does appear to be better in at least some parts of Ntungamo than in other districts covered by PPA2. The in-charges of the health centres near to Rwamutunga and Kabanda both gave specific information on how their units are monitored, including monitoring of drug balances, by their local HC 4s, and both mentioned a new health service delivery-code named 'yellow star' under which monitoring has been intensified.

Source: Rwamutunga, Ihuriro and Kabanda Site Reports

Analysis: Increasing funding for drugs is a necessary but insufficient condition for improving drug supply. The variations in drug supply problems recorded, as well as the problems of 'drug leakage' discussed below, show that better monitoring and management of health services will also be essential if drugs are to be made available to people on a widespread basis.

Shortage of drugs was reported to have led to deaths, especially where the poor cannot afford to use private drug shops. The following case is illustrative.

Two weeks ago, a man took his child to the sub-county dispensary in Kididima. The child was diagnosed with a liver problem and was told to go to Kiryandongo hospital. There they had no drugs so he was told to go to private clinic for medicine, he did not have money. He was told to go to Lacor hospital because he did not have money. The child died before he could get there.

Man in Rwakayata, Masindi

A common complaint in PPA2 was about health staff putting drugs meant for government health units into their private clinics. People reported being referred by health centres and hospitals to private clinics and shops to buy drugs. It was observed that government health unit staff often run the clinics/shops in question, leading people to conclude that health workers use the drugs meant for Government health centres in their clinics. This phenomenon is often referred to as '*drug leakage*'. The following quotations illustrate people's concerns about drug leakage.

When you go there, they welcome you with a smile, and then tell you to go to a private clinic for drugs, pointing there a finger to direct you. When you say you do not have money, they tell you to come back when you get the money.

Women during time trend analysis Rwakayata, Masindi

One day a customer came to buy sulphur tablets from my drug shop in the presence of one nursing aide, but the tablets were not available. After the customer had left, she asked me if I could buy them from her at a cheaper price. I accepted and she brought 100 tablets which she sold me at Shs.15 each, whereas the tablets cost Shs.30 in the drug shops.

Man in a focus group discussion, Bura, Kitgum

You cannot see doctors selling the drugs or even taking them out of the clinic/hospital, but the truth is that most, if not all health workers are running drug shops, which are fully equipped with essential drugs. Why are drug shops more equipped than hospital?

Sub-county key informant, Kagoma Gate, Jinja

A strong recommendation from participants in PPA2 is for Government to regulate health workers in private health practices.

Analysis: Communities perceive that drug shortages in Government health units are often due to health workers stealing drugs for their private practices. Government urgently needs to address this problem by increasing drug supplies to units and ensuring through tighter regulation that they remain in the public sector. The experience in Ntungamo suggests that closer monitoring is possible and does work!

5.2.6 Key Health Care Inputs: Health Personnel

Patients want to see trained health care staff

As in the first PPA, lack of adequate qualified staff was reported in more than half of the sites. The shortage is mainly in the following cadres: doctors, anaesthetic staff and laboratory technicians. A related problem appears to be short and inconvenient opening hours. Communities often report that the cause of this problem is senior staff moonlighting in their private clinics. In some sites, people reported a lack of trained staff, which results in unqualified staff being left in charge of the government health unit. Again, echoing the findings of the first PPA, people complained of rudeness by health staff, while staff complained of inadequate and delayed pay.

All sites reporting lack of adequate staff cited accommodation as a major cause of personnel problems. This results in staff having to travel long distances to work, reporting late and leaving early. In addition, it results in an unavailability of staff at night and at weekends. The following voice is bitter about this issue.

For us in Lwitamakooli we are supposed to get sick only during the day but not at night. This is because there will be nobody to attend to you. Because of this many of our women here have given birth by the roadside at night when we are trying to take them to Buwenge 10 kms away. In fact one woman gave birth in that swamp there, 3 km from here and they used a sugar cane peeling to cut the umbilical cord.

Woman in community meeting, Lwitamakooli, Jinja

5.2.7 Private Health Clinics and Drug Shops

Private clinics and drug shops have featured prominently in PPA2, as an alternative and supplement to government services. They provide drugs and services that may not be available in government health units. They are appreciated in some communities for being near to them and having all the drugs they need. However, communities expressed discontent with private practices. As already noted, people are concerned that drugs ‘leak’ to private facilities, which are largely run by Government health workers. In addition, it was reported that drugs are expensive in private practices, while drug shops are usually staffed by unqualified personnel. This often results in over-prescribing of inappropriate drugs and insufficient dosing with appropriate drugs. Private practitioners claim that under-dosing is sometimes caused by financial constraints.

A person may come with Shs. 500 and ask for Panadols for Shs. 200 and Choroquine for Shs. 300. The drugs are obviously an underdose. When you request them to bring more money, they will not come back.

Owner of private clinic, Kasensero, Rakai

Analysis: The MoH needs to improve systems to regulate private practitioners and to produce and implement clear policies on Government health workers owning and working in private health units. There is also need to enforce minimum standards in the private sector.

5.2.8 Specific Service Delivery Issues

Traditional Birth Attendants

The services of trained, equipped TBAs were reported with appreciation in a few sites where information was obtained. In these sites, the TBAs were reported to be helpful to the people because they are closer and more accessible. The following case study and quotation from a TBA in Lubira is illustrative of the services they offer.

Traditional Birth Attendant Service in Lubira Zone, Rakai

In Cell 12, Lubira Zone, maternity services are not accessible but a TBA offers both antenatal and delivery services and charges 5,000/= for an expectant mother and Shs 15,000 when one needs drugs. She refers suspected complications. If a patient stays for 2-3 weeks they pay Shs Shs 30,000.

Here I give them many more services than at the health centre. I give them hot water, food, breakfast and even wash for them at no extra pay. They do not have to come with helpers, bed sheets or even mattresses.

TBA, Cell 12 Lubira Zone

However, a few gaps were identified in TBA services. For example, in many of these sites the TBAs have no protective equipment. Some are not trained and yet are used by the very poor. It was observed that TBAs are expensive and some of them charge according to the sex of the child. Charges range between Shs 5,000 and 15,000 and it was observed that some mothers cannot afford this.

Immunisation services

Mixed feelings about immunisation come out of the research findings of PPA2. In more than a quarter of sites, immunisation is generally appreciated and people have noticed the decline in immunisable diseases in their areas. The following quote supports this.

The government has helped us a lot. Measles had finished us, but now there are people who come to immunise our children.

Mother of seven, Rwakayata, Masindi

However, in a few sites negative attitudes were expressed towards immunisation services, especially National Immunisation Days (NIDS). For example, in Ntungamo (Rwamutunga and Kicece sites) people blame immunisations in 1999 for an unspecified number of children's deaths. In some cases, immunisation is limited by outreach services. In one pastoral community, people think immunisation is to finish Africans, so they do not use the services.

Family Planning Services

Family planning (FP) services were reported to be available in a third of the PPA2 sites and people seemed to know about them. However, a common finding in these sites is that community members lack sensitisation about these services, and both men and women expressed a need for more sensitisation on the methods of FP. In addition, FP was reported to be limited by cultural factors, illiteracy and distance to government health units. Another frequently reported finding about FP is the lack of men's involvement in utilising services themselves and a negative attitude by men towards allowing their partners to access FP. As noted in Chapter 2, many women reported being unable to use FP due to negative attitudes by their husbands. One of the reasons given for this was that men often see children as a source of wealth. The following quotations show the concerns of some men.

These days we have AIDS. Suppose you produce only two children and all of them die – you will stay without a child to assist you.

Man in focus group, Kakabago, Rakai

I had 10 children and lost 4 due to HIV/AIDS. If I had given birth to 2 children what would have happened? We should produce as many children as we can. God will keep them. When you produce few children, you destroy the continuity of the clan. We do not want contraception because it leads to cancer and producing abnormal children. Using contraception you are like a murderer. God is the one who should determine when one should stop.

Elderly man, Nakirya, Mubende

Some women were reported to be practising FP secretly, and a few using traditional methods (*Eyirizi*), claim that they work. However, women are deterred from using FP by fear of side-effects (e.g. deformed children and painful tubes). Sometimes, competition from co-wives inhibits use of FP services.

If you think of taking a break to giving birth, the man turns to other women who can produce; then the only alternative to keep your man is to continue producing for him until you finish your intestines [i.e. menopause].

Women in focus group, Lwitamakooli, Jinja District

Analysis: As noted in Chapter 2, large families feature in PPA2 as an important cause of poverty, while the recent Census in Uganda shows that the population growth rate is extremely high. Government needs to take action to respond to people's calls for more readily available FP and for sensitisation on FP. Sensitisation needs to focus on involving men in using FP and on dispelling myths.

Outreach services

Outreach services were mentioned in a third of the sites. Common limitations in outreach services appear to concern transport issues; shortage of staff; allowances for staff and lack of involvement of communities especially in health education programmes. Where they do take place, outreach services are appreciated for their sensitisation on HIV/AIDS, malaria, water and sanitation issues, and family planning issues as the following quote illustrates.

People come to teach us about family planning that we control our births. They also immunise children against polio and measles. Now we know that the government has good intentions. It has helped us.

Key informant, Rwakayata, Masindi

Analysis: In the light of the problems concerning curative services noted above, and the under-funding in the health sector generally, the cost-effectiveness of strengthening preventive services should be considered urgently. There is anyway a clear case for supporting and facilitating outreach services much more vigorously.

5.2.9 Health Unit Management Committees (HUMCs)

Health Unit Management Committees (HUMCs) are contained in the HSSP as one way of ensuring accountability. In scattered cases, HUMCs exist and are appreciated for monitoring the utilisation of drugs, and connecting health workers to communities. There are nostalgic comments about their active role during the time of cost-sharing when their members used to get allowances. However, in the majority of cases they are no longer functional since they lost those privileges.

Other activities carry on with debts but the HUMC cannot sit without their 3,000/=. When there is no money, there is no work. I do not appreciate having a HUMC.

In-charge Kakabagyo Health Centre, Rakai District

Analysis: In the light of the alleged embezzlement and mismanagement of drugs in government health units, HUMCs have a role to play in ensuring accountability. There is need to find ways of motivating them.

5.2.10 Traditional Practices

The use of traditional medicine and practices is extremely prevalent and is reported in all sites in the PPA2. Use of traditional services is often cited in relation to: first treatment in any illness, the treatment of malaria, low incomes, traditional beliefs, inaccessible roads and when conventional medicine is believed to have failed.

For me, my child had two lango (candidiasis). I took her to hospital and the condition worsened instead. So I decided to escape with the child and took her to a traditional healer who gave her herbs and she healed. She is now in P1 and very healthy. If I had not done that she would have died.

Man in a community discussion, Bura Central, Kitgum

In some communities, traditional healers are regarded as the next best option to conventional services for medical and social problems, especially where distances are long to health units. However, a few problems are observed. Some women complained of sexual advances by

traditional healers. Other healers claim to cure AIDS and extort large sums of money from unsuspecting patients. However, on a more positive note, there is one reported case of collaboration between modern and traditional sectors, with traditional healers admitting patients to their “clinics” but collaborating with health workers in terms of drugs, as shown in the following case.

Many times traditional healers have approached us when they have patients with diarrhoea and we have given them ORS, we have also given them cough mixtures, Panadols, Choloroquine and other drugs. The only problem is that many of them fail to administer the drugs properly.
KI Buyengo Health Centre, Lwitamakooli, Jinja District

Analysis: Greater collaboration rather than competition between the traditional and modern sectors is part of the public/private mix that is being promoted by the Ministry of Health. This needs to be given greater emphasis in the Ministry’s activities.

5.2.11 Recommendations from the Communities and from Health Workers

Community recommendations

Community recommendations coming out of the PPA2 focus on provision and control of drugs, health workers, facilities and PHC activities:

- **Drugs:** Community members are asking for provision of more drugs in health units and proper management of what is available. They would like to investigate sources of drugs for private clinics. In some sites they recommend that government should ban private clinics or put a seal on government drugs for easy identification.
- **Health workers:** In most sites, people requested the provision of more trained health workers. They also recommended that the pay of health workers should be improved, in order to reduce requests for unofficial payments and alleged drug leakages. Local people urged that accommodation should be provided for health workers and that the time they spend at health units should be monitored.
- **Other facilities:** Community members made a strong recommendation to improve the equipment and other facilities in health units. In addition, they recommended the need to strengthen ambulance services to ease referrals.
- **PHC activities:** Community members also ask for more sensitization on HIV/AIDS, TB, FP services and Malaria. Malaria control activities should include the provision of mosquito nets.

Health worker recommendations

Health workers would like more facilitation for outreach activities in terms of transport and allowances. They also want accommodation, more trained staff and rehabilitation and equipment of health units.

CHAPTER SIX

WATER AND SANITATION

KEY FINDINGS AND POLICY MESSAGES

Getting value for money in water supply

The PPA2 research suggests that much still remains to be done in getting results from public expenditure in the water supply sector. Potentially part of the solution, community management of water supply, was found in several sites to be working badly, partly because of poor understanding of its purpose and potential.

Sanitation: crucial yet neglected

Poor people are continuing to get sick because basic sanitation measures are not being taken. Yet, the solutions to this are not complicated. PPA2 suggests that it is time for a more vigorous approach, based on strengthened health education and by-laws that are properly enforced because they have been agreed to by the communities themselves.

6.1 POLICY AND BACKGROUND

The National Water Policy was launched in 1999. Government objectives for the sector are as follows:

- To promote sustainable water resource management, in order to ensure conservation of water sources and the provision of water for all social and economic activities;
- To ensure that by 2005, 65% of the rural population and 80% of the urban population have sustainable safe water supply and sanitation facilities within easy reach. By 2015, the aim is that 100% of the population should have access to safe water and sanitation;
- To promote development of water supply for agricultural production.

In the past, water service provision was centralised and supply-driven. Investments therefore tended to be inappropriate to local needs and lacked sustainability. However, the National Water Policy and other legal frameworks support the idea of community ownership and management of water sources for domestic use. The Policy envisages that protected springs and boreholes/wells fitted with hand pumps will continue to be the dominant technical choice for providing rural communities with drinking water. However, operation and maintenance will follow the principles of Community Based Management Systems. The Directorate of Water Development (DWD) in the Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment (MWLE) has decentralised its functions, including operation and maintenance.

Funding to the water sector has increased substantially in recent years; it tripled 1997/1998 and 2000/01. The first PPA found that lack of safe water is a key problem for poor people and this influenced the MFPED to increase the water budget by 368% in 2000/2001 compared to 1999/2000. However, funding is still only about half of what would be required to achieve the target of 100% safe water coverage by 2015 (MFPED/PMAU, 2002).

Although inputs to the water sector have increased, results in terms of safe water provision have been very disappointing. A study by MFPED (*Is the Water Sector Delivering?*, August 2001) revealed that although inputs have risen, costs of providing outputs appear to have tripled. As a result, it was decided not to increase the water sector budget in 2002/03. A recent value-for-money study for the MWLE highlights outright financial mismanagement and misappropriation of public funds (MWLE, 2002).

6.2 FINDINGS

6.2.1 *Bad water causes poverty*

PPA2 demonstrated the links between lack of access to clean water and poverty. It found that the majority of people still use unprotected water sources, and that people travel long distances to both safe and unsafe sources.

People observed that unsafe water sources lead to water-borne diseases. As discussed in Chapter 5, disease reduces productive time, and the little resources that households have are spent on treatment. Many people also reported that long distances to water sources lead to a lot of productive time being wasted, and that they also waste time waiting at crowded water sources. Women and children are most affected. In Gbukutu in Arua women explained: *'We don't sleep at home during the dry season, as we go out day and night long looking for clean*

water.’ Children were reported to miss school in order to fetch water. This limits their education, and poor education was identified as a cause of poverty (see Chapter 2). Conflicts and fighting were reported at crowded water points.

Lack of water also affects the major activities on which people depend for their livelihoods. For example, it leads to death and diseases for animals in pastoralist communities, and affects agriculture when people cannot irrigate their crops. In pastoralist communities, for example Naoi and Lorukumo in Moroto, water was identified as the most pressing need for agriculture and livestock. In Lorukumo, people strongly recommended harvesting rainwater and using it for irrigation during the dry season.

Buying of water was reported in most urban sites, with costs ranging from Shs. 50 to Shs. 200 per jerrycan. It was reported in several urban sites that this leads poor people to use unsafe but free sources. Another cost of water is the maintenance fee that is charged for people accessing borehole water in some sites. The poor, especially in urban areas, decried the high cost of water, which limits access to safe water and requested completely free water.

6.2.2 Still not enough safe water

PPA2 revealed that access to safe water is still a major problem for many people. Community members reported travelling between 1.5 and 16 kms to collect safe water. Only the urban sites of Wakiso and Jinja reported using water from the National Water and Sewerage Corporation and only a third of the sites reported having at least access to a borehole. Gravity flow schemes were reported in Ntungamo and Bundibugyo and a few sites reported using protected springs. In the rest (30% of sites), people are simply using unprotected and unsafe sources. It should, however, be remembered that even those with protected sources are forced to use unprotected sources because of the distance to the safe sources, the cost and congestion of the safe water points.

Different problems people face in accessing clean water are expressed in the quotations below. Table 6.1 summarises different water sources that people use, and their related problems.

We have no safe drinking water. At school we have a water tank but there is no water in it and at times we come to school walking long distance of about 4.5 kms from home. We reach school late. When playing time comes, we play but there is no where to get drinking water, so we get exhausted and fail to follow afternoon lessons.

Young girl, Acomia, Soroti

This year for the first time Oru River dried up. People dug deep in the sand of the dry valley to get water. After collecting, people would cover it up, so that the next person would not know where they fetched the water. People became selfish.

Woman in community meeting, Godia, Arua

Even this borehole is not a borehole. We waste a lot of time pumping and very little water comes. Many times we end up going to fetch water from the river instead: maybe it is too old because it was constructed in 1997.

Elderly woman while making a resource map, Barugwee, Kitgum

Table 6. 1: Different water sources that people use, with the related problems ²⁶

Type of source	NO. OF SITES REPORTING	Problems identified
National Water and Sewerage corporation	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ In some peri-urban sites, landlords do not want pipes to pass through their land because then they will not be able to build there and are not compensated. ◆ Some tenants cannot access water because landlords do not pay and therefore water supply is cut off most of the time.
Boreholes	20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Little water can be pumped from some boreholes. ◆ Distance and congestion leads to a lot of time spent collecting. ◆ Water is rusty. ◆ Some not functional and frequent breakdowns reported. ◆ Charges to access boreholes and maintenance fees of between Shs. 200-500 per month.
Protected springs	6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Quarrels and conflicts due to congestion. ◆ Health problems.
Gravity flow scheme	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Taps not enough in the IDP camps.
Unprotected sources	24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Water-borne diseases are rampant, including typhoid, bilharzia and cholera. ◆ Contaminated during downpours, also by animals and humans. ◆ Lake water polluted by erosion, people wash around the lake contaminating it, dumping ground for human excreta. ◆ They dry up in dry season.

6.2.3 Any improvements in the water sector?

PPA2 found little evidence of recent improvements in access to safe water as a result of Government action. Increased numbers of safe water points were reported in the sub-counties where three PPA2 sites are situated in only three districts: Mubende, Masindi and Soroti. (This is not say that there have been no improvements elsewhere; they may just not have been reported). In some sites, people reported recent provision of safe water at health centres and schools, but in a number of instances these water sources were provided by NGOs. The few improvements that were noted within the PPA2 sites themselves were almost entirely due to action by NGOs, and community members are quick to add that the problem of access still exists. District authorities reported that they are hampered by lack of capacity, notably understaffing, lack of funds, and lack of equipment in some cases.

²⁶ Access to water was investigated in 55 of the 60 PPA2 sites. Some sites reported using more than one water source.

During the construction of the protected spring in Ihurio, we were not consulted and the contractor was paid in spite of doing shoddy work....How do you expect us to maintain what we did not develop?

Young man in community discussion of community participation in development programmes, Ihurio Village, Ntungamo

Analysis: It should be noted that even the improvements noted above are mostly supported by NGOs. There is need for proper accountability of public funds going into the water sector.

6.2.4 Operation and Maintenance of Water Sources

Although community management is the basis of sustainability of water sources, according to the National Water Policy, it was reported in very few sites. Only three sites reported having Water User Committees (WUCs) that were functional. These WUCs are succeeding in mobilizing funds and organizing repairs. The maintenance fee charge ranges between Shs. 200 and Shs. 500. However, one constraint to contribution of cash for maintenance is that money is collected and still sources are not well maintained. There is, therefore, lack of accountability for the money raised. Community members acknowledged problems of lack of WUCs, including complete breakdown of water points, and poor sanitation around the sources.

Analysis: Community management is one of the ways to ensure that the improvements in the water sector are sustained. Information coming out of the sites shows that this is very poorly developed, and marred by corruption. People do not seem to know the reasons for paying maintenance fees, judging by the complaints they made. Community management is within the water policy, as noted above; thus there is need for sensitization on the issue and to ensure proper management of community funds. This will be part of ensuring value for money.

6.2.5 Community recommendations

The recommendations coming out of the PPA2 communities centre around making water more available to the poor – for example, provision of more boreholes, valley dams for animals, and provision of free water. Others are maintenance issues: sensitisation on the importance of maintenance and WUCs, and repair of broken boreholes.

6.3 SANITATION

Sanitation is reported to be generally poor, with only two sites reporting fair sanitation: Kimwanyi in Wakiso and Ihuriro in Ntungamo. In Kimwanyi, sanitation is not too bad because people have latrines and dispose of garbage properly. In Ihuriro, Ntungamo, almost all households are reported to have latrines, although some are not well maintained – they

lack covers and are infested with flies – and human waste was observed around the water points. The rest of the sites, however, acknowledge problems of poor sanitation. The consequences are that during a downpour, all the faeces are washed down the unprotected wells, leading to diseases (see section on water above).

6.3.1 Why low latrine coverage?

Some sites gave reasons for low latrine coverage, including the cost of using and the cost of constructing latrines. In some sites, people are supposed to pay for the use of public toilets; those who cannot afford prefer to use the bush or polythene bags. A respondent from Nakapelimen, Moroto, questioned in the following way the affordability of using latrines in this extremely poor urban slum: *‘If we can fail to find money for feeding, how then can we find money for faeces?’* Other people reported that they cannot afford the concrete slabs needed to construct latrines. Another factor is negligence of landlords/leaders, especially in peri-urban areas where land is scarce. Geological factors limit latrine construction in fish landing sites and some peri-urban areas.

Cultural beliefs were blamed in some sites for failure to use latrines. Pregnant women are not allowed to use latrines lest the baby falls into the pit. Others just have conservative attitudes.

We have plenty unused land here. Our forefathers used to go to the bush; it is therefore very right for us to do the same. A latrine stinks – why don’t I go to the bush where I do not have to use the same spot twice?

Old man in Butema Village, Bugiri

6.3.2 Issues in specific sites

Fishing communities

In the six fishing villages where research took place in PPA2 few houses have latrines. The sandy soils were said to make construction difficult. People use plastic bags and dispose of them in the lake, defecate in bushy areas around the site or just use the lake. At the same time, many people use lake water for drinking, leading to problems with dysentery, cholera and diarrhoea. Many who cannot afford the long distance to safe water sources use the lake. In some sites, the water hyacinth covers most of the lakeshore, reinforcing dirtiness. Boiling water is said not to be feasible due to the shortage of firewood

Urban and peri-urban areas

In urban and peri-urban areas, sanitation is generally extremely poor. Waste disposal and drainage are a big problem, with open drains and refuse dumps and no garbage collection. Very few households have access to latrines. In Masese III, there are no public toilets and many people use plastic bags. Men in a focus group discussion also explained:

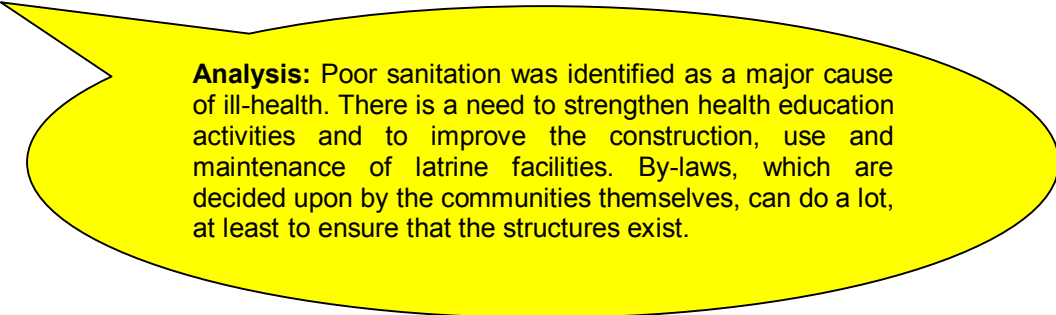
Our people have no sufficient access to toilet facilities. Ten households on average use one toilet and yet most of these toilets are locked most of the times. A few people try to access school toilets but these are also restricted by school management. Consequently, many people use the railway when they want to ease themselves.

Focus group with men, Masese III, Jinja

In Nakapelimen in Moroto, the PPA2 researchers reported that what ‘will strike one upon arrival at Nakapelimen is the stench of human excreta that fills the air. Human excreta can be

seen on both sides along the road and even in spaces between houses' (Nakapelimen Site Report).

Napier Market in Jinja has never had toilet facilities, and vendors walk long distances to queue for toilets in bus and taxi parks. It was observed that the disabled are more affected by this problem. Even where facilities exist, they are not easily accessible by the disabled.



Analysis: Poor sanitation was identified as a major cause of ill-health. There is a need to strengthen health education activities and to improve the construction, use and maintenance of latrine facilities. By-laws, which are decided upon by the communities themselves, can do a lot, at least to ensure that the structures exist.

6.3.3 Garbage disposal and collection

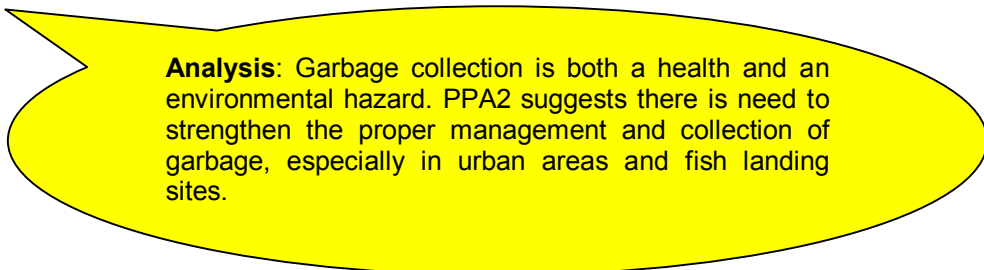
Garbage disposal and collection was investigated in a handful of sites in PPA2, and reported to be a problem in many urban sites, IDP camps and fish landing sites. Rubbish in many of these sites is just thrown around, which causes accidents to children. Communities decry the poor services, as shown in the following quotation.

The town council is negligent. They do not collect garbage and yet they are responsible for this. We cannot start collecting garbage on our own because we pay so many taxes

Community meeting, Cell 12, Lubira Zone, Kitgum

Causes of poor garbage collection include: lack of rubbish skips, poor management of tendering, and poor management of waste in urban areas.

In the informal sector of Jinja, there is a problem of waste management. The 30% of non-degradable garbage pollutes the 70%, which is degradable, making it more expensive to collect. There is inadequate equipment to collect garbage. There is also misunderstanding between the municipality and business community as to who is supposed to collect the garbage, and efforts by the business community to collect garbage are frustrated by the municipality.



Analysis: Garbage collection is both a health and an environmental hazard. PPA2 suggests there is need to strengthen the proper management and collection of garbage, especially in urban areas and fish landing sites.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EDUCATION

Key Findings and Policy messages

Has UPE been achieved?

As with primary health, the principal PPA2 findings are about the challenge of improving quality within a system that has definitely widened access for poor people. However, there are also clear suggestions that the achievement of universal enrolment should not be taken for granted. The use of gross instead of net enrolment figures inflates actual achievement. In some places, pupils are being turned away – contrary to the established rules – because they cannot afford uniforms and scholastic materials. And actual attendance by enrolled children is high at exam time, but low at other times, because parents do not always see incentives to prioritise education over other concerns. Girls are probably most affected by this, despite the evidence that girls' education is the most critical lever for improving the health and all-round development of a society.

Quality matters

The evidence from the PPA2 sites suggests reconsideration by policy-makers of the following problems affecting educational quality in primary schools:

- the policy of automatic promotion;
- the emphasis on quality school buildings, as opposed to building houses for teachers, to strengthen morale, motivation and attendance;
- the lack of provision of school lunches, even for the poorest and orphans, in spite of the recognised links between hunger and poor performance in education;
- the lack of sensitivity in the current regulations to the plight of poor families in urban areas;
- getting the right balance between a practical curriculum, to make early leavers employable, and the preparation for secondary schooling that often motivates parents.

Greater community involvement in monitoring of schools, and further attention to transparency in the allocation and use of capitation grants, still seem to be needed. Neither MFPEP advertisements in the newspapers, nor School Management Committees, are enough according to the PPA2 findings.

7.1 POLICY

A 2025 vision for Uganda's development formulated in 1997 incorporated a commitment to education as a development priority. The *Education Strategic Investment Plan 1997-2003 Framework (ESIP)* is the foundation on which this commitment was formulated over the medium term. Universalising primary education (UPE) is the government's chief education priority. UPE is therefore central to the *ESIP* and the *ESIP* framework period (1998-2003) covers the first cycle of UPE.

UPE, introduced in 1997, provides 'free' education to all primary school-going age (6-13 year old) children in Uganda.²⁷ The introduction of UPE led enrolment in government-aided primary schools to almost double within a year, from 2.9 million in 1996. Total enrolment has continued rising, reaching approximately 7.3 million in 2002, up from 6.8 million in 2001.²⁸ Such a huge increase in UPE enrolment has resulted in very high pupil to teacher /classroom / textbook ratios. The *ESIP* aims to improve the respective ratios via:

- good quality and cost-effective teacher training achieved through, among other measures, the Teacher Development Management System (TDMS);
- classroom building achieved through both completion of partially built classrooms and construction of new ones, including improved access design for children with disabilities (CWDs) by 2003, via parallel investments of community and government; and
- ensuring access to required textbooks on a one-book to one-pupil basis by 2003.²⁹

A significant proportion of the funds under the *ESIP* are released directly to primary schools. The UPE Capitation Grant caters for recurrent expenditure, including instructional materials (e.g. textbooks and chalk) and management costs. The School Facilities Grant (SFG) caters for new classrooms and latrines construction and associated equipment (e.g. blackboards, notice boards, furniture, etc.) and teachers' housing. The Classroom Completion Grant (CCG) is for completion of partially built classrooms. Neither of these funds can be used for school maintenance, and the community is responsible for maintenance of completed classrooms.

Information on UPE grant disbursements is published in newspapers and is supposed to be posted on all school notice boards. School Management Committees (SMCs) are supposed to play a crucial role in ensuring that policy guidelines are implemented and accountability assured. SMC chairpersons are co-signatories with the headteacher to the school bank account. In addition, SMCs are also supposed to approve school development plans, monitor teacher attendance and represent parents' views. A programme to provide SMC members with relevant training by 1999 was planned.³⁰ Government policy regarding Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) is unclear. In 1994 the Ministry of Education and Sports (MES) issued a circular banning PTAs. However, the *ESIP* notes that PTAs as well as SMCs need to be sensitized on their roles.

²⁷ When UPE was launched in 1997, it provided for 'free' primary schooling for 4 children in every family. However, many families went beyond this provision and enrolled all their primary school-going-age children. Government accepted this reality and accordingly amended the policy. Because government has not provided scholastic materials (e.g. exercise books, pens, uniforms, etc.), parents have been expected to provide these.

²⁸ See *New Vision*, Wednesday, October 16, 2002, p. 2.

²⁹ See *ESIP*, pp. 6-12.

³⁰ See *ESIP*, pp. 13-14.

Under UPE no direct charges are supposed to be levied on parents in rural schools, while in urban schools parents can be charged up to Shs. 10,000 per term per child for utilities. There is currently no clear policy with regard to charging refugee children from outside the country. In all schools, wearing of uniforms by children is supposed to be voluntary, and by regulation no child should be turned away from school, even if they lack scholastic materials such as exercise books, pens, pencils, etc.. Since the advent of UPE, government has officially opposed corporal punishment, encouraging other ways to enforce discipline such as digging, cleaning, etc.³¹

In 2000, a new primary school curriculum was introduced. The new curriculum contains more subjects than the old one, and some of these subjects will be examined for the first time in 2004. In the new curriculum, agriculture is treated as a subject in its own right.³² It is implicit in the new curriculum that local languages should be used for teaching in P1 to P4, especially in the rural areas.³³ Currently there is no clear government policy or regulation with regard to promotion of children to higher grades. But in practice many UPE schools implement a policy of ‘automatic promotion’.³⁴

It is the policy objective to facilitate transition to public and private secondary and technical schooling by increasing overall post-primary enrolment. Strategies include: rationalisation of secondary facilities utilisation and hence facilitating increased enrolment at ‘O’ level by 2003; establishing community polytechnics in each sub-county by 2001; and building 10 state seed schools per year from 1998 with a focus on disadvantaged areas.³⁵

Ideally, all children should have a primary school accessible within a 2 km distance,³⁶ and a secondary and/or post-primary technical school accessible within a 5 km radius.

A national adult literacy programme was launched in 1992 by government, in conjunction with NGOs, with the objective of reducing the rate of illiteracy from 48% to 24% by 2003.³⁷

7.2 FINDINGS

7.2.1 Overview

Research into communities’ experiences of current education provision in Uganda was conducted in all 60 PPA2 sites. In PPA1, information on education was mainly collected from community members, and there was limited attempt to differentiate views by social/age category or by well-being group. However, in PPA2 there was a deliberate attempt to differentiate views: by social/age category (e.g. youth, elderly, orphan, pupils/children, PWDs/CWDs, etc.), by gender and by well-being status (e.g. ‘rich’/‘well-off’, ‘medium-rich’,

³¹ See the *Uganda DHS EdData Survey 2001* (2002), p. 109. See also *New Vision* Friday, October 11, 2002.

³² NB under the old curriculum agriculture was treated as a unit of Science.

³³ This also happens to be the long-standing policy on medium of instruction in primary school in rural areas. See the *Government White Paper on the Education Policy Review Commission Report* (April 1992, Kampala), p. 19.

³⁴ Also sometimes called ‘social promotion’, automatic promotion refers to the practice of promoting all children to a higher grade up to the Primary Leaving Examinations (PLE) irrespective of grades or their levels of learning.

³⁵ See *ESIP*, pp. 7-8.

³⁶ See MFPED 2000: 76.

³⁷ See *The New Vision*, Friday, October 18, 2002, p. 34.

‘poor’, etc.). In addition, views of key informants and educational service providers (e.g. local leaders, teachers, etc.), and of entire communities and especially the poorest were also sought.

The PPA2 education findings are generally similar to those in PPA1. However, the PPA2 findings appear to be of particular interest on:

- gender-specific reasons for dropping-out/absenteeism,
- UPE coping mechanisms,
- attitudes towards agriculture in the primary curriculum, and
- attitudes towards traditional secondary and post-primary vocational education, and functional adult literacy.

Nothing or very little was noted in the PPA1 national report regarding these issues.³⁸

The following are the key messages from PPA2 concerning communities’ experiences with current education policy.

Education *per se* is still highly valued by communities as a means of rising out of poverty, but current education in Uganda is also perceived to be of limited worth. UPE is still highly appreciated by communities, especially the poor, mainly because of increasing access and improving school physical facilities. Despite the success of UPE, however, PPA2 findings still raise serious concern about the implementation of the policy mainly because of the perceived deterioration in the quality of primary education.

In many sites, UPE quality concerns were linked to frequent absenteeism, late-coming and dropping out by pupils, resulting from such barriers as high financial costs of extra-UPE charges, traditional social and cultural attitudes and practices, and hunger and poor nutrition. Early marriage due to poverty and traditional culture is the most frequently cited reason for girls dropping out, followed by early pregnancy. For boys, it is engaging in income-generating activities and petty trade. Many mechanisms adopted by PPA2 communities to deal with the negative aspects of and barriers to access to UPE (e.g. parents preferring that rather than contribute financially or in kind to lunch at school, children return home for lunch even when lunch is very often not ready on time) simply exacerbate the UPE quality (and cost) problems. In all 12 districts, community members in PPA2 said that the SMCs were actually not functioning as expected.

In most sites where attitudes towards primary education in agriculture were investigated, community members advocated the inclusion of agriculture in the primary curriculum mainly because it would make the UPE curriculum more practical and relevant. In the majority of sites where attitudes towards traditional secondary and post-primary vocational education were investigated, most community members, including the poorest, preferred vocational education.³⁹ Most comments on barriers to access to secondary education in PPA2 still focused on financial costs being prohibitive and schools being too far away to be accessible. In most districts community members pointed out the lack of and urgent need for functional adult literacy programmes.

³⁸ See MFPED, 2000: 71-79.

³⁹ N.B. A few people in the poor category and some people from insecure areas in northern Uganda preferred secondary education to vocational education.

The most frequently mentioned community recommendation to Government to improve educational service delivery was both to increase incentives, facilities and motivation for (primary) teachers to work especially in rural and difficult areas, and to improve their supervision and monitoring.

7.2.2 Education and Poverty

Communities in Uganda generally perceive education as one of the principal factors determining one's well-being status. In the majority of sites,⁴⁰ in all 12 districts, community members highly valued education as means of rising out of poverty mainly because it can facilitate one to get employment and income to meet ones' needs and obligations.

With education one can get employment. Educated children can in the long run help one in old age.

A poor young mother, semi-structured interview in Alekilek, Moroto

Education may be expensive but it is an investment. I believe children will in future help me solve my problems when they complete school.

A medium-rich woman, semi-structured interview in Alekilek, Moroto

Studying is good because you get money and you can use it to get what you want.

A child in Ntoroko, Bundibugyo

However, as illustrated below, education was perceived to be of limited worth when after completion of (primary) schooling there is no substantial difference between someone who has been to school and one who has never gone to school at all. Difference was perceived in terms of, for example, certificate gained, nature of employment acquired and income gained, practical skills acquired or value added, and ability to employ oneself. Education was also considered worthless when there is limited or no immediate and direct usefulness and relevance of the education acquired to the traditional livelihoods of people, especially those who are just eking a living and live hand to mouth. In addition, community members felt education to be valueless when children cannot continue in school beyond the primary level due to high cost and/or lack of a nearby secondary school.⁴¹

When a child completes P7 s/he does not get a certificate, so s/he appears like any other person who has never gone to school.

Elderly man in Buwoya East, Bugiri

In Lwitamakoli S4 leavers also do casual labour such as cultivating in sugarcane plantations and cutting sugarcane. That is the only work they can get here. They do the same kind of work with those who never went to school. Those illiterates even wonder why they wasted time going to school because they are doing the same work.

A man in a community meeting in Lwitamakoli, Jinja

⁴⁰ In 39 of the 60 sites.

⁴¹ It is interesting that the *Uganda DHS EdData Survey 2001* (2002:116-117) found that parents/guardians 'overwhelmingly ... consider primary schooling to be beneficial', and only 1% of the parent/guardian respondents, mostly hailing from the Northern region, said that 'there were no advantages from boys' and girls' primary schooling'.

The old people are the ones that studied. But now you cannot study. What will you eat if you go to study? There is no money. Old people in those days had money, they did not have to work and that is why they studied.

A male youth in Kigungu, Masindi

Overall, low levels of education and illiteracy were cited in all districts as effects, causes and characteristics of poverty and, by contrast, high level of education was mentioned in most districts⁴² as a characteristic of the better-off because it enables one to compete more favourably for high-paying jobs and employment.

Poverty is failure to contribute the Shs. 1000 and the four kilogrammes of maize for children's lunch at school. It is failure to buy them uniforms, books and pens.

A man in the poorest category, community meeting in Lwitamakoli, Jinja

Our income is very limited, we cannot compete for high-paying jobs because of our low educational levels.

A youth in Katogo, Mubende

Analysis: Community members relate poverty to illiteracy and low education and lose interest in schooling when their experience in school tells them there is little to be gained from schooling. Policies for poverty reduction via educational empowerment should look seriously at how to provide more than simply basic education and how to facilitate children to go in school as far as is expected. They should also explore how to reduce the immediate opportunity cost or benefit lost by the family if the child continues in school, and how to increase the likely benefits of schooling, especially in terms of employment opportunities.

7.2.3 Findings on UPE - at a glance

Research findings from PPA2 – on the positive and negative effects of UPE, on the universal barriers to access to UPE and to its improved quality, and on the UPE coping mechanisms adopted by communities – are listed below, in descending order from the most frequently mentioned.

⁴² In 8 of the 12 districts.

Table 7.1: UPE at a glance

<p>POSITIVE EFFECTS OF UPE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased access/enrolment, especially of girls, orphans, CWDs and the very poor • Improvements in school physical facilities • Improved motivation for teachers⁴³ • Reduced expenditure on primary education, hence increased savings for secondary education expenses • Improved quality of education⁴⁴ • Improved household hygiene • Improved discipline in the community • Reduced child labour • Reduced incidence of early marriages • Establishment of more private schools. 	<p>NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF UPE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deterioration in quality of education⁴⁵ • Large classes • Inadequate motivation of teachers⁴⁶ • Less active and voluntary parental involvement in and contribution to primary education⁴⁷ • Less disciplinary controls and restrictions • Lack of housing for teachers especially in rural areas • Late disbursement of UPE funds • Corruption.⁴⁸
<p>BARRIERS TO ACCESS TO UPE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial costs and barriers⁴⁹ • Traditional social and cultural attitudes and practices⁵⁰ • Hunger and poor nutrition barriers⁵¹ • Teacher-related and in-school barriers⁵² • Physical, geographical and seasonal barriers⁵³ • Insecurity (cited in 3 of the 60 sites) • Widespread unemployment, especially of university graduates (cited in 2 sites). 	<p>UPE COPING MECHANISMS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased agricultural activity by parents⁵⁴ • Parents contributing voluntarily to improve school physical facilities⁵⁵ • Parents resolving to pay less for lunch at school, utilities and other UPE-related charges; or refusing to pay for lunch at school and preferring that children return home for lunch; or shifting children to other UPE schools where they pay less, etc. • Local and international NGOs intervening to assist in meeting some of the UPE-related costs (e.g. school feeding programmes, uniforms, scholastic materials) • Teachers resolving to do without lunch at school, to pay for their own accommodation and to find alternative/additional income sources • Headteachers not turning away pupils from school due to defaulting on UPE-related costs • Requiring all adults eligible to pay graduated tax to contribute to school maintenance and improvement.

7.2.4 Positive aspects of UPE

Across all 12 districts, UPE was highly appreciated by community members and most especially by the poor, the vulnerable groups, local leaders and key service providers because because of two major reasons:

- it has increased access to education, especially for the very poor. Echoing sentiments expressed in many sites, a poor woman in Kakabagyo in Rakai explained: *‘Formerly some of our children used to rear goats while others used to remain at a hill where they would wait to push bicycles of fishmongers and get money, but now they all go to school.’*

⁴³ cited in only 16 of the 60 sites in 8 districts.

⁴⁴ cited in only 5 of the 60 sites in 5 districts.

⁴⁵ cited in 45 of the 60 sites in all 12 districts.

⁴⁶ cited in 26 of the 60 sites in all 12 districts.

⁴⁷ cited in 24 of the 60 sites in 10 districts.

⁴⁸ According to 2 site reports: **Katebe, Rakai** and **Naoi, Moroto**, corruption here refers to the tendency by head-teachers to inflate pupil enrolment figures simply because of fear of losing UPE grants, especially the Capitation Grant that is pegged to pupil enrolment.

⁴⁹ These include: extra-UPE charges like school uniforms, scholastic materials, fees for lunch at school for pupils and teachers, top-up of teachers’ salaries who are not on payroll, building fund, etc. High financial costs were cited in 53 of the 60 sites spread across all districts.

⁵⁰ These include: negative parental attitude towards education, lack of interest/negative pupil attitude towards education; income generating activities/petty trade; domestic chores; early marriage; early pregnancy also caused by defilement by teachers and UPDF; peer-pressure from earlier dropouts; social exclusion of CWDs; child abuse/neglect, esp. by step-mothers; gender bias against girl-child education; religious affiliation which leads to unnecessary oscillation, i.e. transfers from one school to another; school community work, etc. Social and cultural barriers were cited in 45 of the 60 sites in all 12 districts.

⁵¹ Cited in 38 of the 60 sites in all 12 districts

⁵² These include: peer-ridicule (e.g. nick-named “Jjaja” i.e. “grand-parent”) of over-age children and academic inferiority complex due to their poor performance especially in upper primary; inadequate school facilities (e.g. latrines, water, desks, etc.) and special needs facilities, including specialized teachers (and inadequate Local Council support especially since decentralization; using local/vernacular languages as medium of instruction (see also *The New Vision*, Monday Oct. 14, 2002, p. 9); and inadequate participation, involvement and preparation of teachers in formulating and planning the new primary curriculum, and in how to implement it. Cited in 28 of the 60 sites.

⁵³ Cited in 25 of the 60 sites. These barriers include: physical distance to nearest UPE school; swamps, flooding, leaking roofs or studying under trees during the rainy season; drought or excessive heat during the dry season; and island communities. Although in 42 of 60 sites schools are within the 2 km radius that is generally considered reasonable distance for children of all ages to walk to and fro school, the nearest schools are still more than 2 km away in 18 of the 60 sites spread across 11 districts.

⁵⁴ PPA2 found that some parents were using UPE schools as day-care centres by sending even under-school-age children to school since UPE is ‘free’. This was found in 9 of the 60 sites.

⁵⁵ Mentioned in only 8 of the 60 sites.

- it has improved physical facilities at schools. As one PTA committee member in Kihagani, Masindi put it, ‘UPE has helped us to acquire textbooks and furniture, including desks.’

Altogether, participants in PPA2 gave ten reasons⁵⁶ for their strong appreciation of UPE (see Table 7.1). Teachers noted, for example, that the introduction of UPE has generally led to more timely payment of their salaries, better pre- and in-service training opportunities, more recruitment of trained teachers including special education teachers, and provision of lunch at school for teachers in some cases.

I started teaching immediately after my ‘O’ level. I didn’t have any experience but with the TDMS programme, I can now explain a lesson convincingly to the pupils and enter a class with a lesson plan.

A teacher at St. Kizito Kanywa Primary School in Kiddugala, Wakiso

Teachers’ views were confirmed by community members from rural, urban, pastoral and fishing communities, who all agreed that UPE has led to improved quality of teachers and teaching and, therefore, to better pupil ability to read and write in English and better grades at the primary leaving examination (PLE). In some cases (e.g. Kabanda, Ntungamo), such improvement was attributed to increased monitoring of teachers by the District Education Officer’s (DEO’s) office and prompt payment of teachers’ salaries. In Alekilek, Moroto, the improved academic performance was attributed to an increase in trained teachers recruited and teaching/ learning materials supplied since the advent of UPE.

Analysis: PPA2 communities deeply appreciate UPE, mainly because of improving access, equity and physical facilities expansion at the primary level. This is welcome evidence of some success in achieving a key policy priority objective and strategy.

7.2.5 Negative effects of UPE

Despite the success of UPE, PPA2 findings like PPA1 raise serious concern about the implementation of the policy.

Community members in all 12 districts, mentioned eight effects of UPE that have negative implications⁵⁷ for the achievement of significant improvement in the quality of education, particularly at the primary level (see Table 7.1).⁵⁸ Deterioration in quality of primary education was cited in the majority of sites across all districts as the major negative effect of UPE.⁵⁹

PPA2 suggests three major indicators of deterioration in UPE quality. The cross-cutting indicator of low UPE output most frequently mentioned was the very few or declining

⁵⁶ The first PPA reported only two positive aspects of UPE, namely, reducing financial burdens of education and increasing enrolment/retention – MFPEd: 72.

⁵⁷ PPA1 found only six negative aspects of UPE. Besides, although deterioration in quality of education was reported in PPA1 it was measured not by performance in PLE, but simply by the relatively less reliable output indicator of quality, namely: pupils’ inability to read and write or speak good English.

⁵⁸ It is a key policy priority objective to improve considerably the quality of education, particularly at the primary level - see *ESIP*, p. 5.

⁵⁹ It is noteworthy that the *Uganda DHS EdData Survey 2001* (2002:100-101, 113) found that nearly 70% of parent/guardian respondents, mostly from poorer households in rural areas, said that since the start of UPE, pupils are learning more in school.

number of PLE candidates passing in the first division. However, inability to read and write or speak good English was another indicator of poor UPE output frequently cited. UPE quality was also perceived to be declining because of the many signs of poor or low inputs, such as many untrained teachers, inadequate numbers of trained teachers, unmotivated teachers, inadequate textbooks and other teaching aids, lack of Uganda National Examination Board (UNEB) exam centres, inadequate classrooms, desks, etc. There was also widespread concern about the 'automatic promotion' of pupils to higher grades up to PLE. Automatic promotion was said to contribute to low education quality because it encourages pupils and parents to (wrongly) think that under UPE what matters in order to gain promotion to a higher grade is simply to do (and not to pass) exams. Hence, absenteeism, which was said to be high throughout most of the year, declined at exam time. A high school-attendance is only realized during end of year promotional exams. Pupils therefore reach PLE when still academically weak. As one 'brick-maker' explained:

UPE emphasizes promotion rather than efficiency. It is so bad that children in UPE schools can neither read nor write their names, yet they keep on being promoted to higher classes. UPE promotes failures, for example, a child who scores 80 marks out of 400 can take the 12th position out of 600 pupils. These are all failures and yet they are promoted to the next class.

A brick makers' view of UPE in Busanzi 'B', Bugiri

Analysis: If a policy of 'automatic promotion' is implemented with no attempt to eliminate the factors associated with school failure, problems of learning in the early grades may only be passed on, reducing the efficiency of teaching in the upper grades. Internal efficiency can be symbolically improved by automatic promotion, but a real improvement requires attention to the causes of low learning in school. Remedial work designed to help failing students to succeed can be carried out by teachers, or by pupil peers. But remediation requires an adequate understanding of the failing pupil's learning problems.

Deteriorating UPE quality was most frequently related to the following five series of other negative effects of UPE:

- overcrowding due to extra-large classes;
- inadequate training, motivation, commitment and monitoring of teachers;
- less active and voluntary contribution by parents to primary education;
- less disciplinary controls and regulation;⁶⁰ and
- lack of housing for teachers, especially in rural areas.

⁶⁰ The ban on corporal punishment in schools communicated in the circular of June 1997 is still in force (see *New Vision*, Friday, October 11, 2002, p. 15). However, in PPA2 as in the *Uganda DHS EdData Survey 2001* (2002:109) many parents/guardians attribute the lack of discipline in schools to the ban and the Children's Rights Statute, and maintain that caning pupils enforces discipline. While the MoE&S policy of encouraging other ways to enforce discipline is valid, the ways so far suggested, such as digging, cleaning, etc. run the risk of creating a negative attitude towards farming and manual work in general.

How can a P7 graduate teach P7 pupils and they pass? We cannot have first grades in our schools....

A councillor in Kitemba, Mubende

Teachers only give children work, they do not attempt to mark at all. You can check a child's book from beginning up to the end when it has never been marked. Teachers do not even bother to see whether the child wrote the right thing or not. Why then do they give children all this work?

A parent in a community meeting in Kakabagyo, Rakai

The classrooms are not enough to accommodate the large numbers of pupils. Some children pitch on the windows while other children sit close to the feet of the teacher.

A woman in a community meeting in Oluodri, Arua

Analysis: The major challenge facing UPE is deteriorating quality. PPA2 has identified the five issues most frequently mentioned by community members in connection with the perceived decline in quality. Government ought to consider seriously sensitizing parents/guardians both about their responsibilities under UPE, including the policy requirement that they retain responsibility for the expansion of primary classrooms, and about the overall value of their contribution towards improving UPE quality. Although some sort of building is necessary for a school to operate effectively, so far much has already been achieved in the expansion of school physical facilities in Uganda. Besides, many studies (see, e.g., Fuller, 1987; McGinn & Borden, 1995:18, 78) show little or no relationship between the quality of buildings and student learning. If students learn as much in inexpensive schools, we should build less expensive schools. Saved resources can be used to improve teacher housing and welfare, and other relevant aspects of quality.

7.2.6 Barriers to access to UPE and to its improved quality

PPA2 community members in all 12 districts attributed the frequent cases of absenteeism, late-coming and dropping out observed, especially at the upper primary level, to the six major broad categories of barriers to access to UPE (see Table 7.1).⁶¹ Community members, especially pupils, also generally related the deteriorating quality of UPE to the absenteeism, late-coming and dropping out resulting from such barriers.

The following views of pupils in Buyala A, Jinja, Kasensero, Rakai and Awoja, Soroti, for example, imply a link between inability to concentrate in class especially in the afternoon,

⁶¹ PPA1 found six barriers to access to UPE: physical distance, lack of lunch at school, high financial costs, social and cultural barriers, seasonal and geographical barriers and insecurity - see MFPED, 2000.

absenteeism and a combination of barriers to access to UPE all of which together may lead to poor academic performance:

Though it is now easy to break off for lunch since the school is near, on many occasions we reach when lunch is not ready. This is because parents do a lot of digging till lunch-time. As a result we always come back hungry or after just a cup of black tea, sometimes without sugar. When we come back for our afternoon lessons, we feel as if our intestines are coming out of our stomachs. Many of our friends do not come back but instead of roaming for jack fruits in the villages.

A female pupil in P5 at St. Paul P/S in an FGD, Buyala A, Jinja

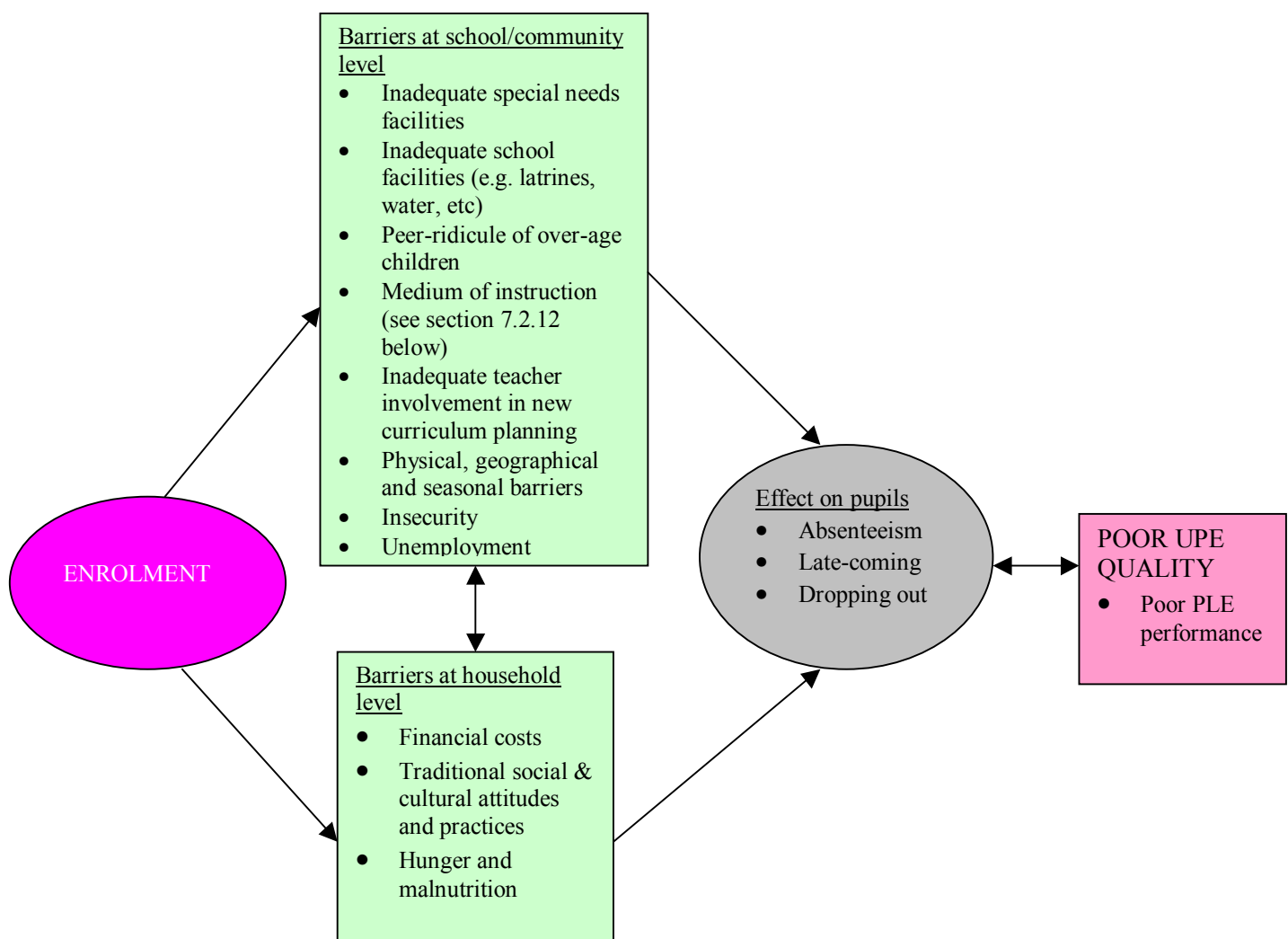
Food is not being cooked for us. We keep on dozing when a teacher is teaching due to hunger and at that stage we cannot understand anything. It is only the teachers who eat. Teachers have to try to convince parents to make some contribution because parents are not willing.

A youth in Awoja, Soroti

You cannot concentrate in class if you haven't had lunch and you are worrying about the distance back home and the work at home.

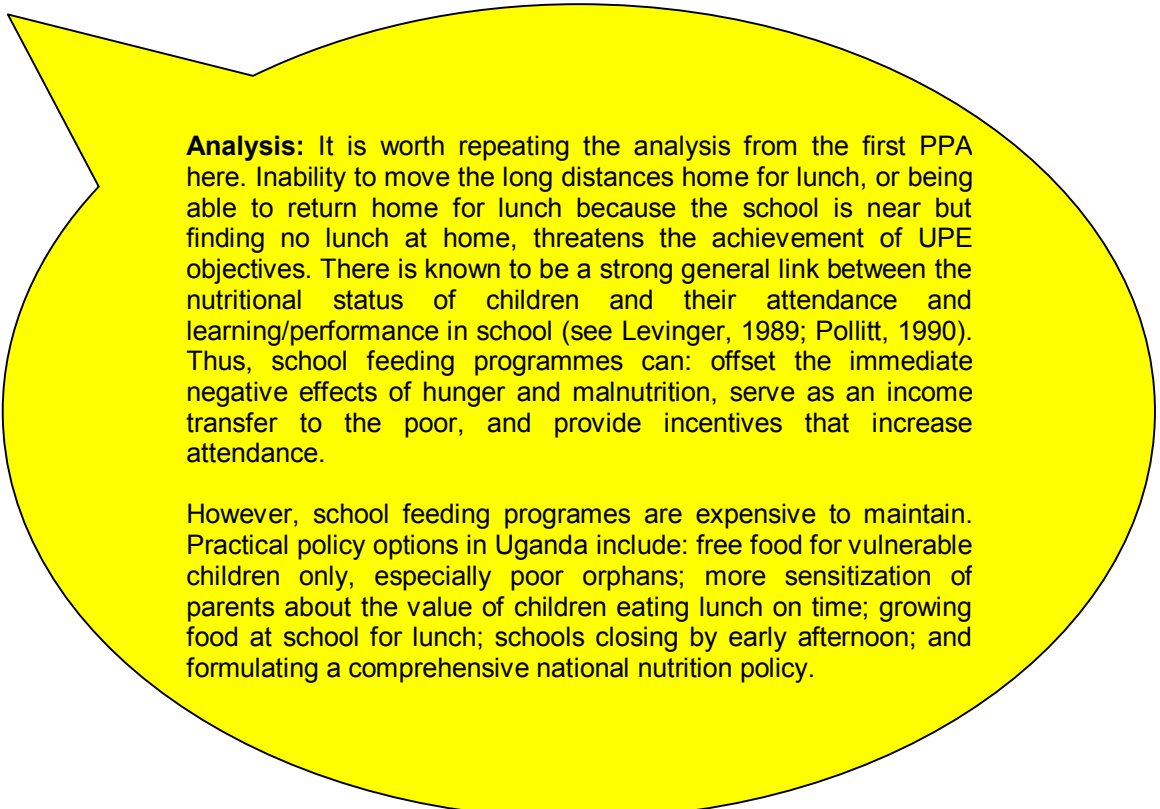
A pupil in Kasensero, Rakai

Figure 7.1: Barriers to access to UPE and to its improved quality



Hunger and poor nutrition

Like PPA1, PPA2 found that children associate school with hunger and do not attend classes, especially in the afternoon, because they are hungry. This was said to affect their academic performance, and to lead to absenteeism and dropping out. Hunger was sometimes attributed to children not having lunch at home, either because of the long distance to and from school, or because of the food at home not being ready in time (due to the traditional work patterns, especially in rural areas). Hunger was also attributed to children not having lunch at school because parents cannot afford to pay the high financial costs.



Analysis: It is worth repeating the analysis from the first PPA here. Inability to move the long distances home for lunch, or being able to return home for lunch because the school is near but finding no lunch at home, threatens the achievement of UPE objectives. There is known to be a strong general link between the nutritional status of children and their attendance and learning/performance in school (see Levinger, 1989; Pollitt, 1990). Thus, school feeding programmes can: offset the immediate negative effects of hunger and malnutrition, serve as an income transfer to the poor, and provide incentives that increase attendance.

However, school feeding programmes are expensive to maintain. Practical policy options in Uganda include: free food for vulnerable children only, especially poor orphans; more sensitization of parents about the value of children eating lunch on time; growing food at school for lunch; schools closing by early afternoon; and formulating a comprehensive national nutrition policy.

High financial costs

High financial costs were the most frequently cited reason for absenteeism and dropping out. Parents from different backgrounds and livelihoods (e.g. rural, urban, pastoral, fishing, etc.) said they are unhappy with the UPE-related charges because they stop some children from attending UPE.⁶² As illustrated below, the categories of children most affected were especially the destitute, those from relatively large but poor households, orphans, and those belonging to the marginal urban poor.

⁶² Concern expressed about high financial costs especially of uniforms is noteworthy partly because in a recent educational survey, parents/guardians overwhelmingly (i.e. 98%) agreed that having pupils wear uniforms improved the quality of a school. This view was held by parents/guardians regardless of gender, wealth, place of residence, or region (see the *Uganda DHS EdData Survey 2001* (2002:109).

UPE has helped us a lot but since my children are in the Municipal, I pay development fund of 20,000/= per year per child. I spend on school uniform 10,000/= per child in a year, which is very expensive. Parents also spend on scholastic materials – normally these costs are not determined per term since the young ones lose pens and (exercise) books almost every day.

A poor household head in Oluodri, Arua

If some parents cannot provide books and pens to their children, how can they pay such PTA fees? For parents who have 4, 5 or more children at school, how can they afford the building fees per child, all the maize per child and all the milling fees per child? And yet they send our children back home for non-payment of those fees. We have no choice but to keep our children in the village and cut sugarcane.

A male LC1 official in a focus group discussion, Lwitamakooli, Jinja

Analysis: Since the advent of UPE, government has officially permitted urban schools to levy a government-fixed fee for utilities. But, as indicated above, the policy appears to ignore the plight of the marginal urban poor.

PPA2 found that in many cases, as the example below suggests, children are still turned away from school for defaulting on meeting school-related charges, especially buying scholastic materials and uniforms.

I know a boy called Nelson Drapari who was in P7. He left because he bought an American khaki which the Headmistress refused to be put on in the school. Drapari was so scared of her threats that I know he has missed class for several days. She is planning to send some more pupils away if they don't have the right type of uniforms this term.

A girl pupil in Oluodri, Arua

Analysis: UPE regulations prohibit turning away from school either urban or rural children who default on the UPE-related charges and especially uniforms, scholastic materials and lunch at school fees. However, PPA2 found that children without scholastic materials and/or uniform were turned way from school in very many cases.

The Ministry of Education should try to impress on teachers and district officials that it is government policy to encourage attendance in schools regardless of whether parents can provide uniforms and scholastic materials, and that schools are not allowed to request other financial contributions. A circular was issued to this effect in 2001, but the message does not seem to have reached people yet. Districts should also try and encourage parents to send children to school, regardless of whether they have uniforms, etc.

In addition, community members especially the better-off in Kiddugala, Wakiso; Bubanda, Mubende; and Kigusa, Bugiri, for example, said that paying fees for children was one reason why some people move from relatively better-off well-being status to a poorer status. They explained that paying school fees takes a lot of the family savings that would otherwise have been invested in business, and leads to sale of valuable assets such as livestock.⁶³

In the past rich people had food stores and many animals; however, these days all these are sold off to pay school fees.

A rich man in focus group discussion in Kigusa, Bugiri

Traditional social and cultural attitudes and practices

Social and cultural barriers to UPE were the second most frequently cited reason for absenteeism, late-coming and dropping out. These were mainly attributed to poverty, illiteracy, ignorance and negligence, presence of uneducated but successful people and traditional gender-bias. As illustrated below, community members mentioned that as a result pupils, especially girls and children with disabilities, often ended up having limited access to primary education, UPE notwithstanding.

If a parent can fail to take an able-bodied child to school, then how can they think of taking a disabled one?!

A man in a community meeting in Lwitamakooli, Jinja

The truth is that girls are mostly asked by their mothers to stay at home to help them while the boys go to school. How do you expect a girl to pass what was learnt in her absence? Most of the times you mothers keep the girls at home almost half of the year. If you could give the girls equal opportunities with boys, you would know that they are not dull.

Teacher in a community meeting in Oluodri, Arua

(responding to a claim by an elderly woman that girls drop out because of dullness)

I know of a girl whose mother pressurized her to get married. She used to plead with her that due to the poverty in the house, her father could not buy her even a 'gomesi' and she was almost going naked. So she encouraged her to get married so that at least she could get a 'gomesi' from a son-in law. The girl later dropped out of school.

A girl in Nsozibbiri Primary School in a focus group discussion, Lwitamakooli, Jinja

Gender-specific social and cultural barriers

Unlike in PPA1, in PPA2 information on gender-specific reasons for girls' and boys' absenteeism, late-coming and dropping out was collected in all 60 sites across the 12 districts. The analysis of the gender-specific social and cultural barriers is presented in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2: Social and cultural reasons for girls' and boys' absenteeism, late-coming and dropping out⁶⁴

⁶³ This view is consistent with the findings of a study on macro-economic policy reforms on the social sector in Uganda, conducted by a team of researchers from Makerere University and presented on November 15, 2001 during a one-day workshop at the Economic Policy Research Centre, Makerere University (see *Education Vision*, Monday, August 12, 2002: 23).

⁶⁴ The gender-specific social and cultural reasons for girls' and boys' absenteeism, late-coming and dropping out was collected in 35 of the 60 sites and in 21 of the 60 sites, respectively, across the 12 districts. They are listed in descending order of the frequency with which the reasons were cited.

GIRLS	BOYS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Early marriage (25 sites) • Early pregnancy (22 sites) • Domestic chores (9 sites) • Gender bias against girl-child education (7 sites) • Engaging in income-generating activities/petty trade (4 sites) • Peer-pressure from earlier drop-outs (1 site). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engaging in income-generating activities/petty trade (13 sites) • Domestic chores (6 sites) • Early marriage (3 sites) • Peer-pressure from earlier drop-outs (2 sites).

Analysis: Discussion of increased access (and equity) in Uganda due to UPE has tended to dwell more on the total enrolment, instead of focusing on the net enrolment ratio (NER). NER measures enrolment as a proportion of the total number of children of (primary) school age. Focusing on the total enrolment figures may not reveal the disparity between total enrolment and the number of children of (primary) school age. This in turn may mask the potential disparity between male and female enrolments. Besides, it is increasingly coming to light that after the initial dramatic increase in enrolment due to UPE, the number of pupils enrolled in upper primary has progressively been declining over the years. More attention should be given to *net* enrolment rates.

7.2.7 Coping mechanisms and the UPE quality/cost concerns

PPA2 revealed that communities have adopted at least seven ways of coping with the negative aspects of, and the barriers to access to, UPE (Table 7.2). However, many coping mechanisms simply exacerbate the UPE quality and cost problems.

As discussed earlier, PPA2 found out that some parents prefer children to go back home for lunch, but lunch is very often not ready on time. It was also found out that some parents tend to shift children from one UPE school to another whenever they are required to contribute towards school uniform, exercise books, and so on. Both practices are also partly to blame for the eventual poor performance of pupils because the children end up missing out on the curriculum content through absenteeism.

In most sites where issues of parental contribution to primary education were investigated, parents were generally willing to voluntarily contribute both materially and in terms of labour to improve school physical facilities. However, in Kabola, Soroti, parents were generally unwilling to participate in the construction of staff houses, especially through communal work. Similarly in Bundimulombi, Bundibugyo, community members complained that they were compelled to “volunteer” their time and labour (i.e. without remuneration) to supervise the construction of school facilities by ActionAid.

Besides, as illustrated below, willingness by parents especially the marginal urban poor to contribute local building materials (e.g. grass-thatch, mud and wattle, etc.) that they can easily afford, is not the only problem. Urban authorities' regulations do not permit use of such local materials for urban construction.⁶⁵

In town, construction of teachers' houses using grass is not allowed yet at the same time parents cannot provide materials for building permanent houses.

A headteacher in Moruapesur Cell D, Soroti

Analysis: It is government policy that school facilities expansion and maintenance is the responsibility of communities and will be accomplished through utilising *local materials* and effort. However, the policy appears to ignore the plight of the marginal urban poor. Besides, policies and programmes are more likely to be implemented when those involved believe in what they are doing, are aware of what is expected of them, are convinced that they should do what is asked, and are able to do what is asked. The above can be achieved by local participation in the process of defining the policy issue and designing the solution. It is not clear from the above findings on coping mechanisms how much consultation with and sensitization of the local people about UPE has taken place. It is evident that still more needs to be done.

7.2.8 Role and effectiveness of School Management Committees⁶⁶

In all 12 districts, PPA2 research revealed that the SMCs are not functioning as anticipated in policy.⁶⁷ This was because of the following six major reasons:

- i. The committee members are selected by or at either the LC3 or the DEO's offices; or else headteachers hand-pick them.
- ii. Committees are often perceived to be nearer to the school administration, especially the headteachers (and DEOs), than to the parents/communities.
- iii. Therefore, as stated below, committees can, for example, easily team-up with the headteachers and DEOs to mismanage UPE funds with impunity. *'The headmaster of*

⁶⁵ It is government policy that communities will retain responsibilities for the expansion of school physical facilities to meet the growing demands of UPE utilizing *local materials* and effort - see *ESIP*, p. 6.

⁶⁶ It is a policy priority objective and strategy to enhance the management of education service delivery at the school and community level through enabling SMCs, among other organs, to discharge their responsibilities effectively by designing a manual and training plan for SMCs, including guidance on the preparation of school development plans and training of chairpersons in school governance by 1998-99, and continued sensitization of SMCs, H/Ms, PTAs and Boards of Governors in their respective roles and responsibilities – see *ESIP*, pp. 12-14

⁶⁷ This is a noteworthy finding considering the fact that PPA1 also found out that SMCs seemed not to be 'clearly defined' in 8 of the 9 districts of PPA1.

Kamuga P/S disappeared with UPE funds amounting to Shs. 800,000 and no disciplinary action was taken against him,' man in Butungama, Bundibugyo.

- iv. SMCs' mode of operation, for example, when setting UPE-related fees is not consultative with the community, least of all with the poorer members. Committee membership tends to be dominated by the better-off parents and community members.
- v. Communities and especially the poorer members have limited or no knowledge of the functions of the SMCs and of how the SMC-community partnership works in implementing school projects. For example, PPA2 found that many community members generally could not differentiate the role of SMCs and that of the PTAs.
- vi. Committee members themselves have limited or no understanding of their roles. Therefore, they can be easily manipulated by headteachers. Committee members have limited awareness of the disbursements of UPE funds (e.g. when, how, how much, etc. funds are remitted).⁶⁸

Analysis: Lacking sufficient information on SMCs, communities cannot be expected to actively participate in them. Altogether, this renders the purpose of SMCs as the vanguard for transparent, accountable and improved delivery of educational services futile. Government needs to seriously consider overcoming the bottlenecks in the process of ensuring proper utilization of and accountability for UPE funds by headteachers. This can be achieved by sensitizing, not only the SMCs, headteachers, etc. in their roles and responsibilities but also including community members in the sensitization programme.

Details of UPE funds disbursed are published in the national press, but few rural and marginal urban poor read or have access to newspapers because of widespread illiteracy and the papers' high cost. Meetings at the grassroots level, coupled with use of radio to sensitise parents about their role, are alternative possibilities. Mechanism for selecting community representatives on SMCs ought to be more transparent, too.

7.2.9 Attitudes towards Agriculture in the primary curriculum

In most sites where views were collected,⁶⁹ many community members, including pupils, women, local leaders, teachers and other key service providers such as agricultural and health officers/assistants, advocated the teaching of agriculture in the primary curriculum. They

⁶⁸ Most PPA2 sites reports are silent both about whether or not UPE funds received by schools are published on the school notice boards as required by government regulation and, about the effectiveness of publishing UPE disbursements in the national press. But in many of these 33 sites parents simply leave it to the SMCs (that as we have noted above are potentially ineffective) to monitor and supervise the 'proper' utilisation of and accountability for UPE funds.

⁶⁹ Attitudes towards agriculture in the primary curriculum were collected in only 14 of the 60 sites in 5 of the 12 districts.

gave three major reasons. First, they explained that agriculture would make the curriculum more practical and relevant and equip PLE drop-outs with the necessary modern farming skills to survive on their own and to teach their parents/guardians. The latter would fill the yawning gap in extension services currently being experienced.

Second, people also felt that agriculture would equip those who proceed to secondary school with the knowledge necessary to continue with the subject at secondary level. Third, it would enable schools to cultivate their own food for teachers' and pupils' lunch at school.

It (agriculture) is good and practical, and we can apply the skills in our own gardens.

Girl-pupils' focus group discussion in Kitemba, Mubende

So many children who study do not get government jobs, so agriculture is a subject that help them in future.

Women's focus group discussion in Kitemba, Mubende

However, a few community members, especially poor parents of primary-school-going pupils and elderly women,⁷⁰ expressed reservations about primary school agriculture in urban schools which, for example, may lack land for practical classes. They also complained about the potential for an increased burden of UPE-related charges as a result of requiring parents to provide agricultural equipment such as hoes. Some parents also said that they are unhappy with the way agriculture is currently abused as a punishment in schools. They also said they would be unhappy if their children were made to do child labour in teachers' personal gardens, and to offer free labour in the school gardens simply to produce food for teachers only.

Analysis: There are few published evaluations of new curriculum, and few studies on the obstacles to making curriculum more relevant. However, the above reservations by the poor about agriculture in the primary curriculum in Uganda are worth noting. Also worth noting is the following case: In 1986, Botswana developed a new primary curriculum intended to be more *practical*. Some new subjects (such as agriculture) were included in order to make it easier for school-leavers to find employment or become self-employed. Implementation of the curriculum in upper primary was evaluated two years later. The study concluded that there was little 'practical curriculum' actually taking place, because, among other things, parents pressured teachers to prepare pupils for end of cycle national exams (i.e. PLE) not matched to the "practical" curriculum (see Prophet and Rowell, 1988).

⁷⁰ In 5 of the 14 sites: Ihuriro, Ntungamo; Rwamutunga, Ntungamo; Bubanda, Mubende; Katogo, Mubende; and Kiwafu West, Wakiso.

7.2.10 Traditional Secondary and Post-Primary Vocational Education

Attitudes towards vocational and secondary education

Community attitudes towards vocational and secondary education were mixed.⁷¹ Most community members especially youths including female youths in some cases, orphans, PWDs, IDPs, the poorest, local leaders and key service providers such as teachers, all preferred vocational education. Such attitudes were expressed in 24 of the 60 sites across 9 of the 12 districts. Some of these people preferred vocational education to be introduced to those who have completed 'O' level rather than to those who have simply completed primary school because, then the students would be more mature and therefore choose appropriately a suitable vocational profession.

Altogether, people cited three major reasons for preferring vocational education. They explained that vocational education is more affordable than secondary education and it provides a vital alternative when one cannot access secondary education due to high financial costs. They also argued that vocational education provides a vital alternative form of education to those children who are less capable in academic-oriented subjects that require a lot of reading. Therefore, they felt that vocational education is good because it imparts skills that can enable one, especially one with low or average level of education (i.e. up to diploma level) to be self-employed rather than be a job-seeker.

Vocational education is a good idea because when children complete primary education, they cannot get jobs and also fail to employ themselves.

A poor women's focus group discussion in Kitemba, Mubende

However, some parents in Kitemba, Mubende, for example, were worried about the availability of job opportunities for graduates of vocational training, given their potential influx on the market once vocational education becomes universal. Also, some community members from the poor category and from insecure areas in northern Uganda preferred secondary education, as illustrated by the following voices:

People who become Presidents go through secondary education and not vocational education.

Poor elderly woman in Rwamutunga, Ntungamo

We also want to go to school and proceed up to university and improve on our knowledge. Who will sit in those good offices if we all went to technical schools?

Girl orphan, focus group discussion in West Zone Kitgum Town, Kitgum

When you stand here and you are campaigning when your qualification is primary seven and vocational, who will give you the votes unless you have money to bribe?

A male youth in the poor category in Cell 1, Ntungamo TC, Ntungamo

⁷¹ Most community members especially the poorest preferred vocational education. However, some few community members especially from the medium rich and well-off categories, but also a few from the poor category and from politically insecure areas in northern Uganda, preferred traditional secondary education. The latter is mainly because secondary education exposes children much more to opportunities for higher education, and therefore many more opportunities for a high-income job in the future. The latter attitudes were expressed in 11 of the 60 sites in 6 of the 12 districts.

Barriers to access to secondary education

Like in PPA1, most comments on barriers to access to secondary education in PPA2 focused on financial costs being prohibitive and the schools being too far away to be accessible, as discussed further below.⁷² However, social and cultural barriers (e.g. early pregnancy and marriage especially for girls)⁷³ and inadequate school facilities (e.g. lack of science equipment, insufficient science textbooks, and lack of a government-aided A' level school)⁷⁴ were two other barriers cited. Inability to afford school fees was blamed mainly on insecurity in Kamama, Kitgum. Some parents, in Mubende, Masindi and Kitgum felt that the impossibility of accessing secondary education undermined the overall value of education as a means of moving out of poverty.

High financial costs

Altogether secondary education costs were considered prohibitive in 35 of the 60 sites in 11 of the 12 districts. As one elderly woman explained:

Our children study under miserable and hard conditions. They have to roast chicken, vend chapatis, make bricks – or, in the case of girl children, work in hotels and markets where they are vulnerable to men – in hope of raising fees.

An elderly woman in a focus group discussion, Kiwafu West, Wakiso

Some parents in Kigusa, Bugiri and Ruwe, Arua, for example, said that paying the high financial cost of secondary school education was one cause of moving from the better-off well-being status into poverty, because it erodes the ordinary persons' asset base.

I paid one child in school up to Senior Three and got stuck; then I sold a cow that belonged to me and paid the Senior Four fees. The father of the child refused to assist and said there will be no more animals left to pay dowry for the wife of the boy. I am finished. I have no animals any more.

A woman in Ruwe, Arua

Others in Godia, Arua, for example, felt that 'when there is not enough money, boys' fees are paid before the girls'. This implies that the impossibility of accessing secondary education because of the high financial cost severely limits the educational opportunities of the girl-child especially.

⁷² It is a policy priority objective to facilitate transition to public and private secondary and technical schooling by increasing overall post-primary enrolment - see *ESIP*, pp. 7-8.

⁷³ Kitemba, Mubende.

⁷⁴ Kakabagyo, Rakai.

Analysis: Poor countries that provide education equally to boys and girls, do better in health, population growth, and economic growth. In developing countries, expenditures on women's education have greater impact on economic growth than do expenditures on education for boys. From the point of view of national development, it would make sense, therefore, to remove all barriers to education of women. Interventions to raise female enrolment include:

- increasing number of schools for girls;
- reducing the direct costs of schooling, e.g., by providing free uniforms or abolishing uniforms and enforcing the uniform ban;
- providing scholarships. Some countries, e.g. Bangladesh, have increased enrolment and graduation of girls by offering scholarships. These scholarships are awarded at the end of the school cycle. Parents keep their girls in school, to be relieved later of some of the costs;;
- providing school lunch, etc.;
- reducing the indirect costs of schooling for girls; and
- overcoming gender bias (see Bellew and King 1991).

Physical distance

The nearest secondary school was said to be very far away (i.e. exceeding 5 km) in 9 of the 12 districts.

7.2.11 Functional adult literacy / education programmes

In 10 of the 12 PPA2 districts, community members, especially the poor, women, PWDs, key service providers (e.g. an MFI Director), and men pointed out the urgent need for functional adult literacy training and education (FAL). Communities or specific groups (e.g. women or men) felt that lack of FAL programmes is a cause of poverty and backwardness and that by contrast accessing FAL programmes is a priority action to move out of poverty. For example, they felt that lack of FAL programmes is a cause of the poor quality of UPE because illiterate parents cannot check their children's school-work, and that by contrast accessing FAL programmes by illiterate/ignorant parents can lead to their positive attitude change towards education. They also felt that lack of FAL programmes is a cause of widespread illiteracy, which in turn is a major barrier in accessing and managing micro-credit from MFIs.

7.2.12 Community recommendations on educational service delivery

The ten most frequently stated community recommendations are listed in Table 7.3 in descending order of the frequency with which they were mentioned.

Table 7. 3: Community recommendations

Community recommendation	Number of sites
• Motivate teachers to work, especially in rural and difficult areas; and improve supervision and monitoring.	31 of the 60 sites
• Sensitize parents on the value of education and on their role in the UPE programme.	27 sites
• Provide free or subsidized secondary education, especially for orphans, and opportunity for payment in instalments	23 sites
• Provide accessible vocational education/training.	22 sites
• Provide Functional Adult Literacy (FAL) programmes.	17 sites
• Further expansion of primary school facilities, especially classrooms.	11 sites
• Remove all UPE-related charges including scholastic materials, uniforms and utilities fees in urban areas.	11 sites
• Discourage teachers resorting to teaching in the local vernaculars. ⁷⁵	10 sites
• Revisit the rights of children or sensitize everybody including children about the Children’s Statute and its implications. ⁷⁶	10 sites
• Provide free lunch to all UPE pupils and especially upper classes who attend afternoon lessons. ⁷⁷	8 sites

⁷⁵ It was mainly pupils themselves who complained about teachers teaching in the vernacular. However, other community members recommended teaching in local language or in Kiswahili, teaching in local language only up to P3, and training teachers to teach local languages.

⁷⁶ Some community members recommended the restoration of corporal punishment in schools.

⁷⁷ However, the DEO and Sub-county chief in **Okunguro, Soroti** recommended that parents should be compelled to provide lunch at school for their children.

CHAPTER EIGHT

TAXATION

Key Findings and Policy Messages

Some taxes are worse than others

No one likes paying tax. But the PPA2 evidence suggests a much more serious problem. Like other recent research, it indicates that the multiplicity of local taxes, levies and market dues, and the level of arbitrariness and abuse in the administration of local tax systems, are stifling rural businesses, making life harder for poor people, and making taxes difficult to collect. It is recommended that the Local Government Finance Commission should take an urgent look at alternative options.

The Graduated Tax is widely regarded as unfair (regressive), and the reasons for this need to be investigated. The tendering of both tax collection and market management seems to result in abuses. More frequent inspections and provision of more information to taxpayers on their obligations and rights may be part of the solution. But more information will not solve the problem by itself.

The need for imaginative reforms of local taxation

For people to pay tax more willingly, there needs to be a closer link between revenue and visible benefits provided. PPA2 suggests that it would be a wise policy step to fund the most visible services from local taxes, and pay for the less popular items – such as councillors' sitting allowances – from central grants. This might break the vicious circle of tax evasion, abusive and possibly regressive collection, and under-funding of key services.

The remittance and use of the 25% of GT assigned to the LC1 level still seems to be a problem. Districts need to ensure that the money is remitted to villages and that there is transparency in its use.

8.1 POLICY AND BACKGROUND

Graduated Tax (GT) is the most important source of local revenue for all Local Governments in Uganda. GT is levied on all males aged 18 and over. In rural areas, GT is collected by sub-counties and town councils, which must pass 35% of collections to the district level. Of the remaining balance, 5% must be passed to County Councils (LC4), 5% to parishes (LC2) and 25% to villages (LC1). In urban areas, GT is collected by divisions, which must pass 50% to the higher city or municipal council. Twenty-five per cent of the balance goes to the LC1s and 10% to parish or ward councils (LG Act 1997, Fifth Schedule).

GT has been much criticised. Almost everyone who has studied GT has found it to be an unattractive tax because it is complicated, regressive, costly to collect, revenue inelastic and frequently arbitrary in its assessment (Mahler *et al*, 1997). The PEAP also notes that GT is regressive and costly to administer and that ‘these two problems are related, because GT’s perceived unfairness makes it harder to collect’ (MFPED, 2001:61).

Local Governments also charge a variety of other taxes. All non-farm businesses require a licence. All trading of crops and livestock attracts taxes and fees, some of which are multiple and cumulative in their incidence on a single transaction (Ellis and Bahiigwa, 2001).

Due to difficulties in collecting market dues, most districts have privatised their collection, as well as the collection of some other local fees and dues, through competitive tender. In most cases this has resulted in an increase in dues collected, but while most districts have data on how their revenue from dues has changed, they have limited knowledge of how much money is actually collected by the tenderer. The tenderer is simply issued with a list of permissible tax rates, and is free to collect as much tax revenue as possible with the sole obligation of paying the agreed amount to the district/town council at the end of the specified tender period.

8.2 FINDINGS

Community members in all districts were very unhappy with GT and other types of local taxation. A strong message from community members was that the plethora of local taxes and their mal-administration is damaging local enterprise and undermining the credibility of government. This chapter, therefore, deals with those taxes that community members described as having an impact on their livelihoods.

The chapter is organised as follows: it deals with the benefits of taxes, issues around GT, politics of tax, service delivery and tax, the crisis of revenue collection, 25% remittance and, finally, some of the issues around tendering of revenue collection in markets and fish landing sites.

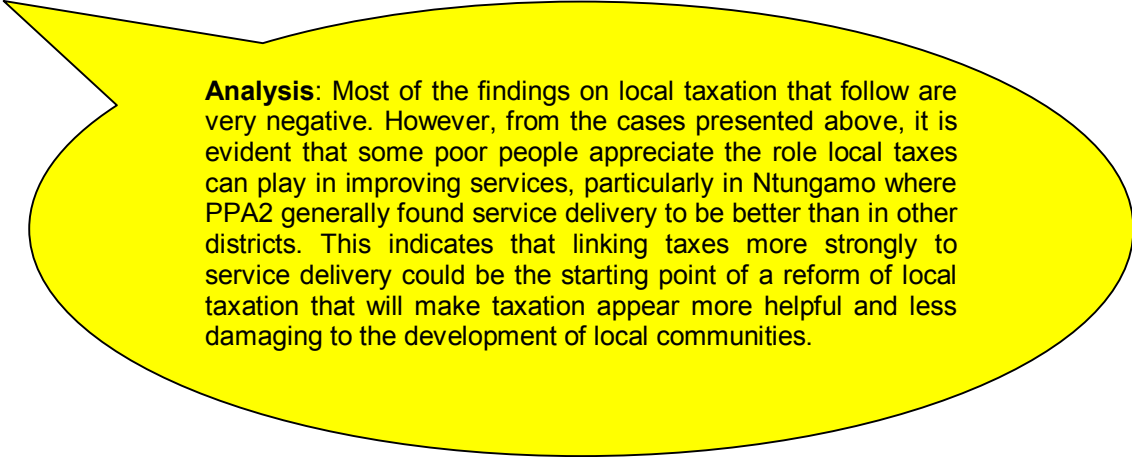
8.2.1 Taxation and Poverty

High taxation was cited as a major cause of poverty in many PPA2 sites. During a ranking exercise in Masindi, taxation was seen to be a major cause of poverty among men. A symbol of a small hut, made up of sticks and bereft of anything was used to symbolise tax, indicating the impact of taxation on people. Concerns about GT were mainly expressed by men, as the main payers of this tax (although some women reported paying GT for their husbands). Women, who form the majority of market traders, mainly expressed concerns about market dues.

8.2.2 Benefits of Taxes

Although taxation was strongly criticised by community members across the PPA2 districts, in five districts community members reported a number of benefits that accrue from taxation and/or acknowledged that taxes should be paid. In Ntungamo, for example, community members reported that their taxes are used to finance various government programmes, mentioning the following uses of GT: building the Ntungamo District headquarters, construction and maintenance of community roads to link the different villages, paying salaries for civil servants, improvement of the health centres and supporting the UPE programme. Community members also had a list of desired benefits from tax including investing in community projects, financing the drainage of the Ntungamo town taxi park, improving more roads, supporting orphans and equipping health centres with more drugs.

In Buwoya village in Bugiri, the community members appreciated that the 65% local revenue retained by the sub-county had been used on roads and classrooms. In Bundibugyo, community members appreciated the fact that they need to pay tax because it is used for the provision of services. As one man said *'If we do not pay tax we shall not get drugs and roads.'*



Analysis: Most of the findings on local taxation that follow are very negative. However, from the cases presented above, it is evident that some poor people appreciate the role local taxes can play in improving services, particularly in Ntungamo where PPA2 generally found service delivery to be better than in other districts. This indicates that linking taxes more strongly to service delivery could be the starting point of a reform of local taxation that will make taxation appear more helpful and less damaging to the development of local communities.

8.2.3 The different dimensions of Graduated Tax

Assessment of GT

Views on GT tax assessment methods were universally negative. In 11 districts, people complained that the assessment methods are crude and unfair. The main reasons why tax assessment was seen to be unfair were as follows:

Lack of involvement of community members or local leaders (LC1 Chairpersons) was seen to lead to over-assessment in six districts.

The [assessment] committee consists of people who do not even know what we get from the property we own. They only follow the enumeration results, which do not distinguish, for example, cows for consumption and cows for sale, or even cows that belong to a friend.

Male youth, Katebe, Rakai

In Soroti, community members complained that tax assessment is carried out in drinking places and that the well-off pay less than the poor. They added that the enumeration results are never disclosed – people are just called by name and told what to pay. However, in Rakai

the Town Agent pointed out that people always run away when the assessors appear and therefore *'we always assess in their absence'*.

Where the LC1 was reported to be involved in tax collection, their involvement does not seem to have led to fair assessment. In Bubanda, Mubende, where the LC1 Chair is involved, people complained of corruption and nepotism in GT assessment, with the assessment depending on one's relations with the LC1 Chair and Parish Chief.

Corruption in the assessment process was also reported in Arua, Bundibugyo and Rakai. In Bundibugyo, corruption appears to have reached extreme levels. Tax tickets come in different denominations, and assessors sell the lowest ones (representing a lower rate) to whoever will pay. Rich traders in town usually buy all the lowest denomination tax tickets of Shs. 5,000. Residents of Bundimulombi IDP Camp complained that it takes time for a poor man to raise Shs. 5,000 for GT, and by the time he gets the money, that denomination of tickets is out of stock and the only available tickets are of higher denominations. Poor people are therefore compelled to go back and look for more money; but in most cases this takes some time and they end up being told to pay a surcharge.

Lack of consideration of affordability of the tax was a complaint in five districts. Community members noted that assessment is based on crops before they mature, thus ignoring the risks of drought and pests. In Mubende they complained that the assessment is based on acreage cultivated without consideration of the value of the output. One man noted: *'In 1994 a kilo of coffee beans was sold at Shs. 1,000. Now it costs Shs. 300, but the value attached to this coffee [in tax assessment] has remained the same – why?'*

In Moroto town, the community complained about the assumption that urban residents are in a higher income group than rural dwellers. The community members confessed that they prefer being arrested and jailed to struggling to look for tax money because at least in prison they are assured of food and a roof over their heads! Both the Division Law Enforcement Officer and a Prisons Officer in Moroto corroborated this.

In Wakiso, people complained that the **assessment is based on an individual's appearance rather than on their actual income or property**. Local officials provided explanations for this. The Sub-county Chief for Busabala pointed out that people are unwilling to divulge their incomes. The LC3 Chairman for Kimwanyi, Wakiso, explained that the Sub-county has not invested in the assessment process because it is already very expensive, and yet little revenue is actually collected from GT.

In some districts, poor people complained that GT is **unfair**. Even in Ntungamo where the assessment process appears to be well-organised, people were disillusioned with GT. In Kabanda, Ntungamo, residents noted that it is unfair that those with no cattle pay Shs. 10,000 while those with over 30 head of cattle pay Shs. 30,000. In three districts people noted that it is **unfair for elderly people to pay tax**, recommending that those over 60 years of age should not be required to pay. **IDPs** also perceived tax assessment to be very unfair. They complained that they are not considered as a special category in the assessment process, with failure to consider that they have lost their belongings. In Masindi, the IDPs complained of discrimination in the assessment system, claiming they are over-assessed compared to local people.

In most of the PPA2 districts, community members did not appear to know about the **Tax Appeals System**. In sites where they had some knowledge, local people complained that the appeals system is riddled with corruption or ineffective in that appeals are not listened to. The expense involved in appealing was also noted to deter people from starting the process of appealing.

Analysis: It appears urgent to review the GT system, since it is the most important source of local revenue – and yet is open to gross abuse. It appears important for the Ministry of Local Government to carry out frequent inspections to ensure that district assessments do adhere to guidelines and are not corrupt. Also, lack of proper explanation about the imputation values and the whole local taxation system encourages defaulters and consequently reduction in tax revenues. This therefore calls for more sensitization and education of tax payers.

More fundamentally, the multiple problems with GT assessment and its regressive nature may point to the need for a more thorough overhaul of local taxation. A property tax could be easier to assess and more progressive. It will be important for the Local Government Finance Commission to examine different options of local revenue raising in order to increase people's willingness to pay and lessen the burden of local taxation on the poor.

GT Collection Methods

Complaints about brutal collection procedures were made in seven districts. In Wakiso, male youth reported that they are demotivated to pay tax because of the brutal methods of its collection. Tax collectors harass male youths during tax collection, and worse still, collection takes place in the middle of the night. In Kitgum, community members reported that young men whose parents cannot pay sometimes have their income from cotton confiscated as payment for their fathers' GT. People also complained that tax collectors grab their chickens and goats, taking them for personal use. In Masindi, collection methods were said to be dehumanising, embarrassing and characterised by beatings; holes are cut in men's trousers so that ropes can be attached to their legs and they can be dragged to the cells. Harassment was reported in Ntungamo and people pay bribes to avoid arrest. Shs. 2,000 was said to be paid every time one is confronted with arrest. The cumulative amount of bribes paid can surpass the assessed tax. In Burgiri, one old man had this story to tell:

During potolo (midnight arrest of tax defaulters), the afandes (collectors) knocked at my door and demanded 'Towa' (produce the ticket) and I did not have one. They commanded 'Twende!' (Let us go!). I tried to explain that the LCI chairman knew me and would be my surety and that I would sell a chicken the next day to pay the tax, but they refused to heed me and instead commanded me to remove my shirt. They then bundled me up into their car. I was too embarrassed because my bakko (in-laws) also saw my nakedness. I was taken up to Bugayi police where I had another bout of torture from the inmates who demanded 'Leta loji'! (Bring money for lodging here).

Old man, Butema, Bugiri

Timing of GT Collection

The timing of tax collection was raised as a cause for concern in five districts. As in PPA1, people complained that collection is carried out at times of the year when people lack money and are food-insecure. In some agricultural communities, people suggested that tax payment should be enforced after the main harvest, when people's incomes are high. In Ntungamo, community members requested that they be allowed to pay taxes in instalments, like civil servants do. In Wakiso, people complained that when they have money to pay tax, tax tickets are not available so they end up using the money for other purposes.

What influences people's willingness to pay tax?

The visuals in Figure 8.1 summarise the different reasons why people default on their GT payments, according to community members in different districts. Figure 8.2 shows what community members reported would make people more prepared to pay.

Figure 8. 1: Why people default on their GT payments

(Composite diagram of the major issues that community members identified)

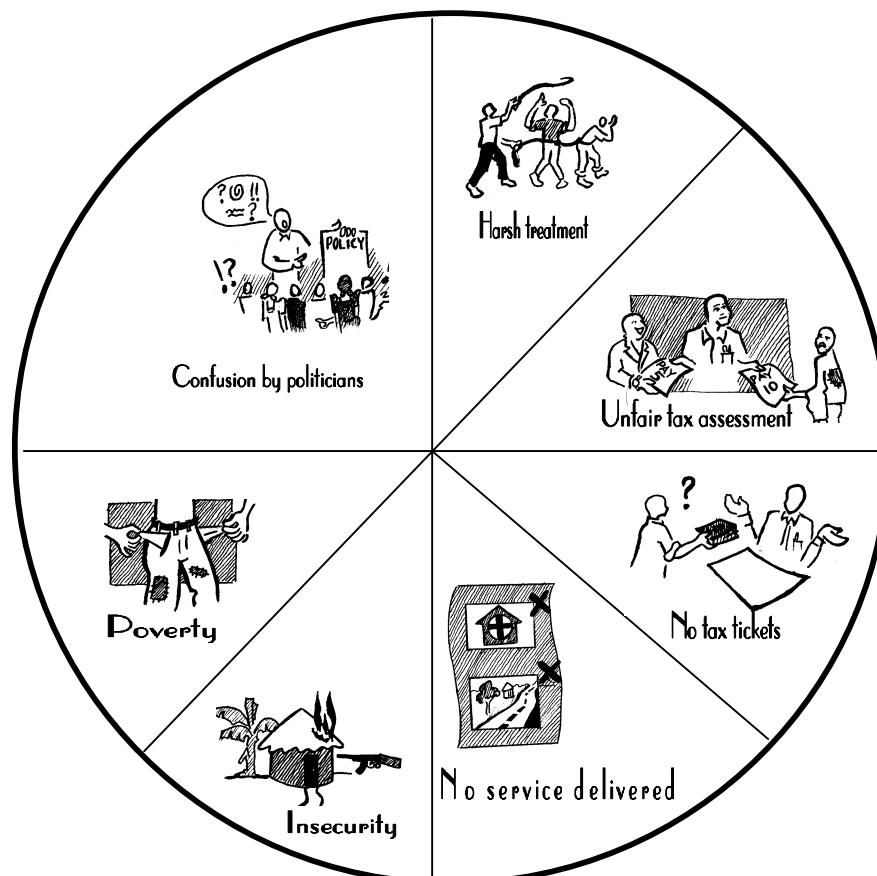
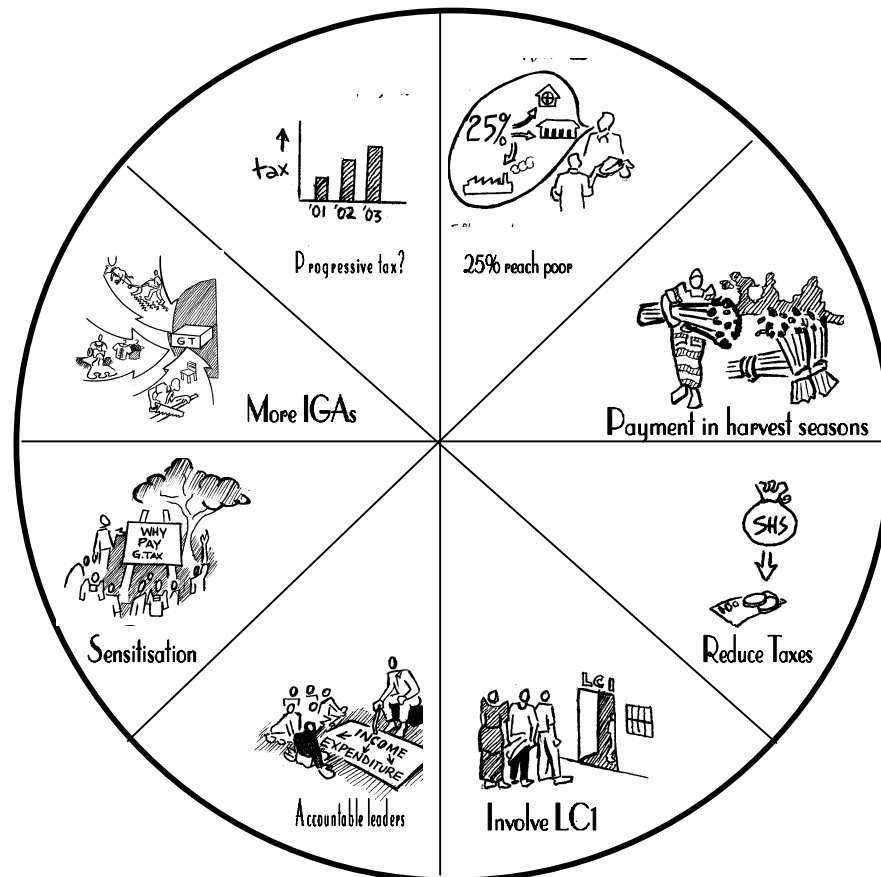


Figure 8. 2: What would make people more prepared to pay tax?
 (Composite diagram of the major issues that community members identified)



Politics and Tax

As shown in Figure 8.1 above, confusion created by politicians was a commonly reported reason why people default on their GT payments. A particularly influential factor in the collection of GT in the financial year 2001/2 was the pronouncement made by one presidential candidate during the election campaign that the lowest tax rate should be Shs. 3,000. Various interpretations were attached to this pronouncement with some community members hoping that it would take immediate effect and others refusing to pay GT. In Rakai, officials pointed to three effects of the pronouncement:

- reduced revenues due to non-payment of graduated tax. Many people stopped paying any tax at all, hoping that at some future moment all tax would be removed;
- reduced revenues due to people paying low rates of graduated tax. Even those who were willing to continue paying tax resorted to the lower figure of Shs. 3,000 that was being suggested for the poorest;
- entrenchment of a spirit of non-payment.

Is tax pocket money for the politicians?

As shown in Figure 8.1, people explained that they are unwilling to pay GT (as well as other fees and dues) because they do not see the benefits in terms of services being delivered. In eight districts people expressed the view that their taxes are only used to benefit local politicians. Some of the comments from local people are given below.

Tax is pocket money for the politicians, chiefs and councillors, not for us. We pay their allowances.

Male youth expressing a view that seemed to be shared by the whole community, Kigungu, Masindi

The Sub-county officials embezzle money, acquire assets, vehicles and grow big bellies.

Community members, Busabala, Wakiso

All activities at the landing site are taxed, e.g. saloons, shops, bars, hotels, fish etc. But nothing is received in return from government.

Community members in Kasansero Landing Site, Rakai

Analysis: It is to be expected that people will not like paying tax. But it is also true that taxes are supposed to be used to deliver services, and that people do appreciate improved services. In PPA2, people applauded UPE and, in some cases, noted improvements in health services and roads. Yet many people also reported that they are unwilling to pay taxes because they do not see benefits in terms of services delivered, and it is a common perception that taxes just end up in the pockets of local politicians. This indicates that Government needs to find ways to link local taxes more directly to service delivery.

It seems that the system of funding key services with conditional grants, while prohibiting the use of centrally disbursed funds for pay and allowances of local politicians, is contributing to a crisis in the legitimacy of local taxation. This system needs to be reviewed.

Crisis in Revenue Collection

In seven districts, the local authorities reported a crisis in local revenue raising. For example, the Arua District authorities noted that they used to realise over 80% of tax assessed but that this has now reduced to 50%. The fall in revenue means the Local Government (LG) is unable to pay salaries and co-fund development activities. Already there is a six-nine months arrears of salary for Parish Chiefs and other staff. In Kyotera Town, Rakai, district officials noted that tax defaulters have increased from 109 to 650 between 1997-2001. In Mubende and Soroti, the district officials noted that when the Sub-county and Parish Chiefs carry out 'tax swoops', their travel expenses and those of transporting policemen can exceed the revenue realised.

25% remittance to LC1s

Information on the 25% of GT that is supposed to be remitted to the LC1 level was collected in all the districts.⁷⁸ In six sites in four districts, the money is being received regularly and put to good use. For example, in Bubanda, Mubende, recent remittances contributed to the

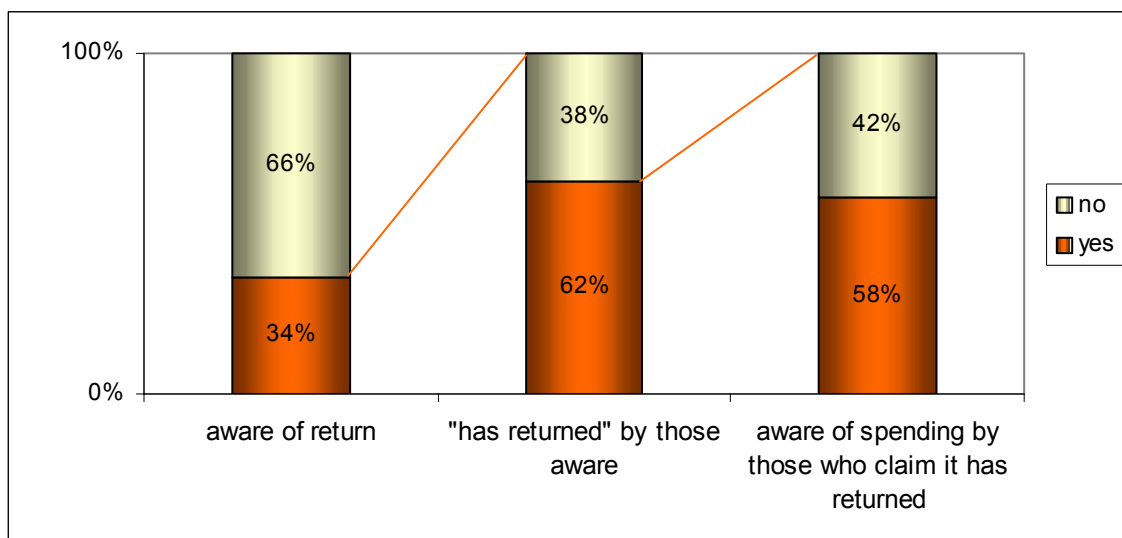
⁷⁸ The amount of GT that should be returned to the LC1 is actually 16.25% of the GT collected in a sub-county, as it is 25% of the 65% of the GT retained by the sub-county that should be remitted to the LC1. However, in Uganda the amount of GT that the LC1 is supposed to receive is commonly referred to as 'the 25%', which is why it is referred to in this manner here.

construction of classrooms following a participatory planning process. In Butema, Bugiri, the community appreciated the 25% and they had used it to buy a tarpaulin and saucepans for use during burials and *Isebantu* (Cultural Leader) ceremonies. Community members stated that the 25% remittance has encouraged them to pay tax.

However, in many other sites community members reported that they had not received the 25% remittance or that it was being received in an irregular manner. In a few sub-counties, the sub-county insisted that the money had been remitted but it appeared to have been embezzled by the LC1 leadership. Community members are often not aware of the amount they are supposed to get. This causes a problem in demanding accountability, since community members do not know what is to be accounted for. In one village in Masindi where research was done, the community received its first and only 25% of GT in 1996. This was used for opening up the access road to the village; the road is now in a terrible condition. In the same village, the men noted that whenever they ask for accountability, the Chairperson and LC1 Executive postpone meetings.

These findings are supported by the results of the Village Census. This revealed a large gap between what the LC1s *should have received* based on the amount of tax money paid by households and received by sub-counties, and what LC1s *actually received*. The Village Census also revealed very low awareness about the 25%. It revealed that only 12% of household heads both knew that the 25% had been received by their LC1 *and* knew how the money had been spent, as shown in Figure 8.3 below.

Figure 8. 3: Awareness by household heads of return and use of the LCI 25% of GT ⁷⁹



Source: Village Census

⁷⁹ Only 34% of all the household heads interviewed were aware that 25% of GT payments retained by the sub-counties should be remitted to the LC1s. Of this 34% of respondents, only 62% knew that the 25% had actually been returned to their LC1, and only 58% of the 62% knew how the money had been spent. Fifty-eight percent of 62% of 34% is 12% of total respondents.

Analysis: Effective participatory budgeting of the 25% remittance would contribute to enhancing civic duty towards taxation. It is urgent for districts to ensure that the money is remitted to villages and that there is transparency in its distribution. Guidelines on how the 25% should be used need to be put in place.

8.2.4 Market Fees, Tendering and other Local Taxes

As noted in section 8.1 above, in addition to GT, people pay other taxes levied by district authorities and which vary from district to district. These include market dues, beer permits, licenses, property tax, ground rent, bicycle tax and fish landing site dues, among others. PPA1 found that these taxes can destroy local business initiatives if they are too high or if multiple taxes are levied on the same enterprise, although this was not highlighted as a major issue for the poor (MFPED, 2000).⁸⁰ Now, however, a clear message is coming from the community members who participated in PPA2: *the plethora of local taxes and their mal-administration is damaging local enterprise and undermining the credibility of government*. Dues collected in tendered markets and fish landing sites are a particular cause for concern. Some district officials also expressed concern about the impact of market dues on local people/businesses.

Market fees and tendering of markets and fish landing sites

Information was collected on the tendering of revenue collection at markets and fish landing in 10 districts. In Arua, the District authorities reported that they are pleased with the results of tendering. The District Tax Officer noted that market dues are one of the main sources of district revenue, and that after the collection of market dues was privatised the district started getting more money at little or no cost. But in all of the 10 districts where information was collected on tendering in communities, traders and fishermen reported that they are being exploited! There were six main findings on the impact of the tendering of revenue collection. These are summarised in Box 8.1 below and then discussed in more detail.

Box 8.1: Impact of the Tendering Out of Revenue Collection by LGs in Markets and Fish Landing Sites: Main Findings of PPA2

- i. Market and fish traders are being overcharged.
- ii. Brutal and insensitive methods are used to collect dues from traders.
- iii. High dues are leading traders to desert markets.
- iv. Services provided at the markets/landing sites are poor despite the high dues.

⁸⁰ Many of the issues raised in this section are discussed in the Policy Briefing Paper from the PPA1 findings 'Taxation and Economic Growth: Learning from the Poor' (Muhumuza and Ehrhart). Still, it does seem from the findings of Cycles 1 and 2 of PPA2 that concerns about local taxation and tendering in particular are growing. This is not surprising – the local revenue raising system is now more entrenched than when PPA1 was carried out and opportunities to exploit it for personal gain will have developed over time.

- v. District and Town Councils do not have accurate and up-to-date assessments of what revenue can realistically be raised from markets and fish landing sites.
- vi. LGs are not monitoring the activities of tenderers.

i. Market traders are being overcharged

Traders reported that they are supposed to be charged 10% of the value of the goods brought to the market, but that actual dues are much more than this. Dues of Shs. 200 on every Shs.1000 of goods sold were reported in Bundibugyo, Arua and Soroti (i.e. 20% dues), while higher dues were reported elsewhere.⁸¹ For example, one business woman in Gbukutu in Arua commented: ‘An old woman who brings produce worth Shs. 500 is charged Shs. 200. What will she buy with the Shs. 300?’

In Kyamukube, Bundibugyo, women attributed the increase in dues to the tendering of markets, noting that businessmen who take market tenders work ‘twenty-four hours’ to ensure they recoup their investment in the shortest possible time. In many districts, people complained of having to pay market dues before items are sold, and that they are taxed on the same produce day after day. Women in Bugiri and Kitgum explained as follows.

I brew kwete (local beer) and take it to the market. I am required to pay dues for the same jerrycan of kwete today and tomorrow if it is left over. Sometimes, most of the kwete is not bought, it goes stale and I have to pour it away. I make a loss, yet I have paid all the market dues.

Woman in Butema, Bugiri

For some of us who sell local brew are suffering. You can pay market dues today and if your brew does not get finished, you are to pay market dues on the same brew the next day.

Woman in focus group discussion, Barungwee, Kitgum

The practice of charging dues on items before they are sold was said to discourage people from trading in Soroti. An old man in Okunguro explained: ‘If the item is not sold after you have paid market dues, you get discouraged to bring it next time for resale. You end up eating it yourself and forget about money.’ Community members and the Chief Finance Officer for Soroti also agreed that payment of market dues before an item is sold makes it difficult for the poor to put their goods on sale, because often poor people do not have any money with which to pay dues in advance. Poor people sometimes borrow money to pay the dues with the hope that the goods will be sold. When they are not, the person remains in debt and yet the tenderer has already gained the dues.

In Jinja Municipality, many different dues have been instituted by the tenderers on the traders. Table 8.1 gives an example of the taxes collected in Napier Market, Jinja.

⁸¹ The Village Census, using information from LC1 Chairmen only, found that market fees constitute only 13% of sales value for crop products and only 4% of the sales value of animals. The Village Census report notes that the discrepancy between the Village Census and PPA2 findings is probably due to the fact that only LC1 Chairmen were consulted about market dues in the Village Census, not traders themselves. The PPA2 findings that market traders pay high tax rates in tendered markets are similar to the findings of another recent study (Ellis and Bahiigwa).

Table 8. 1: Dues and fines paid by traders to tenderer in Napier Market, Jinja

Description of Dues and fines	Amount in Shs. and frequency of payments
Condolence fees	10,000/= on joining the market
Wearing slippers in the market	5,000/=
Quarrelling in the Market	5,000/=
Burning <i>sigiri</i> (charcoal stove) after 6:00 p.m.	5,000/=
Mabugo (condolence fees) on loss of market member	3,500 - 5,000/=
Security	500/= (weekly)

Source: Jinja Municipality Site Report

Traders noted that in some cases, when the tenderers fail to meet their target tax take, they raise the market dues. For example, the traders in Napier market noted that their kiosk dues had been raised from Shs. 200-300 per kiosk per day. The traders saw this as exploitation by the tenderers and a way of making them fail to make any money in their businesses.

ii. Brutal and insensitive methods are used to collect dues from traders.

This was reported in three districts. For example, in Kyamukube, Bundibugyo, women reported that they fear going to the market because of the way they are treated by tax collectors. The women complained that their goods are usually confiscated by market dues collectors when they are on their way to the market. In this regard, they are not comfortable with the collection of market dues before they sell their produce.

iii. High dues are leading traders to desert markets

In Bugiri Town, residents reported that market dues have led traders to abandon the town markets and to sell in auction markets. In Awoja in Soroti, community members try to sell informally to avoid market dues, but this can be difficult. If you are found selling something in the vicinity of the local market, those in charge of the market arrest you and you pay three times more than you pay in market dues.

iv. Despite the high dues, services provided at markets/landing sites are poor.

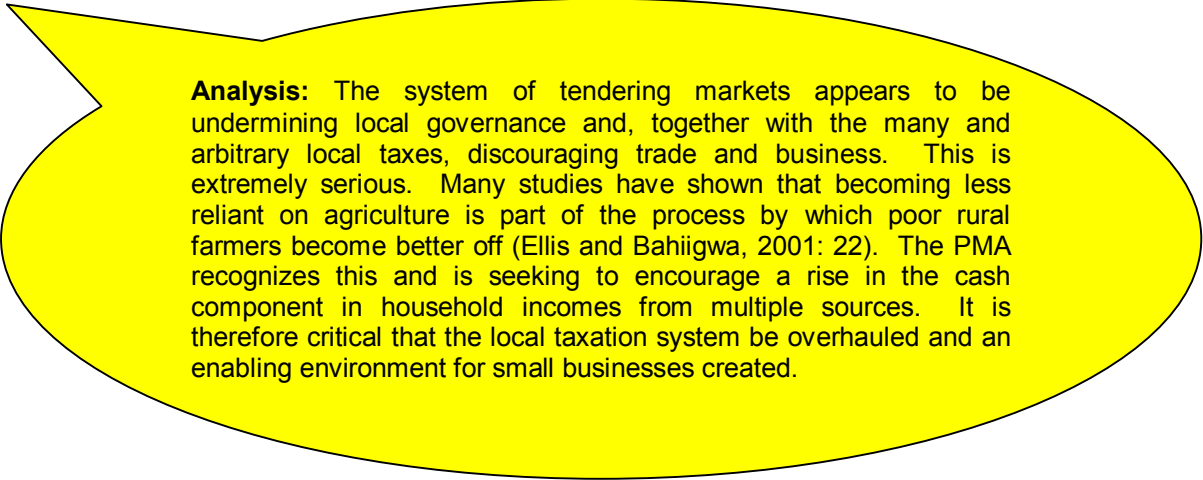
In Wakiso and Soroti, people at fish landing sites reported that the sites were cleaner before they were tendered. Prior to tendering, communities had local rules and arrangements for cleaning. In some places, tenderers reported that they want to provide good services, but are unable to do so as very little of the money raised is made available for reinvestment in improving services by the district/town council authorities. In Bugiri, this has led to an acrimonious dispute between the Town Council and the Bugiri Market Vendors and Development Association (BUMAVENDA) that runs the Main Market. BUMAVENDA ascribes the hostility towards the organisation by the district and town authorities to the fact that BUMAVENDA has tried to interfere with the authorities' 'source of bread'.

v. Districts and Town Councils do not have accurate and up-to-date assessments of what revenue can realistically be raised from markets and landing sites.

In Bugiri, the assessment of markets was last done for the town markets in 1995. In Jinja Municipality there was a reported discrepancy on the number of *boda boda* cyclists in the town. The district records had tendered out 40,000 cyclists and yet the *boda boda* association records showed that they had 18,000 cyclists who were operating in the town.

vi. *District authorities are not monitoring the activities of tenderers.*

Sometimes, the absence of monitoring the activities of the tenderers appears to be due to corruption in the allocation of the tenders. According to community members in Bugiri, most tenders (for e.g. garbage collection, water supply and *boda boda* operations, as well as market management) are awarded to town council staff, their relatives and other district politicians. This does not allow for proper monitoring and supervision; hence the poor service delivery in tendered activities. In Arua, unofficial ‘tendering’ of markets is taking place. The village of Ruwe has two small markets in which market dues are levied by the LC1. When enquiries were made in PPA2 about this at the Sub-county, a councillor merely commented, ‘*Some people have assumed the role of the district tender board and awarded markets to themselves.*’



Analysis: The system of tendering markets appears to be undermining local governance and, together with the many and arbitrary local taxes, discouraging trade and business. This is extremely serious. Many studies have shown that becoming less reliant on agriculture is part of the process by which poor rural farmers become better off (Ellis and Bahigwa, 2001: 22). The PMA recognizes this and is seeking to encourage a rise in the cash component in household incomes from multiple sources. It is therefore critical that the local taxation system be overhauled and an enabling environment for small businesses created.

Local taxes on fishing

As noted in Chapter 3, fishermen and fishmongers complained bitterly of paying multiple taxes.⁸² At Busabala Landing Site in Wakiso, it was reported that:

- Fishermen pay - Market dues: Shs. 200 (every time they bring fish to the landing site); Boat licence fees: Shs.12,000 per year; Fisheries operational fee of Shs. 15,000 yearly to the Fisheries Department; Shs. 8,000 for an annual medical check-up (although the fishermen have never received any medical reports).
- Fishmongers pay - Market dues: Shs. 300 daily to the landing site tenderer; Trading licence fee of Ush10,000 (annually to the Sub-County).

In Gorofa in Bugiri and Kisenyi in Bundibugyo, fishmongers complained that they are taxed at the landing site, the market entrance and at the market stall. Other taxes on fishermen reported in Kasansero, Rakai, were: payments for marine services, on nets, on life jackets and engines. In Butema in Bugiri, one woman fish trader explained that she is contemplating giving up the trade due to the multiple taxes:

⁸² Another recent study has also drawn attention to the array of official and unofficial dues that fishermen pay and which impact negatively on their work (ILM, 2001).

I sell fish and get Shs. 2,000 for four heaps of omena. However, the health worker demands for Shs. 5,000 per month, the Fisheries Officers also demand Shs. 10,000 per month, the owner of the rack I use to display the fish also demands Shs. 2,500 per month, yet I also have to pay daily market dues of Shs. 200. This is way beyond my capital so I am contemplating giving up the trade.

Women fish trader, Butema, Bugiri

How about other local taxes?

Other local taxes were reported either on services or on small businesses, for example on *boda boda* services, on water vending and on water use. In several districts, people reported abandoning attempts to run businesses due to these taxes. An example, from Butema village in Bugiri is given below.

I opened up a kiosk to sell mandazi (donuts) and chapatti so that I could pay school fees for my children and meet other basic household needs. No sooner had I than the licence man came demanding for Shs. 10,000. This was more than I could afford, so I just gave up the business.

Woman, Butema, Bugiri

Many people also complained that they do not see what services are being delivered with the money they pay. For example, water vendors in Busanzi 'B' Cell in Bugiri pay quarterly dues of Shs. 2,000 to the Public Health Department as a contribution to health workers, but see no contribution by the health workers towards the cleanliness of the well from which they draw water. In Gbukutu in Arua, 500 people are reported to pay Shs. 500 monthly for using water points, which amounts to Shs. 250,000 per month or Ush3 million a year, but where the money goes is a mystery – it is not used for repairs or maintenance of the water points.

CHAPTER NINE

GOOD GOVERNANCE AND POVERTY REDUCTION

Key Findings and Policy Messages

Is decentralisation hindering poverty reduction?

In the light of the findings presented in this chapter, it is evident that the decentralisation process needs to be critically and urgently reviewed. MoLG should spearhead this process. The question is:

How much is the decentralisation process facilitating, and how much is it hindering the delivery of pro-poor programmes? And what should be done about this?

These questions reflect the widespread concerns about corruption and lack of accountability expressed in the PPA2 process. In contrast with PPA1, PPA2 found these extend to the LC1 level. Other recurrent themes are local politicians 'interfering' in local service delivery, making the work of local officials less effective; the cost of local electoral campaigns as a source of pressure to be corrupt; and impunity as the other main incentive. The issue is whether these problems can be effectively tackled by giving the institutions charged with anti-corruption efforts greater investigative and punitive powers. If not, and they are inherent in the project of decentralisation, that too should be re-examined.

Challenges to governance

Other challenges include:

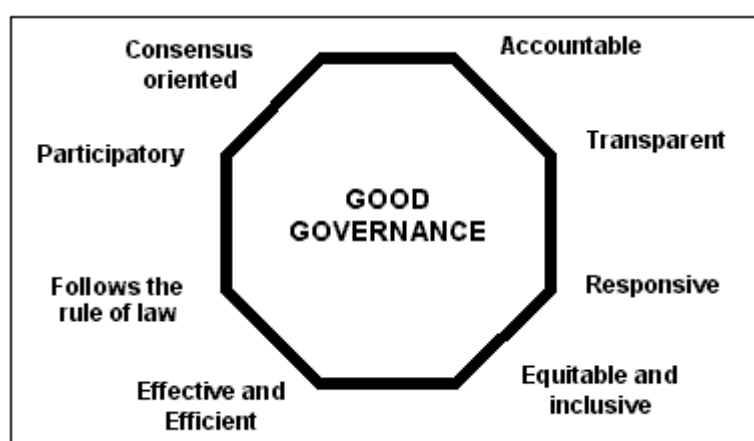
- building further on the recognised gains from the affirmative action policies on women's political participation;
- finding a model of community participation in decision-making that is cost-effective for ordinary people but does not expose them to manipulation;
- giving due attention to physical planning in cities and towns;
- keeping up the efforts to get rid of corruption in the police force, and appreciating the role of suitable facilitation (for example, transport) in this.

9.1 WHAT IS GOOD GOVERNANCE?

In Uganda, good governance is considered an important dimension of poverty reduction and is the Second Pillar of the PEAP.⁸³ Government considers good governance essential for effective public service delivery. In 1997, a *National Programme and Action Plan on Democratic Governance in the context of the PEAP* was formulated in response to the “need to replace causal and impressionistic awareness of the problems facing governance institutions with concrete and factual analyses of governance issues”.⁸⁴ The main intention of this document was to ensure that there is consensus in the definition of good governance and that good governance is given adequate exposure in the PEAP.

Evidence from various studies has concluded that good governance has eight major characteristics as shown in Figure 9.1.

Figure 9. 1: What is good governance?



Source: United Nations Economic and Social Commission for East Asia and the Pacific

In Uganda, good governance and democratisation are being pursued in the context of decentralisation. In 1992, the GoU announced the decentralisation policy that led to the design of the Local Government Statute of 1993. This provided for the transfer of powers and resources to Local Governments. The 1995 Constitution and the 1997 Local Government Act further elaborated and entrenched the principles of decentralisation in Uganda. All these policy reforms changed the relationship between the Local Governments and the Central Government. On the whole, evidence from various reviews suggests that decentralisation has been relatively successful although a number of key challenges still exist. These include, but are not limited to, the need to strengthen mechanisms for popular participation, bottom-up accountability, monitoring of various public services, strengthening anti-corruption measures and provision of information.

To address issues around popular participation, Government has initiated a process of harmonizing approaches to participation with a view to making sure that district and sector plans take into account the perspectives and priorities of poor people. This is coupled with

⁸³ See PEAP Pillar 2: Strengthening Good Governance and Security (MFPED, 2001).

⁸⁴ National Programme and Action Plan on Democratic Governance in the context of the Poverty Eradication Action Plan, Working Group on Strengthening Instruments of Governance, October 1997:1

efforts to promote participation in development planning through such programmes as the Local Government Development Programme (LGDP), the PMA and NAADS. Furthermore, a review of the roles of Community Development Officers by the MGLSD has been completed as a means of refocusing their contribution to enhancing community participation in poverty reduction programmes.

Another reform strategy to ensure greater transparency is through increasing access to public information. Government has made it mandatory for all monthly financial releases from the MFPED to different sectors to be displayed in public places such as schools, health facilities, markets and newspapers. LGDP has also been very instrumental in enhancing the dissemination of public information through display of the Indicative Planning Figures for Local Governments in their different localities.⁸⁵ At the Central Government level a number of initiatives are ongoing. For example, the MFPED has just finished a Medium Term Communication Strategy with the key objective of increasing communication that empowers people to demand accountability. A number of key documents have also been published and simplified, including the *Citizen's Guide to the Budget*, *A Glance at the Budget*, a *Simplified Version of the PEAP* and the *Simplified Version of PMA*. The PAF and the PMA are also designing their communication strategies, as are other sectors like Health, Water, Uganda Aids Commission and Justice, Law and Order Sector. Press conferences and seminars/workshops are conducted at the different levels of government to make the public aware of GoU policies.⁸⁶

As part of the effort to fight corruption, the President officially launched a *Government Strategy and Plan of Action to Fight Corruption and Build Public Ethics and Integrity in Public Office 2000-2002* in July 2000. The proposed actions are geared towards diminishing opportunities for misconduct and also strengthening of investigation and prosecution of malfeasance.

9.2 PPA2 FINDINGS

9.2.1 Functioning of the LC System

PPA1 found that the base-level Local Council (LC1) was seen as important in all communities and that 'in most sites, local councillors (LC1) were highly respected and appreciated' (MFPED 2000, 106). Regarding the higher levels (LC2 to LC5), it was found that in many cases their roles and responsibilities were not well known. They were perceived as distant, non-responsive to community needs and hindering community development due to corruption and lack of contact with communities. However, where higher leadership was strong, it was seen as a driving force in improving people's lives.

In PPA2, people's views on the LC1 were more mixed while their views on the LCs2-5 echoed the findings of the first PPA. Box 9.1 highlights people's perceptions of the LC system in PPA2. These are then discussed in more detail below. In one district, Ntungamo, the LC system appears to be functioning markedly better than in other districts *and* services appear to be better. This is discussed in Box 9.2 at the end of this section.

⁸⁵ MoLG (2002) Programme Review of the LGDP Vol 1: Main Report:55

⁸⁶ PRSP Progress Report 2002:49

Box 9.1: Perceptions on the LC System in PPA2

LC1

Views on the LC1 were mixed:

- In some sites, the LC1 was seen to be very useful in dispute settlement.
- ☞ However, many women were critical to the LC system because:
- Women considered the LC1 as a corrupt institution, which is biased against women in most cases.

But women also recognized that:

- The LC system has helped women to participate in local politics and this has increased their confidence and decision-making powers;
- In some cases, the LC1 stops domestic violence by men.

Two cross-cutting findings emerged:

- The LC1 is functioning poorly even in many sites where it was seen to be useful;
- The LC1 is not very important compared to other institutions that help to mitigate the effects of poverty in communities.

LC2-5

- Most people lack information about the roles and the activities that the higher level LCs are supposed to carry out in communities;
- LCs2-5 are seen as distant institutions that only serve the higher levels of government, rather than local communities.

In summary, there were various perceptions about the LC system but two main messages:

- *Community members appreciate the value of the LC system but there is a need to improve the way in which the LC1 operates;*
- *There is an urgent need to sensitize communities about the roles and relevance of LCs2-5.*

The LC1 Level

In PPA2, positive and negative views on the LC1 were expressed in roughly equal numbers of sites. The most commonly defined role for the LC1 was dispute settlement and in some sites the LC1 was perceived to have an important and useful role in this. In other sites, the LC1 role in dispute settlement was acknowledged but people were critical of its performance and the LC1 was perceived to be functioning poorly or to be an unimportant institution.

Women were more critical of the LC1 than men. In some sites they disputed men's views that the LC1 is important in dispute settlement and provision of security and complained that the LC1 is corrupt and biased against them. In others, they noted that men look down on the women representatives and hold meetings/take decisions without them. Barmaids in Busabala in Wakiso reported: '*Violent drunkards pay LC1 officials some money and our cases are dismissed.*' In Moroto, men maintained that whatever they decided in the LC1 was '*for the good of the whole community*', so they could afford to ignore the women's views.

Minority groups also tended to criticise the LC1. Cultivators complained that the LC1's judgements are biased against them in a pastoralist village in Bundibugyo. IDPs in Masindi and refugees in Arua, complained of discrimination against them by locals in the LC1 courts.

Across all districts, community members did not perceive the LC1 to be playing much of a role in the provision of information on government programmes or as a conduit for their views on necessary development initiatives in their area.

LC2-LC5

In relation to the higher LC levels, the findings in PPA2 echoed the critical views expressed in the first PPA. People complained of a lack of information on the roles and activities of the LC2 to LC5 and of lack of linkages to them. One man in Kyotera Town in Rakai expressed a view shared elsewhere when he said: *'Every problem we get, we run to the Chairman LC1. As for the LC2 and 3 they are not meant for us, the poor; we do not know them!'* In some cases, office holders at the parish and sub-county levels were unclear of their own roles.

In some sites, the lack of information on the responsibilities of the higher-level LCs was found to lead to unrealistic expectations by community members in terms of what, for example, sub-counties can deliver, and to suspicion of embezzlement of money when corruption might not actually have occurred. People also pointed out that because they are not aware of the leaders' responsibilities, they cannot question them or demand accountabilities, as discussed further below.

However, as in the first PPA, strong higher-level leadership was seen as a motor of development. In Ntungamo, people appreciated the role of the District Councillors in improving services and the LC5 Chairman was applauded for leading the little development achieved in the area.

Local politicians undermining service delivery?

In five districts, politicians were accused of interfering with the process of service delivery, mainly by civil servants in Local Governments. A few cases are listed below:

- Civil servants complained of politicians interfering in tender allocations in Rakai and in Jinja Municipality. In Jinja, politicians were also accused of protecting traders who are operating illegally in some parts of the municipality. In another site in Jinja, civil servants pointed out that although they are in a good position to demand accountability from politicians as they know the budgets for activities, in practice it is difficult for them to ask questions as they fear losing their jobs.
- In Wakiso, civil servants complained of politicians influencing project allocations to their areas of stay. In one site, politicians were reported to have used a sub-county bursary scheme for poor students for personal gain. In another, sub-county technical staff accused the sub-county executive of mismanaging its funds and then blaming the technical staff for poor performance. Community members accused politicians of 'borrowing' public funds or assets like cars, causing delays in service delivery.
- In Masindi, district officials complained of politicians trying to take credit for development initiatives and explained that sometimes this can disrupt programmes, for example, seed distributions by NARO.

Analysis: The frustration of civil servants about the impunity of their local leaders in the utilisation of public funds is a very serious issue. In many sites, this issue was lightly referred to as 'interference from politicians in service delivery'. However, it seems clear that the repercussions of this interference are seriously damaging efforts to improve local services in many places. There is therefore a need to think through how to improve accountability and service delivery through separation of roles and protection of public funds from misuse by local politicians.

Women's Participation in the LC System

A number of positive results for women were identified that accrue from the affirmative action in the LC system, as follows:

- **Reduction in domestic violence:** In Ntungamo and Soroti, men and women noted that women's participation in LC structures had reduced domestic violence because men now fear to be arrested. In Awoja in Soroti, one woman commented in a focus group discussion: *'There is no man who can beat his wife without being punished by the LC. This has scared many men from attempting to beat women.'* In Ntungamo, women politicians have sensitised women on their rights and women can now report *'private cases'* to women representatives on the LC1.
- **Increasing confidence amongst women:** In Mubende and Ntungamo, people noted that women's confidence has been increased by their participation in the LC system. They can now talk in public and air their concerns, which was not the case previously, and gradually men are appreciating their contributions.
- **More secure access to land by women?** In isolated cases in Soroti and Ntungamo, the LC1 was reported to be playing a role in protecting women's land rights. In Soroti, men and women reported that some women now own land and that land grabbing from widows is declining. They related this to women's increasing role in decision-making resulting from their role in local governance structures.

However, three main constraints to women's active participation in public life were also identified:

- their low literacy/education levels;
- negative attitude by husbands who want women to spend their time on productive labour or by the community who think women don't make good leaders;
- their domestic chores and family responsibilities.

Views on Women's Councils

The Women Councils were not talked about favourably where they were discussed. In Bundibugyo, community members asserted that Women Councils have not been useful and they wondered why they should continue to elect them. In Rakai, women mentioned that they have not benefited from the Women's Councils. One young woman in Lubira zone

commented: *‘Women leaders have only empowered themselves. They have made so many investments, which they got from “our” money.’*

Analysis: The affirmative action policy that government is pursuing is showing some positive results, as evidenced by reports from community members in some districts. However, PPA2 indicates that participation by women in local governance still needs to be strengthened. It is also evident that there is a need to review the functionality of the Women’s Councils, to make them stronger and more efficient as bodies that are addressing inequalities between women and men.

The review of the National Gender Policy, which is currently under way, needs to take cognisance of these issues and design appropriate actions to strengthen the processes of gender mainstreaming in governance structures.

Box 9.2: Good Governance Contributes to Development: The Case of Ntungamo District

In Ntungamo, government appears to be functioning better than in the other PPA2 districts. This appears to be resulting in better service delivery and more positive attitudes by local people towards paying taxes. It seems that a virtuous circle has been created: people see services being delivered → they appreciate the benefits of paying tax → taxes are used to improve services → people see services being delivered. For example, Ntungamo is one of the only districts in the country where local taxes are used to make regular additional payments to health workers.

Evidence of better governance:

- People in most sites were clear about the roles and activities of the different levels of the LC system, and perceived the higher levels to be important in three sites. This was not the case in the great majority of PPA2 sites.
- The 25% of GT is received regularly in all four rural communities where the PPA2 research took place. Most PPA2 sites are not receiving the 25% regularly.
- Regular monitoring of health units by the Health Sub-Districts was reported in two sites, regular monitoring of schools in one site and regular auditing of the LC3 in another. Very few examples of monitoring by district authorities were reported in PPA2;
- The GT assessment system is well organized and involves the LC1 Chairmen.

Improved service delivery:

- Drug shortages are less severe in Ntungamo than in other districts, as discussed in Chapter 5;
- Teachers in one site noted that increased monitoring by the office of the District Education Officer has improved their performance;
- People noted that roads have been improved and, in two cases, water supplies.

More positive attitudes to taxation:

- In all sites, people acknowledged the benefits of paying taxes. They identified the uses that their tax money is put to, including: construction and maintenance of roads, giving specific examples of roads that have been repaired; construction and improvement of health centres and schools; provision of safe water.

Of course, governance problems were still identified. People decried their lack of involvement in developing the sub-county plans; lack of adequate information flow through the LC system on government programmes and policies; lack of mechanisms to hold leaders to account; and brutality in GT enforcement; and spoke of electoral malpractice. However, overall the example of Ntungamo shows that local government can be effective and that people do appreciate good performance. Other districts need to follow this lead!

9.2.2 Participation in Planning

A decentralised system of local governance is supposed to promote participation in planning as a way of improving service delivery. In all districts, it was evident that there are many challenges that need to be addressed in the area of participation of specific categories of people in the planning processes. Information was collected on whether community priorities are informing the sub-county development plans in six districts. Community members and sub-county officials reported that communities are not consulted and that plans are developed at the sub-county/town council level. Lack of community involvement in sub-county planning was seen to result in problems in some cases.

Government programmes are imposed on us when we don't know their origins and at times when they are not our priority. For example, the distribution of clonal coffee seedlings was a total miscalculation in Busabala. We preferred cassava sticks.

Community members, Busabala Landing Site, Wakiso

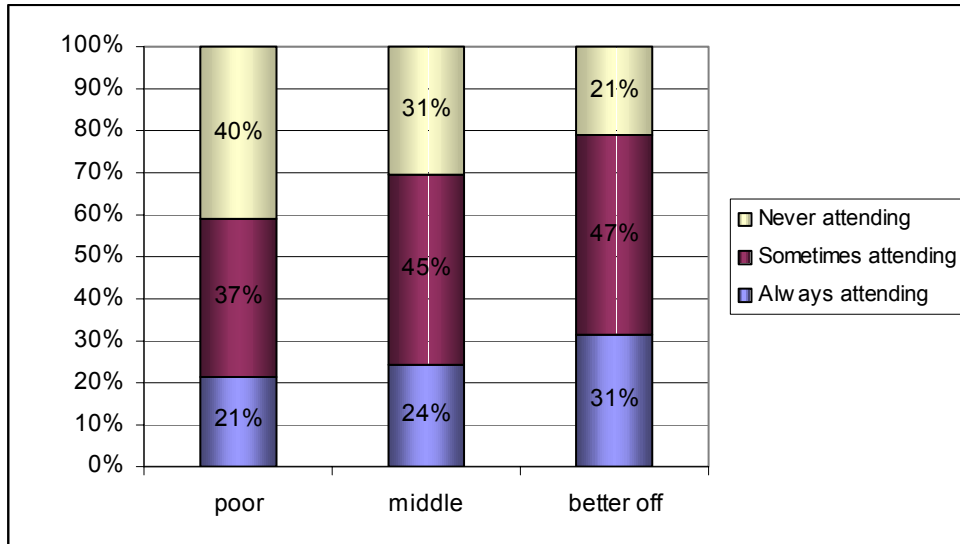
In Rakai, it was reported in one site that the District has in the past sent questionnaires to the sub-county and lower levels, to solicit people's views on priority problems in a structured manner. It is recognized that this makes consultation an 'elitist process' as literacy levels in Rakai are very low and only those who can write clearly can participate in the process. However, it appears that the questionnaires did help to gauge the general feelings of the community regarding where they preferred their community dam to be located.

Two main reasons were identified as to why plans do not involve local people, as follows:

- **Lack of 'capacity' in local councils:** 'Capacity' was seen to cover various things. Planning guidelines are inadequate. The LC2 and LC3 officials are not knowledgeable about the planning process itself, and there is a belief that involving people would be a very long and tedious exercise. The District Planning Officer in Soroti noted that participatory planning is lengthy and expensive and that the district lacks the funds and skills to carry it out; a view echoed in Rakai.
- **Lack of motivation and willingness by communities to be involved:** District officials, parish councillors or LC1 chairpersons in Arua, Wakiso and Ntungamo noted that people do not always want to participate in planning and do not attend meetings. In Wakiso, it was also pointed out that lack of money by sub-counties to implement plans discourages people from participating. In Soroti town, people in the poorest category of well-being reported that they do not attend meetings because this is a waste of time as nobody listens to the poor.

The Village Census also found that participation in LC1 meetings is related to wealth. Forty percent of the ‘poor’ category reported that they ‘never attend’ meetings, but only 21% of the ‘better-off’ reported never attending, as shown in the Figure 9.2 below.

Figure 9. 2: Participation in LC1 meetings across wealth categories



Source: Village Census

Analysis: At a national level, many of the policies and programmes instituted call for community participation in planning, such as the PEAP, PMA, NAADS and LGDP. However, it is still unclear what kind of participation by communities is expected and how it is supposed to be organised. Participation of all community members is difficult to organise and very time-consuming, although it does ensure that the planning process responds to the specific needs of the poor. On the other hand, representative participation through local leaders is cost-effective, but highly susceptible to manipulation, and there is no guarantee that views of community members will always be taken on. There is need for various stakeholders to think critically and reflect on the strategy that will work for Uganda, capturing the best elements of both approaches.

9.2.3 Physical Planning in Urban Places

In Jinja Municipality, local people called for better physical planning. It is evident from the findings in Jinja that some of the bottlenecks to improving productivity are related to property rights in the Municipality. Most of the workers in the informal sector noted that they cannot attract credit because they do not have well defined property rights. A number of cases were reported of businesses operating under fear of eviction by the property owners, especially absentee landlords. The business operators therefore fear to invest or cannot get loans for

investment, and this was one of the reasons given for the poor quality of services in eating houses and other businesses. A related problem is that different kinds of businesses have sprung up in the same locations because of the laxity in the physical planning regulations. Food sellers work next to barbers, and carpenters next to mosques and there are many other combinations of businesses. This compromises the quality of service delivery in the municipality.

Analysis: This problem is not characteristic of Jinja Municipality alone. The first PPA highlighted a number of problems in Kampala City that related to poor physical planning. In many of the urban centres sprouting in different parts of Uganda, there is not enough focus on the nature of physical planning. It is important for the Ministry concerned with physical planning to start designing ways of dealing with issues of disorganised urban centres, because of the repercussions of unplanned areas on livelihoods.

9.2.4 Corruption

Corruption amongst civil servants and/or politicians was alleged in all districts, with the sub-county and district singled out as corrupt institutions in Local Governments. Findings from most districts give examples of how specific instances of corruption negatively affect service delivery or lead to a poor quality of the living environment. Examples include the following:

- In Bugiri Town, community members blamed poor sanitation on the council health workers who take bribes not to enforce regulations.
- Lack of garbage disposal in Bugiri Town Council was attributed to the fact that councillors use the Town Council truck for their own commercial work and garbage is never collected.
- In Baito Village, Arua, community members alleged that recipients of improved seeds bought with the PMA grant were relatives or close friends of the LCs who were in charge of the distribution.
- In Barungwee, Kitgum, community members felt that there was a lot of nepotism by officials in the LC system and that this means that officials do not try and involve people in planning and decision-making on government programmes.
- In Kitende in Wakiso, an elderly man had this to say: *'Leaders today do not care about the people ... they allow fake drugs to be sold provided they [leaders] gain something.'*

Corruption and Tendering

Corruption in the tendering process was mentioned in all districts. This is in contrast with the findings of PPA1, where tendering was not given as much prominence. As noted in Chapter 8, according to community members in Bugiri town, most tenders (for example, for garbage collection, water supply, *boda boda* operations and market management) are awarded to Town Council staff, their relatives and other district politicians. This does not allow for proper monitoring and supervision, hence the poor service delivery in tendered activities.

In Bundibugyo, community members as well as some district officials made similar allegations about tendered construction work. One official commented: *'Tenders are taken by our bosses yet they are the ones supposed to supervise their implementation.'* Community members maintained that sometimes tenderers are paid before they finish work because they bribe the district officials. In Rakai, community members noted that although the tenders are advertised, the adverts are displayed after the tender has been awarded.

In some sites, sub-county and parish officials pointed out that sub-counties lack information on tenders awarded by the district and that they cannot effectively supervise projects directly funded by the district. In Rakai, one sub-county chief explained as follows:

We cannot supervise people we do not know about, or those that we did not employ in the first place. It is extremely difficult to simply walk in and demand that you want to supervise someone.

Sub-County Chief, Kasagama Sub-county, Rakai

Another common complaint was that tenderers do not employ local community members. For example, in Atango, Kitgum, the male youth said that the tenderers always come with their own masons from outside the sub-county. In the event that they (male youth) are employed, they are exploited. The youth gave an example of the construction of Ludwar Primary School. The tenderers paid in the form of cement, yet the youth needed money not cement.

There was also a sense of frustration from some district technical officers who feel that politicians in the districts are making their work very difficult when it comes to awarding tenders. One officer in Rakai had this to say: *'The politicians dictate the awarding of tenders especially in their areas. We are tired of giving technical input that is not valued.'*

Analysis: Very many and very varied examples of corruption are cited by community members. These range from illegal use of public resources for private gain, to fraud, embezzlement and bribery. What seems evident from the issues raised about corruption is that *there is impunity*. Public officials disregard rules and regulations, knowing that when they breach them nothing is going to happen to them, or if anything happens it will not be serious enough to eliminate the gains from the behaviour.

It is, therefore, imperative that the different institutions to fight corruption are equipped well enough with investigative and punitive powers to curb excesses in the different sectors by diminishing the attractiveness of misconduct.

9.2.5 Accountability

Accounting to District Authorities

In some districts, researchers investigated whether district authorities hold corrupt officials to account, and uncovered a few examples of this occurring. For example, in 2001 in Madudu Sub-county, that covers Kitemba village in Mubende, the District Chief Internal Auditor audited the Sub-county's finances after a complaint by the LC3 Chairman about misappropriation of funds. The audit discovered anomalies in the management of LGDP funds and embezzlement of other funds. The Sub-county Chief and Sub-Treasurer were arrested. However, the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO), much to the concern of community members and LC3 councillors, later released them.

The district headquarters has let us down, appointing thieves and condoning corruption.

Community members, Kitemba, Madudu Sub-county, Mubende

Our regime has not worked. The Sub-county Chief failed us. There was no 25% to villages for a period of two years. There were no drugs at the Health Centre. The Sub-county Chief was using a motorcycle to travel from Mubende to Madudu every day because he refused to stay in the house the Sub-county gave him. Where does the money for fuel come from?

LC3 Councillor, Madudu Sub-county, Mubende

There was only one case of good accountability systems. This example comes from Ruhaama Sub-county that covers Kicece village, in Ntungamo. It was reported that the District conducts regular audit exercises and this Sub-county appears to be well managed. There is information on receipt and utilisation of funds displayed on the Sub-county notice board (although Kicece residents were not aware of this) and regular receipt of the 25% of graduated tax in Kicece.

Accounting to Communities

There are only two examples from all the PPA2 districts of communities trying to seek accountability from corrupt civil servants and it is interesting that the examples that are given relate to attempts to ask teachers to account. In Kabola, Soroti, residents explained their attempts to arrest a corrupt teacher as follows.

We attempted to arrest the teacher who failed to account for school money. He was taken to the local police station and also reported to the Education Officer. But he was released by police and when we followed up with the education office, we were informed that the teacher would pay from his salary arrears. This discouraged us from following more cases because those caught are not punished. It seems these people negotiate with their bosses.

Community members, 'amidst a chorus of approval', during a meeting on UPE, Kabola, Soroti

In Kagoma Gate, in Jinja, residents spoke of how the SMC at Kakira High School stopped the headmaster from withdrawing funds from the bank because he had failed to account for irregularities in expenditure at the school. The Committee demanded that the headmaster be transferred, and after complaints to the Sub-county, the District and the Ministry of Education, he was eventually transferred.

In Arua, the PPA2 researchers observed that mechanisms for accountability function upwards but not downwards. There are some attempts by the District to ask sub-county staff to account and they have powers to do this. At the same time, staff of the LCs3-5 feel they bear allegiance to the authorities above who pay their wages. However, communities really have no means to force LC staff to account to them.

In the light of the frustrations people feel with corrupt service providers and their impunity, community members in some districts mentioned that they would prefer to have funds meant for public projects coming directly to their LC1 councils.

Analysis: Although the recommendation to channel public funds through the LC1 is not feasible, it is worth reflecting on the message it gives us that: **there is a need to build the confidence of communities in their local governance structures.** The fact that some communities are using the SMCs to demand accountability, does give hope that when people are clear about their right to a service and when mechanisms for accountability are clear and available, people will try to use them. People's right to other services need to be made clearer and mechanisms to demand them strengthened, such as the Health Unit Management Committees for health centres.

The recommendation to channel funds through the LC1 also points to the enigmatic character of the LC1. Although many people saw it as not very trustworthy in the current times, there was still a feeling that the LC1 is an institution that people can work with or reform.

Leaders 'not coming back'

When looking for votes they come in a humble way, they plead for our votes and after they have attained political seats, they do not come back.

Elderly woman in discussion of governance issues, Kiwafu West, Entebbe, Wakiso

We have never seen our MP. We hear that he shifted his office to his area. We have nowhere to find him.

Men and women in focus group in Kitemba, Mubende

We come together when we are electing our leaders. This marks the end. We see them again in the following election.

Community members, Baito, Arua

Those we vote for never get back to us and getting to their offices is a nightmare. Our votes are wasted.

Woman food seller, Napier Market, Jinja Municipality

In nine districts, leaders were accused of 'not coming back', especially MPs but also leaders of other levels of the LC system. Various dimensions of 'not coming back' were elaborated in different reports. In Arua, there was a feeling that representation is poor because when

leaders are elected they do not come back; and in Rakai, the youth councils were blamed for being inactive because their leaders never come back to consult the community. In Mubende, people complained that after elections leaders do not come back to fulfil their promises of service delivery made during election campaigns. In Bundibugyo, they noted that politicians make unrealistic promises during elections so they are shy to return to the electorate, as they will be asked to account to them.

In Wakiso, participants in a community meeting pointed out that because leaders do not come back, they have no opportunity to question them. However, the community also noted that people are not empowered to question the role of leaders because they are not aware of the leaders' roles and responsibilities. People pointed out: *'We don't know the roles and responsibilities of leaders so we don't know what to ask them.'*

Local leaders, especially of the LC1, argued that one of the reasons they do not account to people is because they are also poor, they work for no pay and they have to benefit from the projects in their areas.

In Jinja, people noted that the new system of the LC1 Chairperson appointing the executive is a sure way of compromising accountability. Before the current amendment to the voting procedures for the LC1, all members of the executive had to be voted for on individual merit. In the new system, only the Chairperson is voted for by secret ballot, and the Chairperson then nominates the members of the Executive Committee. This process was seen as one that opens up possibilities of manipulating the Executive members and hence compromising transparency.

9.2.6 Views on Elections

In theory, elections ought to provide an opportunity for people to ask corrupt politicians to account. Part of the PPA2 actually took place during elections for the LC3 and LC5. This hampered the research to some extent, as people were busy and preoccupied, but it also provided the PPA with a good opportunity to investigate views on elections while the experience of participating in them was fresh in people's minds.

Elections as a mechanism for accountability

In four districts, at least some community members viewed elections as an opportunity to hold their leaders accountable.

- In Bundimulombi in Bundibugyo, some community members maintained that they would use the democratic process to get rid of leaders who misappropriate funds meant for community development.

We have got our pangas and sharpened them. Those snakes shall be wiped out using the votes. ('Pangas' refers to votes and 'snakes' to corrupt leaders.)

Man, community meeting, Bundimulombi Camp, Bundibugyo

- The *boda boda* cyclists in Jinja Municipality echoed the above sentiment. They feel that it is only during election time that they can express their grievances to their leaders. The leaders work with them during elections because they are numerous and can influence the outcome of the voting exercise.

- In Mubende, community members used the opportunity of a PPA2 dissemination workshop to question leaders: Sub-county councillors were put on the spot and asked to explain why the Bubanda-Kasambya road was not rehabilitated although the community had contributed Shs. 900,000. This was election time and, as a result, the Sub-county Chairman who had stood for re-election lost the seat. In another village in Mubende, participants in the research noted that election to office is based on the performance of leaders. In the last local council elections, 80% of the incumbent LC1 executive were voted out due to non-transparency and being non-accountable, and the entire LC3 was voted out for failure to deliver services to the communities as promised during the elections.

Elections as a cause of corruption

In four districts, people described how they are paid to vote by politicians, particularly by those running for higher-level political office such as parliament. In Jinja, sub-county authorities noted that widespread bribery during elections is a recent development and bemoaned the fact that this is likely to undermine the progress towards good governance made in recent years.

During the last parliamentary elections, contestants would stop at bars where the community members normally gather and pay for all the beer in the bar. Those who do not drink beer would get a matchbox each.

Man in poorest category, Rwamutunga, Ntungamo

If you do not get free soap at the time of elections, when will you ever get it?

Woman in the poorest category, Rwamutunga, Ntungamo

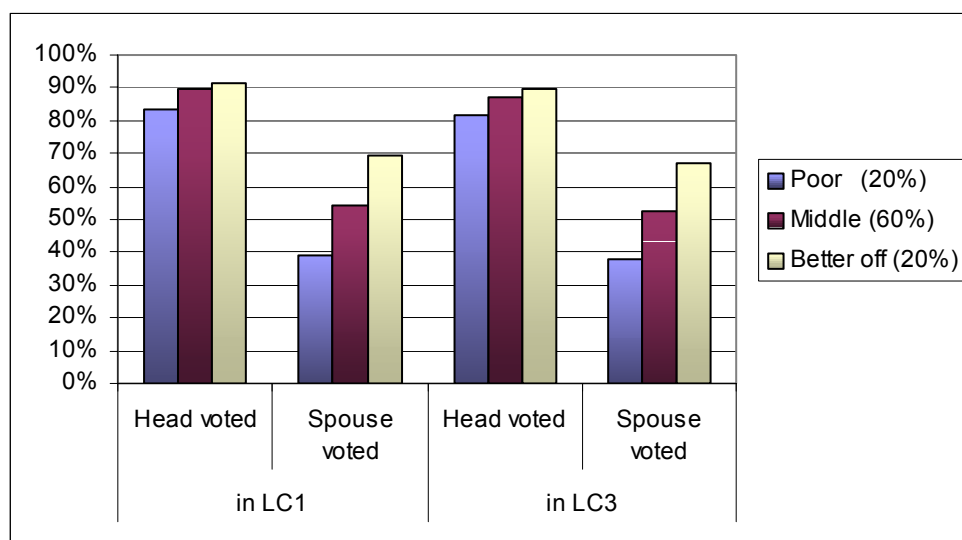
People identified two types of problems that vote-buying leads to:

- In some districts, the community members noted that **vote-buying leads to corruption** as politicians concentrate on recouping their election expenses once in office. Youths in Kitende ‘A’ in Wakiso commented that because MPs invest a lot of money on the campaign trail *‘they first ensure they yield out of those positions before thinking of the people they represent’*.
- In Jinja, people noted that **vote-buying means that incapable leaders are being elected**. The community members noted that: *‘for the first time now leaders are being elected not by virtue of their ability or interest to serve but by virtue of their income or capacity to dish out money to the electorate’ (Kagoma Gate, Jinja)*. However, in two other sites, community members pointed out that even though candidates give out alcohol and money, people do not necessarily vote for these candidates and they may not win.

Participation in elections

The Village Census found that participation in elections by **household heads** is high for all wealth categories. Participation by **spouses** is lower across the wealth groups, and much lower by poor women, as shown in Figure 9.3 below. The Village Census also found out that the richer people feel better represented by their leaders than the poor. Sixty per cent of better-off people felt ‘well’ represented, while 53% of the ‘middle’ category and 46% of the ‘poor’ category felt well represented.

Figure 9. 3: Voting behaviour of LC1 and LC3 elections by household heads and spouses across wealth categories



Source: Village Census

Analysis: It is apparent from the discussions on elections that there should be a comprehensive programme of civic education before elections are conducted so that people are aware of all the dangers that come with letting politicians abuse the electoral process and citizens being complacent about election malpractice. This will entail working through channels like the Human Rights Commission and the Community Services Department. The Social Development Sector Strategic Investment Plan, currently under formulation by the MGLSD, needs to take this issue seriously and work closely with the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs to strengthen the electoral process and bring back honour to the voting process.

9.2.7 The Police

In the first PPA, the police were identified as the most corrupt public institution in six of the nine districts visited, and communities in all nine districts cited instances of corruption in the police. Local people complained of illegal detention, torture, harassment and bribes taken by the police. It is therefore interesting that although governance issues were discussed in all 12 PPA2 districts, people only raised concerns about the police in five sites in three of these districts. Three of the sites where the police were discussed were fishing sites, which do appear to have particular security problems. The main findings on the police were as follows.

There is still corruption in the police

In all five sites where the police were mentioned, people complained of corruption in the police. They complained about this bitterly in Bugiri and Kasensero landing site in Rakai. In

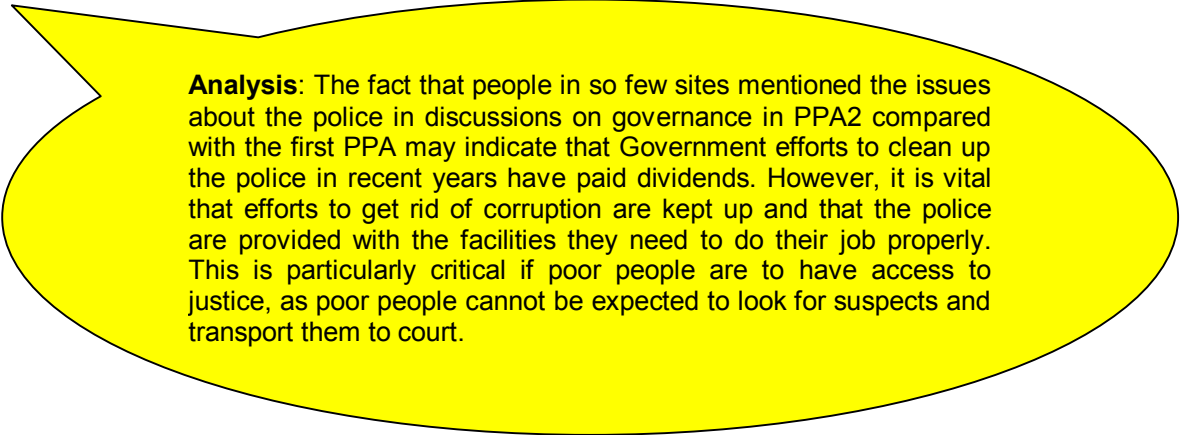
Bugiri, community members reported that justice is accessed by those who can afford to pay for it. In many cases, the police receive money from both parties in a conflict and whoever has more money wins the case! Community members summed up the police as an institution that just punishes them. However, in the fishing village in Bundibugyo where the police were discussed, people still appeared quite supportive of the police and recommended that they be provided with transport and better facilities.

Police lack proper facilitation – and this can lead to corruption

People noted that the police do not have the means to do their jobs properly, pointing out in some sites that lack of proper facilitation leads to corruption. Transport was noted to be a particular problem. In Bugiri, people in the Sigulu islands have to provide transport for the police to pickup suspects and sometimes hire and fuel boats to take them to court on the mainland. In Ntoroko, complainants have to pay to transport suspects to the police station in Bundibugyo Town and failure to meet such costs means the suspects are released. In Kasensero landing site in Rakai, people complained bitterly that the marine police, deployed at the landing site due to clashes between Ugandan and Tanzanian fishermen on Lake Victoria, are useless, partly due to lack of fuel. The police have resorted to doing fishing business instead. Community members reported that they pay rent for the regular police officers stationed at the landing site and feel overburdened by requests for them to contribute to fuel for the marine police too.

In Bundibugyo and Bugiri, people also noted that the police do not have proper cells. In Bugiri, a district official pointed out that culprits pay bribes to the police for a ‘short-cut’ out of disciplinary action because the conditions in the cells are so unbearable, with different criminals of different case magnitudes kept in the same small prison cell.

Community members recommended equipping the police with transport and police posts with proper cells.



Analysis: The fact that people in so few sites mentioned the issues about the police in discussions on governance in PPA2 compared with the first PPA may indicate that Government efforts to clean up the police in recent years have paid dividends. However, it is vital that efforts to get rid of corruption are kept up and that the police are provided with the facilities they need to do their job properly. This is particularly critical if poor people are to have access to justice, as poor people cannot be expected to look for suspects and transport them to court.

9.2.8 Provision of Information

PPA1 found that lack of information in communities on government policies and programmes hinders development. Since then, the GoU has placed more emphasis on providing information to the public. PPA2 tried to find out whether people are receiving information from government. Findings were as follows.

In six districts, community members still complained of lack of information on GoU policies and programmes. This was seen to lead to failure by communities to benefit from

programmes. In Ruwe, in Arua, people gave the example of improved seed distribution. They found out ‘late’ after the seeds had been kept by local councillors for their own use. In Bundibugyo, community members noted that lack of information creates suspicion and makes it very difficult for people to demand services. In other districts, local people noted that they particularly lack information about ‘juicy programmes’ or ‘money issues’.

The type of information that can be spread is one where there is no tangible thing. But where there is something to gain, the information is passed from ear to ear. At the end, those who get the information get things.

Woman in Baito, Arua

When information at the sub-county is about employment opportunities or money, the local leaders at the sub-county do not share the information with the community.

LC1 Chairman, Kitende ‘A’, Wakiso

Women claimed that men restrict their access to information, particularly via the radio, forcing them to obtain news from neighbours or to silently pick from discussions between their husbands and friends. Even when access to the radio is allowed, women noted that their heavy workload does not allow them enough spare time to listen to broadcasts.

In some districts, community members identified different major sources of information. These ranged from funerals, radios, local leaders and newspapers. In Rakai, the district runs a newsletter although it is in limited supply. A number of recommendations were brought out by community members on information-sharing, as outlined in Box 9.3 below:

Box 9.3: Community Recommendations on Information-sharing

- Regular updates on flow of funds to the district and lower-level councils and regular information on how the funds are utilised.
- Continuous sensitisation of leaders and community members on decentralisation so that they understand their roles.
- Sensitise the community on how to demand for government information.
- The Constitution should be translated and disseminated to all people in Uganda.
- Use of information boards in communities should be promoted.
- The LC1 chairpersons should be given bicycles so that they can collect and share information in their villages.
- LC1 secretary should seek information regularly from the sub-county and district.
- Government and other higher-level leaders should provide market information.
- The youth leaders should be functional at the LC1 so that the youth know what is going on.

9.2.9 Recommendations on how to Improve the Governance Process

From this chapter, it is evident that many of the institutions that serve poor people need to be reformed in order for them to respond realistically to people’s demands. Decentralisation is the route chosen by the Uganda Government to deliver services to the poor. Yet, evidence in this chapter shows that a lot still needs to be done in order for decentralisation to be truly pro-

poor. Recommendations made by community members in different districts on how to improve the governance were as follows:

- Politics should be de-linked from development.
- Government should sensitise local politicians at all levels, community members and service providers on their roles in development.
- All MPs and District Councillors should attend LC1 meetings so that they know what is happening on the ground.
- All people (women and men) should be considered in all the programmes of government.
- Lower local governments should implement and the district should supervise development programmes.
- Funds should be channelled straight to the LC1 for programmes in their areas.
- Allowances of councillors should be increased so that they can attend all the meetings when they are called and bring back the information to the communities.
- Government should build accountability-demanding capacity in communities through seminars and workshops.

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ANNEX 1: PPA2 RESEARCH SITES AND PARTNERS

Region	District	Research Partner		Site Name	Selection Criteria	UBOS Panel Sites Growth Rates
Central	Mubende	Community Development Resource Network (CDRN)	1.	Kitemba	IDPs, landlessness	
			2.	Bubanda	Pastoral	
			3.	Mwera Tea Estate	Plantation, casual labour	
			4.	Nakiryia	Rural panel	Low
			5.	Katogo	Urban	High
	Wakiso	Development Research and Training (DRT)	6.	Busabala	Fishing	
			7.	Kiddugala	Rural panel	Low
			8.	Kitende 'A'	Peri-urban	High
			9.	Kimwanyi	Rural panel	Med
	Rakai	DRT	10.	Kiwafu West (Entebbe)	Peri-urban	
			11.	Kasensero	Fishing	
			12.	Kifamba	Rural panel	High
			13.	Katebe	Pastoral	
			14.	Cell 12, Lubira Zone, Kyotera Town Council	Urban	Low
	Eastern	Bugiri	Centre for Basic Research (CBR)	15.	Kakabagyo	Rural panel
16.				Busanzi 'B'	Urban	High
17.				Golofa, Sigulu Island	Fishing	
18.				Butema	TILDA Rice Scheme – interface subsistence ag. with mech. ag. scheme	High
19.				Buwoya	Rural	
Jinja		Oxfam GB	20.	Kigusa	Rural	
			21.	Kagoma Gate	Migrant plantation labour	
			22.	Masese III Site	Slum Conditions	
			23.	Spire Road, Napier Market	Urban / informal sector enterprises	
			24.	Lwitamakoli	Rural	Low
Soroti	CDRN	25.	Buyala 'A'	Rural	High	
		26.	Kabola	Child neglect	Med	
		27.	Acomia	Fishing		
		28.	Awoja	Women's access to land	Low	
		29.	Okunguro	Ag. change, livelihood and poverty	High	
		30.	Cell D Moruapesur	IDPs		
Western	Masindi	ActionAid	31.	Rwakayata	Multi-ethnic	Med
			32.	Kawiti	IDPs	
			33.	Kigungu	Fishing	
			34.	Kisarabwire	Peri-urban	High
			35.	Kihagani	Pastoralist	
	Ntungamo	UBOS	36.	Kabanda	Pastoral	Low

Region	District	Research Partner		Site Name	Selection Criteria	UBOS Panel Sites Growth Rates
			37.	Ihuriro	Rural panel	Med
			38.	Rwamutunga	Enviro. degradation	
			39.	Kicece	Rural panel	High
			40.	Cell 1 Ntungamo Town	Urban	
	Bundibugyo	Kabarole Research Centre (KRC)	41.	Kyamukube Camp	IDPs	
			42.	Bundimulombi Camp	IDPs	
			43.	Ntoroko	Fishing, border with Semliki Nature Reserve	
			44.	Butungama	Pastoralist	Low
			45.	Kisenyi	IDPs	
	Northern	Moroto	CBR	46.	Nakapelimen	Urban
47.				Naoi	Pastoral	
48.				Lorukumo	Pastoral	
49.				Alekilek	Rural	
Arua		Community Empowerment for Rural Development (CEFRD)	50.	Lokileth	Agro-pastoral	
			51.	Ruwe	Border community	Med
			52.	Gbukutu Sub-Ward, Koboko Town	Refugees	
			53.	Baito	Subsistence mixed farming	High
			54.	Godia	Tobacco growing village	V. high
Kitgum		ActionAid	55.	Oluodria, Arua Town	Peri-urban	Low
			56.	Bura Central	Rural panel	High
			57.	Kamama	IDPs	
			58.	Atanago	Typical rural site	
			59.	Barongwee	Typical rural site	
60.	West Zone, Kitgum Town	Urban				

ANNEX 2: FINDINGS OF THE FIRST PPA AND POLICY RESPONSES

Findings of PPA1 in 1998	Policy responses, as of September 2002
<p>Poverty varies across the country, it is multidimensional and not uniform and the responses to tackling poverty must reflect this.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Recognition that central government grants to districts should have more flexible conditions attached to allow districts to respond to their priorities. This has been taken forward through the fiscal decentralisation strategy which allows a greater degree of discretion in use of resources at district level.** ▪ PMA designed to mobilise wide range of sectors that impact on poor people's livelihoods, moving beyond a focus on agricultural production to poor people having greater control over natural resources and livelihood opportunities.** ▪ Non-sectoral conditional grant set up and disbursed to a number of pilot districts. It provides resources at subcounty level for use on locally-specific investments to promote local development initiatives.** ▪ Refocus on the need for the bottom up planning to work effectively in the decentralised context. LGDP has integrated requirements for greater participatory planning.** ▪ Equalisation grants have been provided to more disadvantaged districts to assist them to catch up with other areas of the country.
<p>The need for safe water supply a priority of the poor.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Significantly more resources have been directed to improving water supply.**
<p>Cost-sharing is preventing people from accessing health services and perpetuating ill-health.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Cost-sharing for all health services abolished in 2001, significant rise in utilisation of services, including among poorer groups has been recorded.**
<p>The people are outraged by the level of corruption in the country, and the ineffectiveness of Government in delivering basic services.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Additional focus in the second PEAP on Governance and Accountability.** ▪ Greater transparency in flows of resources from Treasury to districts, and schools. Tracking studies show increasing levels of funds reaching their destination. ▪ Commission of enquiry undertaken in the areas of the police and defence procurement, but few high profile cases brought to prosecution. ▪ Efforts to improve the performance of the public service, including the introduction of results-orientated management, strengthening of accounting and auditing systems across Government. ▪ There is an increasing focus on strengthening monitoring and evaluation systems, including undertaking two National Integrity Surveys and two Service Delivery Surveys. ▪ Resources for basic services have continued to increase over the period. ▪ Government has increased training for local councillors in understanding their roles and responsibilities. ▪ Reform is underway in the Justice, Law and Order Sector.

Findings of PPA1 in 1998	Policy responses, as of September 2002
<p>People lack information on Government policies, resource flows, how it is intended that they benefit from services and government programmes.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information needs of the poor adopted as a cross-cutting issue for recommendations to sectors by PEWG in poverty assessment.** ▪ Citizen's guide to the budget and budget process developed.** ▪ Greater publication of resource transfers (as above). ▪ Aside from this, little action to promote greater information on rights and entitlements to citizens.
<p>Powerlessness as a key dimension of poverty, defined in terms of women lacking voice and being subject to domestic violence; inability to call Government to account; lack of information factors beyond the control of individuals or communities, i.e. crop disease, disasters, insecurity.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Need to improve information flows to the public on their rights, resource flows and how it is intended that they should benefit from Government programmes. ▪ Additional resources allocated for Adult Literacy programmes, particularly directed at women.** ▪ Studies on pros and cons of co-ownership of land; gender sensitisation of district land offices, surveyors, via soap opera and in children's school books, are designed to give voice to women. ▪ No official action taken to address domestic violence.
<p>Isolation is a key cause of poverty, this encompasses geographical and social isolation both between areas of the country and within districts and communities.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Re-emphasised the issue of geographical disparities both between regions and within districts in access to services and opportunities as a cross cutting issue for poverty reduction policy and resource flows, and strengthened the demand for more targeted interventions.** ▪ PEWG has attempted to persuade sectors to address the issue of geographical isolation in resource allocation.** ▪ The resource allocation formula for the education sector has been altered to give extra allowances to staff in remote areas and provide housing to them as an incentive.
<p>Insecurity (due to war, insurgency and cattle rustling) is a fundamental factor preventing the poor moving out of poverty, insecurity also encompasses theft and domestic violence.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Raised the issue of insecurity as a key cause of poverty on the political agenda.** • Questions being asked about the effectiveness of the use of the defence budget to protect the poor.** ▪ Reform of police force has started.
<p>Government seen as very distant by the people, village leaders, however, generally appreciated.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Proposal to strengthen the role of elected village councils in monitoring the performance of public service delivery in new PEAP, but has not been properly resourced.** ▪ Non-sectoral conditional grant and LGDP resources should be available locally and mechanisms should promote more transparent and inclusive planning processes.**
<p>Revealed the frustrations faced by local people in improving their livelihoods to achieve food security and higher incomes.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture refocused on to food security and basic production needs of the poor, however, this has been slow in implementation.**

Findings of PPA1 in 1998	Policy responses, as of September 2002
<p>Poor communities appreciated being consulted on their views of poverty, policy and their priorities, and expressed a desire that Government continues to consult them on policy development, as well as monitor the implementation of policy at community level in order to ensure that the benefits of programmes intended for the poor are realized.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Participatory monitoring of the implementation of the PEAP integrated into Government's poverty monitoring framework, PPA2 undertaken in 2002.** ▪ Mechanisms for local level accountability and monitoring of service delivery to the poor being considered. Action taken by several civil society organisations, but not yet by Government.** ▪ Lesson learning potential from key policy initiatives such as LGDP/PAF/NSCG have not been effectively developed.
<p>Environmental degradation is inhibiting poverty reduction for many people in many parts of the country.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ PEAP revision more explicit about sustainable growth and natural resource management. ▪ Plans for wetlands and forestry developed; new institutional frameworks piloted for co-management of common property lake resources. ▪ PMA promoting sustainable natural resource management through NAADS, and NSCG guidelines.
<p>Graduated tax is a deeply unpopular tax, due to lack of fairness in assessment and collection, and perceived misuse of tax revenue.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ LGFC launched a task force on local government revenue enhancement with the intention of refining rural taxation systems. This is yet to translate into concrete actions.

**Identifies the actions which are known to have been directly influenced by PPA findings. While attribution is always difficult, all the positive policy responses can be considered to have been influenced to some degree by PPA 1, though there were inevitably other influential factors at play.

ANNEX 3: PPA2 RESEARCH THEMES AND OBJECTIVES

Theme 1: Deepening the Understanding of Poverty and Poverty Trends

Research Areas under Theme 1	Issues for Investigation	Policy Probes
<p><u>A. Specific categories of the poor</u></p> <p>In all sites, focus on poverty issues among:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the youth • the elderly • unsupported children (e.g. orphans/street children) • people with disabilities (PWDs) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Asset base (including land) • Livelihood strategies – ways of using assets • Immediate determinants of poverty • Underlying causes of poverty and well-being, including safety nets • Institutional opportunities/constraints • Voice/representation of views • Implications for policy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do institutions and policies help or hinder these people’s efforts to get/keep assets and make good use of them? • Are current policies responsive to the <i>specific</i> needs and issues arising for these categories of the poor?
<p><u>B. Locally-specific poverty dimensions</u></p> <p>Where they are present in sampled sites, focus on the specific conditions and needs of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internally displaced persons (IDPs) • Refugees/host communities • Ethnic minorities • Fishing communities • Pastoralists • People in fragile environments • Child labourers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Asset base (including land) • Livelihood strategies – ways of using assets • Immediate determinants of poverty • Underlying causes of poverty and well-being, including safety nets • Institutional opportunities/constraints • Voice/representation of views • Implications for policy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do institutions and policies help or hinder these people’s efforts to get/keep assets and make good use of them? • Are current policies responsive to the <i>specific</i> needs and issues of these people?
<p><u>C. Gender dimensions of poverty</u></p> <p>In all sites, focus on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ways men and women experience poverty, including causes and manifestations • The role in this of intra-household inequalities and processes • The part played by power relations in the community and wider society • Gender issues among specific categories of the poor (youth, disabled, etc.) <p>In sites where there are locally-specific poverty dimensions, focus on the particular ways the gender dimensions of poverty manifest themselves.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Why</i> do men’s and women’s priority concerns seem to be different? • How much inequality and deprivation on different dimensions is hidden when the focus is on poor and rich <i>households</i> or <i>communities</i>? • Are women’s lives made poorer mainly by their own husbands, by their fathers and brothers, or by gender-biased institutions in the wider community or society? • What does it mean to be both 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do institutions and policies help or hinder women’s efforts to improve the conditions of themselves and their children? • How could gender equity be mainstreamed more effectively in service delivery programmes? • Is the distinction between intra-household and wider gender inequality important in thinking about this? • How can government and NGOs take forward the critical issues identified?

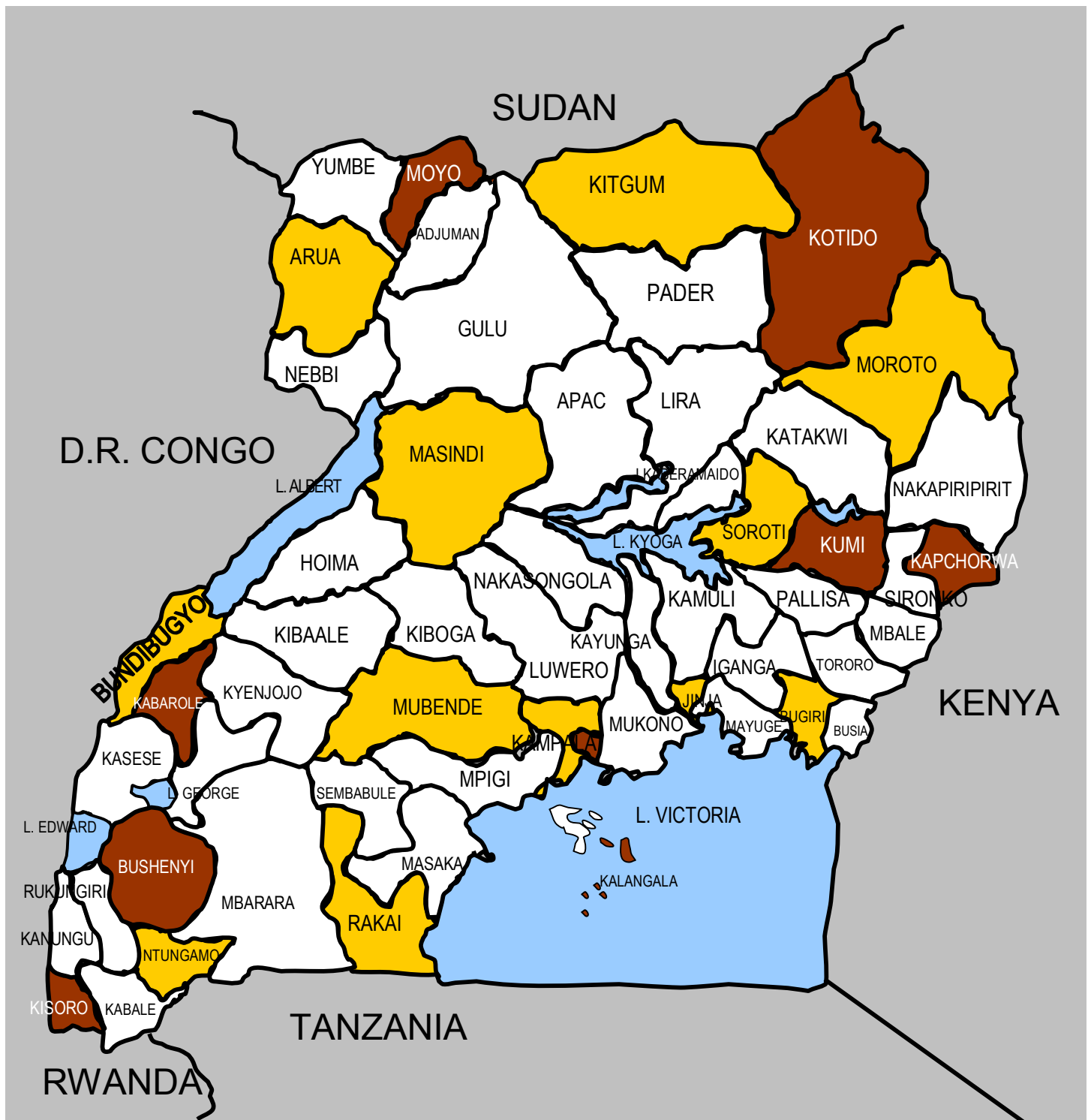
Research Areas under Theme 1	Issues for Investigation	Policy Probes
	<p>disabled and female? etc.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are the gender issues different among pastoralists than among cultivators? Etc. • What are the policy implications? 	
<p><u>D. Understanding processes of change</u></p> <p>In all sites:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on thematic areas from the UNHS that require qualitative explanations <p>In selected sites:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Specifically focus on issues for further investigation from the Fact Sheets on the panel communities from the UNHS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why or how have these changes occurred? • Why some trends appear to be contradictory or puzzling? • What are the connections between different sorts of change? • e.g. in places where poverty has been reduced a great deal, how has this been achieved • why, in other cases, have particular sites or categories of people been left behind? • what are the links between different changes? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What has been the role, if any, of government policies? • Do the answers to these questions suggest new areas where specific government interventions could make a difference?

Theme 2: People's Experiences of Selected Government Policies

Research Areas under Theme 2	Issues for Investigation	Policy Probes
<p><u>A. Intermediate outcomes of Poverty Action Fund (PAF) programmes</u></p> <p>Focus on the degree to which the money being spent on the following priority areas is producing changes that benefit poor people, and what could be done to increase its effectiveness:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health • Education • Water • PMA (restocking, PMA grant) <p>In general, policy includes public expenditure priorities, implementation of the agreed programmes, the relevant legislation and regulation of private actions.</p> <p>The focus on PAF does not exclude investigation of other policy areas or interventions particularly where</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experiences should be explored by gender and social group (as determined through wealth ranking) • In general, the key question is what is the gap between what is supposed to be policy and what is actually delivered, and what the results are • Key service providers should be interviewed, to establish what are the real constraints on them, and whether policies take these into account • This may include what are the factors hindering the private sector from playing its supposed role under the new policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Performance of the PAF (delivery and impact) • Bottlenecks in implementation of the PAF • Information flow on the PAF funding and investments • Sustainability of the PAF)

Research Areas under Theme 2	Issues for Investigation	Policy Probes
they are highly relevant in the site (e.g. hunting regulations). However, district teams must prioritise and not try to cover everything.		
<p><u>B. Taxation</u></p> <p>Focus on tax administration in LGs, tax utilization, types of taxation and impact of different tax regimes</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the different layers of ‘tax’, legitimate and illegitimate paid by individuals? • What kinds of effects do people think this has on other people? (don’t ask whether people like paying taxes themselves!) • Experiences should be explored by gender and social group (as determined through wealth ranking) • Key service providers should also be interviewed, to establish the impact of different kinds of contributions on service quality and their own motivation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What would be the recommended options for better taxation policy and practice • Is current taxation policy and practice helping or hindering productive activity? • Should Government be concerned most about legitimate or illegitimate ‘taxation’?
<p><u>C. Governance and accountability</u></p> <p>Focus on deepening what PPA1 found about the impact or bad governance and corruption on poor people</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are people using information on resource transfers to demand accountability? • Are people participating in local level planning and budgeting? • Experiences should be explored by gender and social group (as determined through wealth ranking) • Key service providers should also be interviewed to establish the kinds of constraints they operate under 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How could government at different levels improve people’s participation in governance?
<p><u>E. Provision of information by Government</u></p> <p>This should focus on, but not be limited to, the degree to which people have or could obtain important information about policies and their entitlements in respect to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health • Education • Water and also other sectors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seek views by gender and social group 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What Government-provided information have people heard in different sectors? • What is useful? What is not useful?

ANNEX 4: MAP OF UGANDA SHOWING PPA1 AND PPA2 RESEARCH DISTRICTS



- Districts where UPPAP carried out PPA I research
- Districts where UPPAP carried out PPA II research

ANNEX 5: SELECTED PPA2 DATA COLLECTION METHODOLOGIES

Tool	Purpose
Secondary information	Overall understanding of the districts in terms of location, climate, demographics and major livelihood activities.
Direct observation	To explore and confirm the reality of poverty-related concerns, such as poorly maintained roads, transport, health facilities, water sources and school facilities.
Transect walks	Understanding of the location in terms of topography, soil type, development efforts, agriculture, forestry, animals, land-use, community facilities etc. Quick analytical stock-take of community resources and assets.
Key informant interviews, focus group discussions and case studies	Analysis, confirmation and generation of specific information. Triangulation of focus groups by interviewing individuals, generating information that may not be forthcoming in public group discussion.
Resource mapping and social mapping	Understanding of community perceptions of resources, services and access, and related poverty issues and community concerns.
Well-being ranking	Understanding of people's perceptions of social differentiation within communities, their poverty and wealth indicators and of how people move in and out of poverty.
Livelihood analysis	Understanding and interpreting livelihood activities, decision-making, access and control over productive resources, sources of income, expenditure patterns, household power relations.
Causal flow diagrams and problem trees	Investigation of the root causes, effects and consequences of household poverty and coping mechanisms, as well as exploration of possible solutions.
Matrix ranking and pairwise ranking	Discussion and ranking of community and group priority problems, and entry points and solutions to priority problems.
Seasonality calendars	Analysis of changes in aspects of livelihood with seasons in light of poverty and other elements that impinge on poverty such as rainfall, incomes, food availability, health and their linkages to poverty.
Daily activity profiles	Analysis of patterns of activity by different groups, such as women and men, and workload and power relations.
Gender analysis matrices	Analysis of access, control and ownership of productive and household resources, intra-household power relations, roles and responsibilities, and gendered decision-making on accessing services / exercising civic rights.
Institutional venn diagramming	Identification of formal and non-formal institutions in communities, the role of these institutions in service and infrastructure provision, and community based support mechanisms (safety nets).
Time lines and time trend diagrams	Perceptions of change over time in welfare indicators, income, service provision and overall poverty. Understanding of changes over time in terms of community / group priority problems and concerns, services, poverty issues and solutions and coping mechanisms.
Card sorting	Recording information in exercise and site reports on cards. Cards sorted into like groups. The cards generate chapter and sub-chapter headings for site and district reports. Involves the research teams in brainstorming, organising, categorising and linking information.

ANNEX 6: LIST OF PEOPLE INVOLVED IN PPA2

National Report Writing Team Members

1. Richard Ssewakiryanga UPPAP Programme Officer (Technical): Team Leader
2. Jenny Yates Independent Consultant: Lead Consultant
3. Frank Muhereza Centre for Basic Research
4. Dr. Florence Nangendo Child Health and Development Centre
5. Dr. Akim Okuni Mbale Islamic University in Uganda
6. Rosette Nabbumba Nayenga PMAU/MFPED
7. Leonard Okello UPPAP Project Co-ordinator
8. Sherina Annette Nansubuga Report Writing Assistant
9. Emmanuel Mugole UPPAP Editorial Assistant

PPA2 International Consultants

1. David Booth Overseas Development Institute (UK)
2. Joy Moncrieffe Overseas Development Institute (UK)
3. Rosemary McGee Institute Development Studies, Sussex University (UK)
4. Karen Brock Institute Development Studies, Sussex University (UK)
5. Anja Crommelynck World Bank
6. Joseph Robert Bugembe JBR Consulting Associates, Uganda

PPA2 Researchers

Name	District
1. Jeff Uwor Mungu	Arua
2. Dickens Anguzu	Arua
3. Carolyn Arubaku	Arua
4. Alice Maureen Drateru	Arua
5. Jackson Okuaye	Arua
6. Moses Mulengani	Bugiri
7. Joyce Nairuba	Bugiri
8. Samson Opolot	Bugiri
9. Irene Among	Bugiri
10. Steven Baluku	Bundibugyo
11. John Byaruhanga	Bundibugyo
12. Doreen Isoke	Bundibugyo
13. Yafesi Twooli	Bundibugyo
14. Sula Buyinza	Jinja
15. Daniel Ssekiboobo	Jinja
16. Henry Nsubuga	Jinja
17. Andrew Ojede	Jinja
18. Iren Musekwa	Jinja
19. Anne Gabagaya	Jinja
20. John Ssenkumba	Jinja
21. Charles Mugisha	Jinja
22. Sarah Otto	Ktigum
23. Deogratius Dibworo	Kitgum
24. Elda A. Nyeko	Kitgum
25. Beatrice Adokorach	Kitgum
26. Alfred Amony	Kitgum
27. Simon Bimbona	Masindi
28. Edward Bogere	Masindi

	Name	District
29.	Clare Kyasiimire	Masindi
30.	Tom Muzoora	Masindi
31.	Peter Otim	Moroto
32.	Robert Bugembe	Moroto
33.	Juliana Naumo	Moroto
34.	Moses Chuna Kopolon	Moroto
35.	Oscar Oketch Kanyangareng	Moroto
36.	Moses Madoyi	Mubende
37.	Esther Nekesa	Mubende
38.	Juliet Kanyesigye	Mubende
39.	Edwin Kayuki	Mubende
40.	Johnson Kagugube	Ntungamo
41.	Gerald Twijukye	Ntungamo
42.	Eldah Tuheirwe	Ntungamo
43.	Justus Tusubira	Ntungamo
44.	Mathias Mulumba	Rakai
45.	Regina Nayiga	Rakai
46.	Margaret Kasiko	Rakai
47.	James Bindya	Rakai
48.	Sarah Nambuya	Soroti
49.	Anthony Okori	Soroti
50.	Margaret Emuria	Soroti
51.	Godfrey Eretu	Soroti
52.	Paulo Ojuman	Soroti
53.	Richard Ochen	Soroti
54.	Richard Bwanika	Wakiso
55.	Jane Nalunga	Wakiso
56.	Naomi Nakamatte	Wakiso
57.	Marion Mbabazi	Wakiso

DONORS

1. WORLD BANK
2. SIDA
3. DFID
4. GoU
5. UNDP
6. UNICEF

Partner Institutions

1. Oxfam GB in Uganda - Implementing partner
2. ActionAid Uganda (AAU)
3. Centre for Basic Research (CBR)
4. Community Development Resource Network (CDRN)
5. Community Empowerment For Rural Development (CEFORD)
6. Development Research and Training (DRT)
7. Kabarole Research Centre (KRC)
8. Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBoS)

PPA2 Case study Lead Institutions

1. Study on Child Poverty
2. Participatory Poverty and Environment Case study
3. Village Census Case study

Save the Children (UK)
Centre for Basic Research
Uganda Bureau of Statistics and
Economic Policy Research Centre

ANNEX 7: SUMMARY OF CAUSES OF POVERTY LISTED IN PPA2

Number of rural / Urban and Total Communities	Rural Communities		Urban Communities		Total Communities	
	47		13		60	
Cause	No. where cause mentioned	%	No. where cause mentioned	%	No. where cause mentioned	%
Inability to meet basic needs	5	11%	1	8%	6	10%
Food shortage/hunger	5	11%	1	8%	6	10%
Loss/sale of assets e.g land	3	6%		0%	3	5%
Constraints to productivity						
Low productivity: crop,fish,animal	13	28%	2	15%	15	25%
Lack of market/access	18	38%	6	46%	24	40%
Under developed agricultural export markets	1	2%	1	8%	2	3%
Land shortage	21	45%	7	54%	28	47%
Infertile soils	6	13%	2	15%	8	13%
Lack of inputs	6	13%	1	8%	7	12%
Pest and diseases	14	30%	2	15%	16	27%
Failure to use good methods	8	17%		0%	8	13%
Weeds e.g striga weed	3	6%		0%		0%
Lack of livestock / oxen	1	2%		0%	1	2%
Low prices and exploitation	15	32%	5	38%	20	33%
Inadequate agricultural labour	2	4%		0%	2	3%
Lack of extension advice	2	4%	1	8%	3	5%
Price fluctuations	1	2%		0%	1	2%
Lack of meteorology information	1	2%		0%	1	2%
Land fragmentation	2	4%		0%	2	3%
Lack of water for production	1	2%		0%	1	2%
*High cost of production	2	4%		0%	2	3%
*Lack/poor storage facilities	1	2%	1	8%	2	3%
*Lack of agroprocessing facilities / small-scale industries	3	6%	2	15%	5	8%
Natural Hazards						
Drought	13	28%	2	15%	15	25%
Floods / heavy rains / swamps	5	11%		0%	5	8%
Seasons / unpredictable weather	1	2%		0%	1	2%
Landslides	1	2%		0%	1	2%
Insecurity						
Rebels / Insurgency	11	23%	2	15%	13	22%
Specifically cattle rustling	8	17%	1	8%	9	15%
Displacement / refugees	5	11%		0%	5	8%
Theft	2	4%	3	23%	5	8%
Piracy/insecurity on lakes	1	2%		0%	1	2%
Poor Governance / Corruption						
Corruption/ bribery /embezzlement	5	11%	3	23%	8	13%
Poor planning	2	4%	1	8%	3	5%
Poor resource allocation	1	2%		0%	1	2%
Bad policies		0%	3	23%	3	5%

	Rural Communities		Urban Communities		Total Communities	
Number of rural / Urban and Total Communities	47		13		60	
Cause	No. where cause mentioned	%	No. where cause mentioned	%	No. where cause mentioned	%
Eviction	1	2%		0%	1	2%
Poor leadership	6	13%		0%	6	10%
Inadequate government assistance / lack of development initiatives	7	15%	2	15%	9	15%
Unequal distribution of services	3	6%		0%	3	5%
Unfair award of service contracts		0%	1	8%	1	2%
Tribalism	1	2%	3	23%	4	7%
Human Disease & Nutrition						
Poor nutrition / diet		0%	1	8%	1	2%
Poor health / diseases	25	53%	5	38%	30	50%
Old age	4	9%	3	23%	7	12%
HIV / AIDS	10	21%	6	46%	16	27%
Disability	6	13%		0%	6	10%
Accident		0%	2	15%	2	3%
Infrastructure						
Poor/lack of roads	9	19%	1	8%	10	17%
Lack of transport (even water)	4	9%	1	8%	5	8%
Communication facilities	1	2%		0%	1	2%
*Lack of electricity	1	2%	1	8%		0%
Social Services						
Health		0%		0%		0%
Lack of facilities / distant facilities	5	11%	1	8%	6	10%
Poor quality		0%		0%	0	0%
Cannot afford due to cost		0%	1	8%	1	2%
Cost		0%	1	8%	1	2%
Unavailable facilities nearby	2	4%	1	8%	3	5%
*Lack of access	1	2%	1	8%	2	3%
Social Behaviour						
Excessive alcohol consumption, usually men	17	36%	2	15%	19	32%
Oppression of women	6	13%	4	31%	10	17%
Laziness/idleness-usually men	8	17%	5	38%	13	22%
Poor attitude towards work	4	9%	2	15%	6	10%
Men abandon family/single mother	3	6%	2	15%	5	8%
Family disunity/quarrels	5	11%	2	15%	7	12%
Death of family member/widowhood	11	23%	5	38%	16	27%
Poor planning	4	9%	4	31%	8	13%
Prostitution	1	2%		0%	1	2%
Lack of ambition/frustration	1	2%		0%	1	2%
Divorce/separations	1	2%		0%	1	2%
No group formation	2	4%	2	15%	4	7%
Indulgence in witchcraft/cults	3	6%		0%	3	5%
Culture/Traditions						

	Rural Communities		Urban Communities		Total Communities	
Number of rural / Urban and Total Communities	47		13		60	
Cause	No. where cause mentioned	%	No. where cause mentioned	%	No. where cause mentioned	%
Ceremonies		0%		0%	0	0%
Polygamy	5	11%	1	8%	6	10%
High bride price	4	9%		0%	4	7%
Early marriages/pregnancies	4	9%	1	8%	5	8%
Failure to meet obligations	1	2%		0%	1	2%
Lack of Education						
Failure to educate children	3	6%		0%	3	5%
Lack of education/vocational training						
	13	28%	7	54%	20	33%
Ignorance/lack of information	11	23%	5	38%	16	27%
Exclusion and isolation						
Geographical isolation	2	4%		0%	2	3%
Social isolation	5	11%	2	15%	7	12%
Community Involvement						
Lack of co-operation	7	15%	1	8%	8	13%
Taxation						
Low tax base		0%		0%	0	0%
High/unfair taxes/market dues	16	34%	5	38%	21	35%
Default-fines, imprisonment	2	4%		0%	2	3%
Income capital/income						
Limited income, funds/capital	12	26%	8	62%	20	33%
Lack income generation opportunities						
	7	15%	1	8%	8	13%
Lack of credit facilities / financial assistance	11	23%	3	23%	14	23%
Lack of savings/investments	3	6%	1	8%	4	7%
Devaluation of the currency	1	2%	1	8%	2	3%
Membership of credit agencies	1	2%		0%	1	2%
*Lack of diversification in income sources						
	1	2%	2	15%	3	5%
Unemployment						
Lack of jobs/unemployment	12	26%	11	85%	23	38%
Low wages	3	6%	1	8%	4	7%
Child labour/street children	1	2%		0%	1	2%
Casual/poorly paid work	4	9%	3	23%	7	12%
Demographic						
Migration	1	2%	2	15%	3	5%
High/over population	3	6%	3	23%	6	10%
Large family/many dependants	14	30%	6	46%	20	33%
Orphans	3	6%	3	23%	6	10%
Lack of family planning	3	6%	1	8%	4	7%

	Rural Communities		Urban Communities		Total Communities	
Number of rural / Urban and Total Communities	47		13		60	
Cause	No. where cause mentioned	%	No. where cause mentioned	%	No. where cause mentioned	%
Water Sanitation & Environment						
Poor drainage		0%	1	8%	1	2%
Poor hygiene/uncleanliness/	1	2%		0%	1	2%
Poor sanitation, in general	1	2%	1	8%	2	3%
Lack of clean water	6	13%	2	15%	8	13%
*Lack of water for production	3	6%		0%		0%
Others						
*Marrying off girl who is an asset at home (labour)	1	2%		0%	1	2%
*Consumption of inferior goods	1	2%	1	8%	2	3%
*Distance from place of origin/kinsmen		0%	2	15%	2	3%
*Lack of voice	1	2%		0%	1	2%
*Women not contributing to the household	1	2%		0%	1	2%
*Profits not reinvested in industry (fish, agriculture)	1	2%		0%	1	2%
*Collapse of industrial base		0%	1	8%	1	2%
*Lack of property rights e.g. land		0%	1	8%	1	2%
*Control of cross border trade	4	9%	2	15%	6	10%
*Privatization	2	4%	1	8%		0%
*Similar business activities/ no diversification		0%	4	31%		0%

* Indicates causes of poverty not mentioned in PPA1.