Chronic Poverty
Research Centre

Background Paper for the Chronic Poverty Report 2008-09

PRS Review: Uganda Case Study

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What is Chronic Poverty?

The distinguishing feature of chronic poverty is extended duration in absolute poverty.

Therefore, chronically poor people always, or usually, live below a poverty line, which is normally defined in terms of a money indicator (e.g. consumption, income, etc.), but could also be defined in terms of wider or subjective aspects of deprivation.

This is different from the transitorily poor, who move in and out of poverty, or only occasionally fall below the poverty line.

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Summary

This largely desk-based report analyses the extent to which a selection of policies within Uganda's Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP). Uganda has been chosen as a country that fits into the category of countries that has a high proportion of chronically poor people within its population but which can be seen as a relatively good performer in terms of poverty reduction. In discussion with the CPR2 Team, the PEAP policies identified for analysis were the Plan for the Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) and land reform policies with a specific focus on the implications for women. In terms of the CPR2 'Framework for Plausible Policies', PMA can be characterised as a 'growth-based' strategy aimed at addressing the maintainers of poverty. Although the chronic poor do not form an explicit focus for the PMA, there was a perceived need for the PRS reviews to include a central focus on agricultural development policies. Moreover, the PMA is a centre-piece of the ruling regime's long-term strategy of fostering pro-poor forms of structural change within Ugandan economy and society, and as such has a resonance with one of the central themes of CPR2. Our second policy focus, on land reform policies and their implications for women in particular, constitutes an effort to address issues of 'Rights, Culture and Empowerment', a policy area that in turn has close links to the CPR2 theme of securing social justice for the chronically poor. The 1998 Land Act can be seen as being more explicitly relevant to chronic poverty given that it was directly concerned with tenure security for women and orphans, and with issues of gender equity more broadly.

This first draft of the Uganda PRS Review is based substantially on documentary-based research and also some interviews with key civil servants in Kampala over December 2006-January 2007. This research process has not been without its problems, including the difficulties in securing interviews with key informants over the festive season and in the run-up to the production of the latest Poverty Status Report. Moreover, the lack of progress in some elements of these policy areas, coupled with the absence of strong monitoring and evaluation systems has made it difficult to establish the causal impact that these policies may have had on chronic poverty.

As such, however, both policies shed considerable light on the problems of *implementation* that surround PRS processes. As the report reveals, there are context specific reasons as to why implementation of these policy reforms has been problematic in Uganda, particularly in relation to certain institutional and political obstacles, and also a basic failure to sufficiently prioritise the issue of implementation within the PEAP process. However, the fact that implementation has proved to be a considerable difficulty in a country that is normally seen as one of the most successful examples of the PRS experiment should raise considerable concerns regarding the often exaggerated ambitions that have been placed on PRS processes.

In particular, the Ugandan case suggests that the level of inter-sectoral co-ordination, administrative capacity, financial resources, and political will required to push through often controversial and wide-ranging policy reforms within PRSs should not be underestimated. Amongst the recommendations that we suggest might help to address these issues are: longer timeframes for PRSPs to enable a stronger focus on implementation; a greater clarity regarding sectoral responsibility and reduced ambitions for inter-sectoral co-ordination; and closer links to the budgetary process. Finally, we echo wider calls which suggest that donors should consider focusing their attention more on helping states to acquire the political capacities associated with developmental statism rather than insisting on the uptake of complex policy agendas.

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Who are the chronically poor in Uganda?

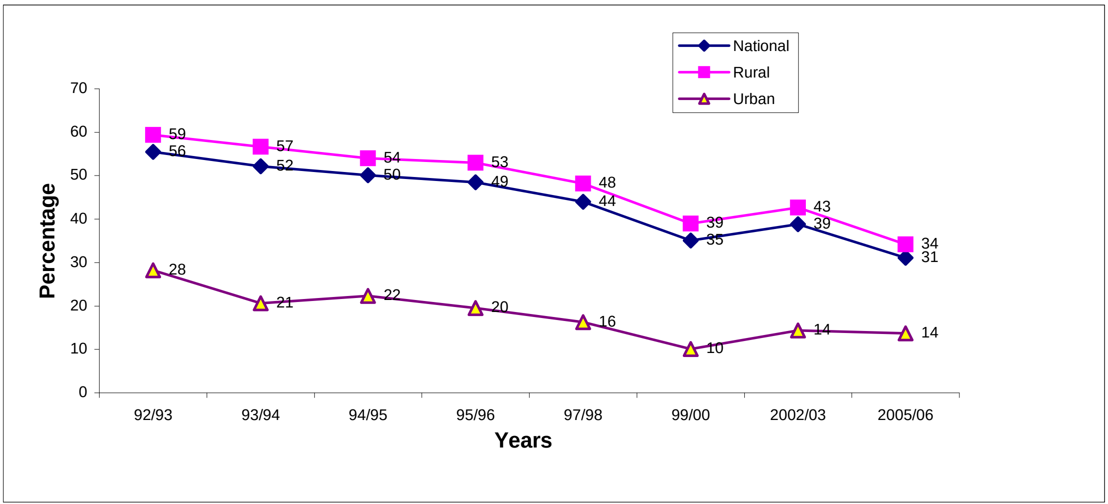
1.1 Introduction

Here we examine the recent poverty trends in Uganda, drawing particular attention to the geographical distribution of poverty and poverty trends. We then examine the social groups who might be considered particularly vulnerable to chronic poverty, and the underlying causalities that underpin this. In conclusion we draw out some more strategic issues concerning the analysis of chronic poverty in Uganda.

1.2 Poverty dynamics and trends in Uganda: a spatial analysis

Figure 1.1 shows that the incidence of income poverty has generally declined significantly between UNHS 1992/93 and UNHS 2005/06 for Uganda as a whole. The percentage of the population living below the poverty line declined from 56% to 31.1% during the period. However, there is an exception for the 2002/2003 UNHS, where the trend in the head county poverty went up. Using the full sample of 2002/03 UNHS, it was estimated that 38.9 % of Ugandans are poor, corresponding to nearly 9.8 million persons (although these figures exclude Pader district), which was not surveyed due to insecurity. Therefore, poverty increased between 1999/00 and 2000/2003 surveys, a trend that occurred in both urban and rural areas.

Figure 1.1 Trends in the headcount poverty in Uganda (1992 - 2006)



In the 2005/06 UNHS at national level, poverty remained the same in urban areas. However, a significant decline is observed in rural areas between UNHS 2002/03 and UNHS 2005/06. The percentage of people in poverty declined from 42.7 % to 34.2 %, corresponding to a decline in the number of rural people in poverty from 9.3 million to 7.9 million in rural areas. In urban areas, the corresponding decline was from 14.4 % to 13.7 %, recording a slight increase in the absolute number of the poor from 0.5 million to 0.6 million.

At the regional level there were various trends between 1999/2000 and 2002/2003 UNH Surveys. The proportion of people in poverty in Western region increased from 26 % to 31 %, corresponding to 1.4 million to 1.8 million persons in poverty, respectively, a statistically significant increase. In the Central region, the rise in the headcount indicator was from 20 % to 22 %. The Northern region had no rise in poverty, with a slight and insignificant fall in the headcount from 64 % to 63 %. In absolute numbers, the persons living in poverty declined from 2.6 million in 1999/00 to 2.3 million in 2002/03. The Eastern Region had the highest increase from 37 % to 46 %, which raised a lot of questions in the policy arena.

There has been a marked decline in the headcount poverty between 2002/03 and 2005/06 UHN Surveys. The decrease in poverty between the surveys is most marked in the Western region – where the headcount declined from 32.9 % to 20.5 % corresponding to 2.1 million to 1.4 million persons in poverty, respectively. On the other hand the proportion of people in poverty in Eastern region declined from 46 % to 35.9 percent, corresponding to 3.2 million to 2.5 million persons, respectively. The trend in Eastern region is marked by a tremendous decline in rural areas, which experienced a 10.8 % point drop. The Central region saw a decline in the headcount indicator from 22.3 % to 16.4 %. The Northern region registered a slight but insignificant fall in the headcount from 63 % to 60.7 %, which gives an absolute poverty increase from 2.9 million in 2002/03 to 3.3 million in 2005/06. The increase in absolute numbers while poverty proportions are decreasing is explained by the increase in the Ugandan population.

The rural areas have dominated in the proportion of poor people over the years. The trends of poverty reduction suggest poverty in rural areas has considerable declined. It implies that government poverty reduction policies are bearing fruits.

Table 0.1: Poverty headcount - 1992 to 2006

	1992/93	1993/94	1994/95	1995/96	1997/98	1999/00	2002/03	2005/06
National	55.5	52.2	50.1	48.5	44.0	35.1	38.8	31.1
Rural	59.4	56.7	54.0	53.0	48.2	39.0	42.7	34.2
Urban	28.2	20.6	22.3	19.5	16.3	10.1	14.4	13.7
Central	45.5	35.6	30.5	30.1	27.7	20.1	22.3	16.4
Eastern	59.2	58.0	64.9	57.5	54.3	37.3	46	35.9
Western	52.8	56.0	50.4	46.7	42.0	28.0	32	20.5
Northern	71.3	69.2	63.5	68.0	58.8	64.8	63	60.7
Central rural	52.8	43.4	35.9	37.1	34.3	25.6	27	20.9
Central urban	21.5	14.2	14.6	14.5	11.5	7.0	7.8	5.5
Eastern rural	61.1	60.2	66.8	59.4	56.8	39.2	48.3	37.5
Eastern urban	40.6	30.5	41.5	31.8	24.8	17.4	17.9	16.9
Western rural	53.8	57.4	51.6	48.3	43.2	29.4	34.3	64.2
Western urban	29.7	24.9	25.4	16.2	19.9	5.6	18.6	39.7
Northern rural	72.2	70.9	65.1	70.3	60.7	66.7	65	21.4
Northern urban	52.6	46.2	39.8	39.6	32.6	30.6	38.9	9.3

Compiled from the following Sources: Appleton et al., 1999, Appleton, 2001 & UBOS, 2003a; 2006

The poverty mapping work done by Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) (2003b) in 1992 and 1999 also assists in identifying the spatial distribution of poverty in Uganda. This reveals a considerable geographic variation in the distribution of the poor among and within regions, Districts, Counties and sub-counties, and between rural and urban areas, with the incidence of poverty much higher in rural than urban Uganda. In 1992, the poverty rate was greatest in the least secure areas of the Northeast and

Northwest parts of Eastern Region and several Districts in Central and Western Region. Although the highest poverty rates were found in the remoter northern areas, these areas are sparsely populated, so that *most* of the poor are found in Central, Eastern and western Regions and closer to major urban centres. The lowest poverty rates were in the main cities, and the Eastern Region District of Jinja, the Central Region District of Mukono, and the Western Region District of Mbarara and Bushenyi.

While the 1999 poverty mapping analyses shows a tremendous amount of progress towards lowering rural poverty rates throughout Western, Central, and Eastern Uganda, it clearly shows less progress in the Northern area as indicated in the maps. The mapping estimates that 92% of the 149 rural counties have lower poverty rates in 1999 compared to 1992. Although inequality was highest in urban areas and showed a wider range of variability than in rural areas in 1992, it worsened in 1999 for 39% of the country's Districts and Counties from 1992 to 1999. The areas of increasing inequality were found in Northern Uganda and in Kasese, Masindi and Bungibugyo Districts in Western Region. We can take those areas and regions that improved less to have (as indicated by the maps) some degree of chronic poverty.

Okidi and Mugambe (2002) distinguish the chronically poor as those persons that have been rationed out of the market for welfare-improving opportunities that were generated by the economic reforms of the nineties and have therefore remained below the income poverty line for several consecutive years. They use consumption expenditure data of a panel of households to characterise chronic poverty by tracking households' poverty status over time. This work adopts the poorest 20% of the population whose living standards did not significantly improve during the 1993 and 1996 period and those who experienced persistent poverty over time as chronically poor. The majority (76%) work in the agricultural sector.

Lawson *et al* (2003) use a UNHS data subset (a panel data set of 1,398 households) conducted between 1992/93 and 1999/2000 to give insight into the nature of poverty in general and chronic poverty specifically. The panel subcomponent was designed to be nationally representative from the integrated Household Survey and Uganda national Household Survey sample of 10,000 households. The paper adopts the accepted poverty lines for Uganda computed by Appleton (2001), which demonstrates that the proportion of the poor in Uganda over time has fallen from 55.7 % in 1992 to 35 % in 1999 (the proportion has now fallen to 31 in 2006). The 1992-99 panel shows that the poverty incidence fell from 48.6 % of households in 1992 to 29.3 % in 1999.

Table 1. 2: Poverty Incidence (by region) - 1992/99 Panel

Geographical location	Poverty Status				All
	Chronic poverty	Moving out of poverty	Moving into poverty	Never in Poverty	
National	18.9%	29.6 %	10.3 %	40.9 %	100 %
Urban/Rural and Region					
Column percentages					
Urban	8.1 %	12.2 %	8.8 %	21.9 %	15 %
Rural	91.9 %	87.8 %	91.2 %	78.1 %	85 %
Central Region	23.4 %	32 %	26.3 %	37.2%	31.9 %
East Region	19.6 %	28 %	21.9 %	19.9 %	22.5 %
North Region	30.1 %	11.3 %	25.4 %	6.8 %	14.5 %
West Region	26.8 %	28.7 %	26.3 %	36.1 %	31.1 %
Row percentages					
Urban	10.6 %	23.9 %	6 %	59.1 %	100 %
Rural	20.5 %	30.7 %	11.1 %	37.6 %	100 %
Central Region	13.8 %	29.7 %	8.5 %	47.8 %	100 %
East Region	16.4 %	36.8 %	10.4 %	36.2 %	100 %
North Region	38.9 %	22.8 %	18.1 %	20.1 %	100 %
West Region	16.2 %	27.2 %	8.7 %	47.6 %	100 %

Source: Lawson et al (2003)

Of particular interest to this study is the chronic poverty component that gives 18.9% of household being chronically poor. While 29.6% of the households moved out of poverty, 40% experienced transitory poverty over this period. There is a small but not negligible proportion of 10.3% of households that moved into poverty. The regional geographical differences in the distribution of chronic poverty reveal that rural areas in the Northern regions are more affected than the rest of the regions. It is noted that almost one third of the chronically poor household in Uganda reside in the Northern region compared to just over one seventh of the population. It is observed that within this region, almost two in every five households are chronically poor. It is important to note that the region had the least proportions of its population that escaped poverty and the largest proportion of those who moved into poverty during this period.

The limiting factor in this analysis is that it does not geographically locate the chronically poor households specifically and precisely. We are only given rough rural and urban locations and then the regional distribution. As shown in Table 1.1 out of the 18.9 % of the chronically poor households, 8.1 % are in urban areas and 91.9 % are in rural areas. What we can say for sure is that chronic poverty is largely a rural phenomenon. However, we may not precisely locate the exact rural communities from this analysis, in contrast to the UBOS poverty mapping discussed above, which locates poverty down to sub-county level.

1.3 Identifying chronically poor groups

The Uganda Chronic Poverty Report (CPRC, 2005) identified the groups most prone to chronic poverty as those affected by emergency situations such as internally displaced persons, abducted children, widows, women and especially widows, the elderly, the youth, persons with disability and households with large families. In addition isolated communities form part of vulnerable groups to chronic poverty. Table 1.3 gives the population shares and contribution to poverty by various groups (%) during the 1992/1993 and 1999/2000 UNHS.

Table 1.3: Population shares and contribution to poverty by various groups (%), 1992/1993 and 1999/2000

	Population share		Poverty headcount		Contribution to poverty	
	92/93	99/00	92/93	99/00	92/93	99/00
Uganda	100	100	55.66	53.2	100	100
Men	21.3	19.7	51.5	30.4	19.7	17
Women	23.7	22.2	53.2	32.9	22.7	20.8
Non-orphan		49.4		37.7		52.8
Girl orphan		4.3		35.5		4.3
Boy orphan		4.4		40.8		5.1
Widowed	3.3	3.3	55.7	34.2	3.3	3.2
Non-widowed	41.7	38.6	52.1	31.5	39.1	34.6
Disabled	0.9	0.5	69.3	45.8	1.2	0.7
Able-bodied	99.1	99.5	55.4	35.2	98.8	99.3

Source : Mijumbi and Okidi (2001)

There are more proportionally more women below the poverty line compare to me for all the years studied. Although the elderly in 1992/93 were less than 1 % of the total population, they contributed to more than 1 % of individual below the poverty line.

1.3.1 People affected by emergency

The internally displaced persons (IDPs), abducted children and people affected by drought numbered to 1,020,175 people in 2000. Those in camps at that time were 610,240. This number has since increased due to the escalation of the conflict (Okidi and Mugambe, 2002). In 2003 there were 1,560,000 people affected by emergency in Uganda more than three times the number in 1998 and mostly IDPs (CPRC, 2005). A survey by the Ministry of Health (2006) established the number of persons in camps in the districts of Gulu, Pader and Kitgum as 1,608,685. These categories of people are particularly vulnerable to chronic poverty and face extreme difficulties in regenerating their asset bases even after resettlement.

1.3.2 The elderly

Defined as those of 60 years and above, older Persons in Uganda were traditionally protected from abuse and neglect by family structures, networks and norms. However, urbanisation, unemployment, conflict, poverty, disease (especially AIDS), influence of foreign cultures, and lack of an alternative social security system have interfered with the traditional network leaving older persons vulnerable (UBOS, 2006a). The elderly are often too weak for productive work and therefore rely on the good will of others for survival, including remittances from children, relatives, neighbours and other well-wishers. They may lack regular support and become isolated and helpless. A recent phenomenon in Uganda is the growing number of HIV/AIDS orphaned children who are taken care of by the elderly. The 2002 Population Housing and Census Analytical report gives a total of 1.1 million elderly persons in Uganda, having increased from 560 thousands in 1969. The share of older persons in the total population increased marginally from 4.1 % in 1991 to 4.5 % in 2002. The report further notes that one in every five older persons (18%) had a disability. Older persons are among the poorest in Uganda and often do not have access to a regular income. Table 1.4 shows that although the elderly comprise a small percentage of the Uganda population, within their category the majority are poor.

Table 1.4: Population shares and contribution to poverty by various groups (%), 1992/1993 and 1999/2000

	Population share		Poverty headcount		Contribution to poverty	
	92/92	99/00	92/92	99/00	92/92	99/00
Uganda	100	100	55.66	53.2	100	100
Adults	18.3	17.8	56.3	35	18.6	17.7
Girls	27	28.5	57	36.7	27.6	29.7
Boys	28.1	29.6	59.4	38.7	30	32.5
Elderly men	2.2	2.2	57.3	32.3	2.1	2
Elderly women	1.9	2	55.4	31.7	1.9	1.8
Male youth	10.2	9	48	28.1	8.8	7.2
Female youth	12.3	10.9	48.8	29.3	10.8	9.1

Source: Mijumbi and Okid1 (2001)

1.3.3 HIV/AIDS affected households

Poverty is likely to adversely affect households whose breadwinner contracts and dies of HIV/AIDS. CPRC-Uganda (2005) identifies four factors that influence this adverseness as; the use of productive resources to pay for treatment including sale of assets, the weakened human capital of the sufferer, leaving dependents in a worse state financially and the trauma, and stigma experienced in the process. Deininger *et al* (2002) study the impact of receiving AIDS foster children between 1992 and 2000, a phenomenon that affected more than 15 % of the households[1]. Their results show significant reductions of per capita consumption, income and household investment, which were more pronounced among the poor of such households that received foster children. Fostering due to AIDS leads to direct loss of welfare through medical expenses and destruction of human capital in the short run and reduces permanent income, investment and human capital accumulation including those not directly affected by the disease. It was estimated to reduce investment by between one fifth and one fourth of the affected households.

1.3.4 Widows

The widowed are often denied the chance to head the household and are generally not highly regarded. They are viewed as property, due to the tradition of paying bride price, and may be prevented from inheriting the property of their deceased husbands' or their fathers' property. It is common that upon the death of their husbands, the in-laws, elders or even elder stepchildren grab the property leaving the widow poor and vulnerable. In 1991/92, more than half of all widows (who constitute 3.3 % of the national population) were below the poverty line and they contributed to 3.3 % of the poor. This picture does not seem to become any better during the 1999/2000 UNHS implying that most of the widows remained poor.

1.3.5 Children Vulnerability

Children comprise the largest group among the poor. The national OVC policy lists the vulnerable groups, to include among others**;** orphans, abandoned children, children living in poor households, children with disabilities, child labourers, children in need of legal protection, street children and children living in child headed households. Other categories include children involved in war and conflict areas, children in conflict with the law and poorly parented children and those who need care and protection. Children from poor households are more likely to be poor with poor nutrition, low quality education, and limited parental care. These are impediments that make it difficult for them to break the poverty cycle. The 2002

[1] The Authors used UNHS data

Census shows the distribution of vulnerable children by type of vulnerability. Table 1.5 shows that out of the 13.4 million children, 3.3 million (24 % of the children) are vulnerable, with minor variations by sex and residence. The variations by district reveal that Moroto (60%) has the highest proportion of vulnerable children in Uganda followed by Nakapiripirit (58%).

1.3.6 Isolated communities

Chronic poverty has been associated with remote rural areas in the literature (see for example Bird *et al* 2002). Isolated communities in Uganda include the Batwa, a small-marginalised tribe in the south-western part of the country. UPPAP findings indicated that, following their eviction from forests where they obtained most of their livelihood, the Batwa depend on begging as a form of livelihood. They do not have land, and therefore cannot cultivate and lack permanent residence. Kabananukye (1996) argues that as their livelihood base becomes increasingly dismantled they well become extinct over time. Okidi and Mugambe (2002) observe that people living in areas that are susceptible to natural disasters like earthquakes and landslides are vulnerable to chronic poverty. In Uganda these include people living in the Western Rift Valley covering Kaseses, Budubugyo and Fort Portal, mountainous areas of Eastern Uganda, around the district of Mbale, Sironko and Kapuchorwa.

1.3.7 People with disabilities

The 2002 Census defined disability as '*any difficulty in moving, seeing, hearing, speaking and any, mental or learning difficulty, which has lasted or is expected to last 6 months or more* '. Although this definition does not show the resulting socio-limitations experienced by the affected individual, it does provide a national profile on common difficulties arising from impairments. In general PWDs are groups that have limited access to education, jobs, and medical care and quite often suffer from isolation and depend on the good will of others. They may constitute a small proportion of the population. Okidi and Mugambe (2002) quote the 1991 Population and Housing National Census that puts Persons with Disabilities (PWDs) at 190,345 in Uganda at that time. Of these 6% lived in urban areas, 50% had never been to school. It is estimated that PWDs account for 10% of the Uganda population. The 2002 Population and Housing National Census put (PWDs) at 838,000. There were more Persons with Disabilities in the Northern and Eastern regions compared to other regions. The Northern Region had the highest prevalence of disability (4.8%) while the Western region had the lowest (2.9 %). Eastern and Central regions had rates of 3.6% and 3.1% respectively. Of all the PWDs, 108,000 had multiple disabilities. The rate in 2002 was higher than 1.1% obtained from the 1991 census. The prevalence of disability increases with age; it ranges from 3% for the age group 5-9 and raises steadily to 5% for the age group 35 to 39.

Table 1.5: Distribution of Persons with Disabilities by Region

Region	Population ('000s)	Persons with Disability		Persons with Multiple Disability	
		Number ('000')	Percent	Number ('000')	Percent of All PWDS
Central	6,572	205	3.1	29	14.1
Central (excl Kampala)	5,385	186	3.5	27	14.7
Eastern	6,203	224	3.6	28	12.7
Northern	4,770	227	4.8	27	12.1
Western	6,296	182	2.9	24	13.1
Total	**23,841**	**838**	**3.5**	**109**	**12.9**

Source : UBOS 2006a (Analytical Report)

1.3.8 Young people

We will define the young people as those who are in the stage of transition from childhood to adulthood. Although there are several operational sub-categories of young persons; adolescents (10 –-24 years), teenagers (13 – 19 Years), and youths (18 – 30 Years) we will look at especially the youth category. This is a category of the persons who are often jobless, lack vocational skills, cannot afford the training, lack regular income and capital and are unable to effectively access credit facilities because of circumstances. Within a period of 33 years the young population (10-30 years) grew from 3.7 million in 1969 to 10.3 million in 2002, an increase of nearly 7 million. With regard to the economic activities young population are engaged in, the 2002 Census shows that two thirds of females (70 %) are unpaid family workers compared to 27 % of the males in the same category. The males are predominantly self-employed (45 %).

The 2002 Census defined the 'idle' young adults (18 – 30 years) as those who were neither in school nor working. Accordingly, 20 % of the young adults were 'idle' of which 17 % were females and 13 % were males. The results further revealed that youth residing in urban areas are more likely to be idle than their rural counterparts. The level of idleness was highest in Northern Region (5 %) and lowest in Western Region (3 %). At the district level, the level of idleness ranged between 11 % in Yumbe and 69 % in Nakapiripirit. The general, picture is that idleness is more common among youths in the North Eastern Uganda.

1.4 Explaining chronic poverty in Uganda?

However, despite the copious information that is available regarding the state of the poor in Uganda, rather less is known concerning the causes chronic poverty in Uganda. Importantly, such analysis is not systematically built into the poverty diagnostics for the PEAP. Using data from household surveys and participatory poverty assessments, the PEAP focuses on what Green and Hulme (2005) call the correlates and characteristics of poverty rather than its determinants. This creates particular problems in terms of identifying relevant policy responses to those trapped in poverty as a result of relational factors, rather than those identified as simply 'left-out'. For example, the worst levels of chronic poverty, such as those found in the North, seem to have political as well as economic underpinnings. This refers not simply to the conflict that the region has suffered from for over 20 years now, which itself qualifies as a chronic phenomenon.[2] Also critical here is the longer-term adverse incorporation of the region into the dominant political community and political economy since colonialism, at which point the north became a labour reserve, consigning it to a subordination position within the Ugandan political economy. Likewise, gendered forms of chronic poverty in Uganda can also be related to the structural and relational basis of poverty, to the extent that women are discriminated against in terms of secure access to key productive assets such as land. At present, the PEAP does not identify such underlying processes as significant and therefore makes it difficult to track the progress of policies against these causal factors.

1.5 Summary analysis: Key points

It is evident that Uganda has sufficient data and has conducted analyses that are quite informative for policy formulation and implementations. There are however, challenges with respect to understanding of the nature of chronic poverty and its inter-related factors that make people to remain in poverty, which needs to be enhanced.

Although there has been little focus on the chronic poor within poverty policy debates since the onset of the PEAP processes in 1997, there is some evidence that this is changing. MFPED's influential Research Guide (2004) recognises the failure to focus on chronic poverty, and acknowledges that an enhanced understanding of the nature and characterisation of chronic poverty was a priority area for research for policy formulation.[3] The most recent UPPAP did not refer specifically to chronic poverty

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[2] Insecurity has paralyzed mainstream economic activities in this affected region, while displacement is also a major cause of poverty in this region. Lawlessness, corruption, theft cattle rustling, trafficking of illicit goods have plagued the communities in the region paralyzing gainful economic activities.

[3] The Research Guide argues that further rigorous analysis is required to: concretely establish the factors that cause households to stay in poverty for extended periods or fall back and out of poverty; to establish the magnitude of the chronically poor people in the country and identify strategies to deal with

although the focus on poverty dynamics was at least part of the same agenda of placing issues of temporality on the agenda. Finally, the activities of the CPRC-Uganda Team appear to be having some impact, particularly following the launch of the Uganda CPR in 2005.

At least two further strategic issues concerning the political economy of poverty data in Uganda are worth noting. First, and particularly from a chronic poverty perspective, it was regrettable that funds were not found for the third round of panel data collection in 2005. If this trend were to continue, it would significantly undermine efforts to promote a fuller recognition of the problems faced by the chronically poor in Uganda and weaken the grounds for evidence-based policy here.[4] Second, there are serious concerns regarding the sustainability of PMAU within MFPED. PMAU has been critical to establishing the poverty reduction agenda within Uganda and particularly within the key Ministry of Finance. It offers a critical resource for poverty research and evidence-based policy, and arguably has the potential to develop the type of disaggregated approach to monitoring and evaluation that is required to track the impacts of policy on different groups of the poor. However, it is run according to an externally-funded capital-intensive model that is difficult to sustain. Donors have already raised concerns and the future is in doubt (Canagarajah and van Diesen 2006). This will significantly undermine the basis for poverty diagnostics and also the monitoring and evaluation of any impact which the PEAP may have on poverty levels.

this problem; establish to what extent current interventions reach out to the chronically poor; and to establish the relationship between gender, health and chronic poverty.

[4] Breaking news: it seems that a new round of panel data collection will be going ahead shortly.

2 Does the PEAP contain one or more policies that have been identified as being targeted at/inclusive of/directly beneficial to chronically poor groups?

This section discusses the extent to which the GoU focuses on issues of chronic poverty through the PEAP process, examining issues of participation, budgeting and implementation, before examining our two policy areas in more depth.

2.1 The PEAP and tackling chronic poverty: an overview

In 1997, the GoU launched its first Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), a national planning framework with the intention to prioritise and implement poverty reduction initiatives such as primary health care delivery, building rural feeder roads, education, water and the modernisation of agriculture. The PEAP has gone through a number of revisions done after every three years to accommodate new poverty issues arising from research and consultation. Currently in its third phase, the revised PEAP covers the 2004/05-2007/08 period, and is based around five pillars:

1. Economic management;
2. Enhancing production, competitiveness and incomes;
3. Security, conflict resolution;
4. Good governance; and
5. Human development.

The PEAP constitutes a genuine attempt to place poverty reduction at the centre of policy-making in Uganda, and it has made significant strides to realising this goal. With high-level political commitment, this has gone beyond policy promises and has involved pro-poor shifts in budgetary allocations (Canagarajah and van Diesen 2006, Foster and Mijumbi 2001). This has been possible because poverty reduction – and development more broadly – is pursued by the President as part of a wider project of nation-building while a key cohort of technocrats within MFPED view it as part of their contribution to state-building (Piron with Norton 2004). As such, Uganda has often been framed as the 'showcase' for the PRS experiment (Dijkstra and van Donge 2001), and donors have thrown a considerable amount of money and support behind the GoU in this process.

However, there is was little evidence in the first two PEAP papers to suggest a particular concern with the chronically poor. In this it offers a fair reflection of how both the GoU and the international donor community currently approach the challenge of 'attacking poverty' in an aggregate sense, rather than more nuanced efforts to reach particular groups of the poor. Some observers have actually noted a tendency that may actually exclude the poorest groups from becoming the target of key policy instruments, whereby the president exhibits a bias towards the 'economically active' poor and rails against the backward nature of Uganda's peasant-economy (Hickey 2005). The clear majority of the policy actions outlined in the PEAP are aimed at tackling poverty in general. This reflects not only a reluctance within the political hierarchy to take a disaggregated view towards the poor, but also the tendencies within the key data collection agencies, including the Poverty Monitoring and Analysis Unit (PMAU), the Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Program (UPPAP) which specifically uses qualitative methods to research and monitor poverty from which poverty policies are formulated for implementation, and the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) that conducts periodic households surveys, national service delivery surveys and censuses that are used as the basis for formulating policies for poverty eradication.

More recently, however it has become possible to detect a growing sense within policy-making circles that, following the rapid reduction in aggregate poverty levels during the 1990s, many Ugandans were 'left behind' and should form the target of significant policy attention. For example, the latest PEAP (2004) emphasises the importance of broad-based growth, in part because growth patterns in Uganda since 2000 have been characterised by increasing inequality (also see Kappel et al 2005, OPPG Study). This version of the PEAP aims at reversing this trend by having growth with redistribution to reduce inequality. It addresses itself more fully to the security problems faced Northern and North Eastern Uganda where chronic poverty levels are at their highest. The inclusion of elements to tackle gender and regional inequalities and attention to social protection further indicates that issues related to chronic poverty are starting to flow in the poverty policy arena. With respect to this, disadvantaged groups of persons like the elderly, persons with disabilities, the chronically ill and the displaced are also considered. Some such initiatives are identified here:

1. There are efforts to strengthen women's land rights, although as we shall see in the study progress has been very limited.

2. Implementation of policies aimed at addressing the environment of the internally displaced persons, for purposes of emergencies, resettlement and rehabilitation. NUSAF in Northern Uganda was established in 2002 as part of this, although the marginal character of social action funds compared to mainstream poverty policy in Uganda is also revealing.

3. The Ministry of Education and Sports has taken major steps in providing both primary and secondary education in emergency situations. In Northern Uganda affected by the 20-year war, government has a policy of using camp grants to pay school fees for children coming from camps. At the National level there is UPE for all children and the UPPET yet to be introduced this year (2007) for children in rural areas all over the country in senior one.

4. There is effort to train teachers who teach children with learning difficulties.

In terms of a constituency for the chronic poor within central government, the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MGLSD) is charged with the explicit duty of representing the most vulnerable groups and addressing issues of social exclusion and inequality. Following the decision of DFID to offer strategic capacity-building support to this ministry, MGLSD produces the Social Development Investment Plan (SDIP-2003-2008). The SDIP is intended to increase levels of social protection for all, reducing vulnerability, inequality and powerlessness, especially among the poor and vulnerable. This is supposed to be achieved through promoting community mobilisation and empowerment, and rights for all persons. The strategy is to mainstream social development concerns through working and supporting policy and programme development and the use of direct intervention to provide services to specific social economic groups. There are initiatives in the PEAP on social development that reflect the priorities set in the SDIP. However, although included in the third PEAP, social protection, along with the broader social development sector strategy, remains unbudgeted (Hickey et al 2006). MGSLD remains a political marginal and under-capacitated player within Uganda's poverty reduction arena.

The general tendency to focus on the poor in general rather than the chronic poor in particular does not necessarily reflect poorly on the consultative character of the PEAP, whose participatory mechanisms has generally been judged quite positively (Brock *et al* 2002, Canagarajah and van Diesen 2006, Piron with Norton 2004). The PEAP process has opened up spaces within which civil society groups can participate – such as SWGs, PEAP consultations and PAF monitoring – as well as institutionalising a commitment to listening to the voices of the poor through the location of UPPAP within MFPED. Nonetheless, pro-poor advocates in Uganda have found it difficult to challenge GoU or offer alternative policy ideas (Hickey 2005). This reflects the limited research capacity beyond government and also the tendency of the movement to swallow most of the available political space in Uganda, including public discourse on poverty issues. Institutional representation that may assist the chronic poor – such as the quota system for women, disabled and youth (as well as workers and the army) – has proved to be generally weak, relatively easy to co-opt and with little regard for the poorest of their constituent members. However, there is perhaps a case for including a stronger role for political constituents such as parliamentary committees who may have a specific brief to represent the interests of chronically poor people. It is disturbing to note that the third PEAP was not presented to parliament for ratification, an exclusion that characterises the democratic deficit within the PRS experiment more broadly.

In its third iteration, however, it has become somewhat technocratised and perhaps lacking the populist and progressive flavour that were given to the two predecessor documents (Canagarajah and van Diesen 2006). Although consultation was widespread, the PEAP Secretariat charged with synthesising and prioritising this wide range of thought constrained themselves firmly within the boundaries of the MTEF and LTEF. As such, the vision required to take on board new agendas and innovative ways forward was not as apparent, and this perhaps augurs poorly for new policy agendas such as ‘reaching the poorest’ and ‘social protection’.

The Uganda Chronic Poverty Report (2005) notes that although Uganda has made good progress with in terms of progressive policy formulation to eradicate poverty, it hastens to observe that this has not always been matched by accompanying success in terms of budgetary support and implementation. It is to these issues that we now turn.

2.2 Securing the budget for the PEAP

Uganda's budget process is fairly participatory, involving many key stakeholders such as the government line ministries and departments, local governments, Parliament, donor, civil society and to some extent the beneficiaries participate (Republic of Uganda, 2003). The Sector Working Groups (SWGs) play a major role in the budget process. The budget process is two phased; the first phase involves communications by the MFPED to SWGs on their budget ceilings. It also involves preparation of Budget Framework Papers (BFPs) by SWGs. Line ministries must not exceed the ceilings set for them as a rule. The second phase involves preparation of the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) by the MFPED, approval of the MTEF by Cabinet, presentation of the Cabinet-approved MTEF to the Parliament, consultation with all other stakeholders in a Public Expenditure Review meeting and reading of the budget. The MTEF takes into consideration the overarching objectives of the economic management namely, macroeconomic stability, and economic growth. There are two issues to mention that can highlight salient issues on inadequate allocation of resources to some key poverty areas. The imposition of budget ceilings to SWGs by MFPED under the MTEF indicates that any negotiation for increasing allocations to given sectors is already constrained by the ceilings. Secondly, the over runs, and the non contested allocation late in the budget process contrary to budget discipline sometimes leads to budget cuts and reallocation depriving some sectors of funds. The culprits responsible for this budget indiscipline are defense and public administration. Note that the expenditure by these may not result in delivery of services. Table 2.1 illustrates the percentage allocation of recurrent expenditure by government.

Table 2.1: Functional analysis of Uganda Central Government recurrent expenditure (%)

Functional analysis	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05	Approved 2005/06
General Public Administration	25.23	18.07	10.29	17.45	17.8
Defense	19.72	20.41	10.49	24.45	21.47
Public Order and Safety	9.18	10.62	4.56	10.71	9.52
Education	10.46	9.23	4.33	8.38	9.68
Health	4.83	6.14	2.53	5.26	5
Community & Social Services	0.78	0.85	0.36	0.61	0.52
Economic Services	1.09	1.11	0.30	0.77	1.74
Agriculture	0.67	0.72	0.22	0.73	0.96
Roads	1.85	1.95	0.64	1.48	1.51
Water	-	0.07	0.04	0.06	0.12
Repayment of Loans	11.96	25.69	66.15	24.86	26.82
Other functions	10.7	0.26	0.00	0.00	0.00
Pensions	3.54	4.72	0.07	5.25	4.88
Total percentage	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
Amount (shillings in millions)	**1,193,563**	**1,246,750**	**2,994,867**	**1,477,020**	**1,747,255**

Notes: Transfers from central government to decentralised districts and Urban Authorities are not included Loan repayment includes arrears and interest. Source: Uganda Bureau of Statistics (Background to the Budget 2006)

A quick look at the functional analysis of the Uganda Central Government and district administrations recurrent expenditures in Table 2.1 and 2.2, respectively adds insight into understanding the budget issues in relation to allocation of funds to the ministry responsible for social exclusion. The absolute recurrent expenditures by the central government steadily increased from 1,193,563 million in 2001/02 to 2,994,867 in 2003/04 millions and there after declined slightly. It is noted that general public administration, defense and public order and safety almost took half the central government recurrent budget between 2001/02 and 2005/06 financial years. Repayment of loans took a substantive amount of funds throughout this period particularly in 2003/2004 when the proportion was 66%. The areas that could easily identify and reduce poverty like agriculture; health, water and roads have a very small share of the recurrent expenditure in this period. Community and social services directly responsible for social development, that is, dealing with exclusion issues, did not appear to get anything beyond 1%. It seems unlikely that social exclusion issues can adequately be addressed with such a structure of budgeting for a period of five financial years. Funding of social sectors is still a big challenge given budget ceilings. It is therefore not surprising that in spite of the well articulated polices, Statutes, guidelines, regulations and programmes for social development there is little evidence on the ground of their impact. As can be seen it is not a question of non existence of programmes, polices guidelines and regulations designed to reach the socially excluded individuals of members of the Ugandan society, rather, it is an issue of under funding and facilitating of programmes. Although there are serious limitations with the ability of the resource envelope to satisfactorily meet the needs of each sector/ministry, it is also evident that there is skewed nature of resource allocation disfavoring the pertinent sector/ministry that is designated to handle issues of social exclusion

Table 2.2: Functional analysis of district administrations recurrent expenditure (percentage)

Functional analysis	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05
General Public Administration	16.7	17.5	17.5	17.5	17.5
Public Order and Safety	2.1	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
Education	56.6	56.8	55.8	55.8	55.8
Health	15.1	16.3	16.3	16.3	16.3
Other Community & Social Services	0.8	1	1	1	1
Agriculture	3.3	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9
Roads	1.0	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8
Water	2.3	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8
Other economic Affaires and Services	2	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4
	100	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Notes: Expenditure figures include: Local, Central/Government transfers and donor funds

Source: Uganda Bureau of Statistics (Background to the Budget 2006)

The functional analysis of district administrations recurrent expenditure in this period shows slightly a different pattern although; the target social exclusion sector does not seem to change. General Public Administration and Public Order and Safety took about one fifth of the recurrent expenditure, while education and health took about two thirds of the budget. This is partly because under decentralisation, local government takes the responsibility of taking services close to the population. The over 55% allocation of recurrent expenditure to education is as result of the UPE programme where government is meeting education needs of children in primary schools. Community and Social Services sector, which is responsible for directly targeting social exclusion as well articulated earlier, took only 1% of the budget. This explains why both the central and local government implementation of programmes aimed at handling social exclusion have lagged behind and not realised the full potential of the statutes, programs laws, guidelines and stipulations put in place.

2.3 Implementing the PEAP

A range of problems can also be identified with the PEAP – and policy-processes in Uganda more broadly – which have a direct bearing on the likelihood of pro-chronically poor policies being prioritised and implemented. For example, the fact that ownership of the PEAP has remained closely centred around MFPED constitutes “one reason why PEAP implementation has been a challenge. Linkages between the PEAP, sector plans and local government plans were not as strong as they could have been” (Canagarajah and van Diesen 2006: 649). Local government in Uganda has its own problems here, which are of significant importance given the central role that the LC system is expected to play in terms of delivering poverty reduction. Problems include low capacity levels, the persistence of patronage politics (Francis and James 2003) and also the fact that, although underway for nearly two decades, decentralisation in Uganda remains an incomplete project, particularly in terms of fiscal decentralisation (Jutting et al 2005). Somewhat ironically, it could be argued that the fiscal and policy-led conditionality that has increased significantly since the PEAP process began – especially through PAF and guided by the MTEF – undermine the project of decentralisation and its goal of attaining genuine autonomy for local governments (Craig and Porter 2003).

2.4 Evaluating the PEAP

Given that we are in the third stage of the PEAP process, it might be assumed that one would be able to assess progress towards poverty reduction quite clearly. However, not only has much of this ambitious policy agenda has remained on the shelf, unimplemented, efforts to implement systematic monitoring and evaluation mechanisms have been limited. The tendency has been for there to be weak connections between producers and users of M&E data, a lack of attention to the timing of such data production, little coordination between different M&E systems and concerns over data quality (Canagarajah and van Diesen 2006: 654). However, an important new development here with the third PEAP is the National Integrated Monitoring and Evaluation Strategy (NIMES) whose mandate is to coordinate, monitor and evaluate GoU polices, programmes and projects with a view to make evidence based decision in the public sector of which poverty is central. NIMES is intended to address the problems for M&E outlined here and provide a sound basis for ‘evidence-based’ policy-making.

2.5 The Plan for the Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA)

Growth in the agricultural sector is seen as essential to pro-poor patterns of growth, as borne out in Uganda’s experience of rapid poverty reduction in the 1990s.

Importantly, Uganda's experience of growth without poverty reduction – and even with a slight rise in poverty – around 2000 can be linked to low agricultural growth (Kappel et al 2005). This is perhaps not surprising given that the agricultural sector is the most important source of income and livelihoods for Uganda's predominantly rural population. Agriculture contributes 43% of GDP, 85% of export earnings, and 80% of employment. As such, the PEAP's flagship policy on agricultural growth takes on particular importance.

The Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) is a framework which spells out the strategic vision and principles upon which interventions to address poverty eradication are made through the transformation of the agricultural sector. Apart from setting out the principles, the PMA core document also identifies priorities for interventions and activities in the form of seven pillars, to be implemented by various government ministries/agencies and local government. This is to be achieved by use of a Non-Sectoral Conditional Grant (NSCG) administered by the PMA Secretariat but allocated though local government. The vision of the PMA is poverty eradication through a profitable, competitive, sustainable and dynamic agricultural and agro-industrial sector. It is envisaged that rural poverty is best addressed through promotion of agricultural commercialisation, and particularly providing a coordinating framework for support services and public goods in rural areas.

It is important to note that the PMA was not constituted to specifically target chronic poverty; on the contrary it was put in place as a framework for intersect oral approach to poverty reduction. As has been noted (Hickey 2005: 1001): "the chief architects of the PMA admit that poorest people in rural Uganda were not necessarily the target in the first place. According to one:

'…the poorest are deficient in agricultural assets, which brings into question whether or not the PMA will make any difference to the poorest…we envisaged that after initial successes with commercialisation the poorest would provide labour on maize farms and agro-processing factories. But this was a wish statement' (PMA Architect, September 2002)."

2.6 Land reform and women's rights

The Land Act (1998), the Constitution of Uganda (1995) and the PEAP II try to define the policies linked to land in relation to poverty alleviation and gender equity. The Land Act of 1998 is a framework which stipulates how land in Uganda is acquired, administered and managed. The act spells out the different forms of land tenure that exist in the different parts of the country. It defines the institutions that are concerned with management of land and their roles in arbitrating and mediating issues related to ownership, acquisition and usage. Formulation and enactment of the Land Act was aimed at addressing a number of land issues, problems and the confusions that existed in the country regarding the rights to ownership, access and usage of land.

Many of the land problems in Uganda are rooted in the past, in terms of previous land policies under both colonial and independent rule.

Chapter 15 of the Constitution of Uganda (1995) represents the principle elements of land policy as they can be discerned in Uganda. Basically they have strong respect for private property, limited scope for acquisition of land in public interest, recognition of all pre-existing tenures, and provision for conversion of customary and leasehold to freehold if the owner wishes. Two key factors are revealed; the most significant being the desire to preserve the status quo, and the second laying the ground for an expansion of individualised land rights and the land market. The principal Constitutional provisions relating to land state that:

- Land vests in the citizens of Uganda;
- Every person has a right to own property, and land can only be acquired for the state for public use, in the interest of defense, public safety, public order, public morality or public health;
- Land can be held under customary, freehold, mailo or leasehold tenure;
- Customary holders may acquire certificates of ownership and may convert their holding to freehold;
- Leases granted out of public land to Ugandan citizens may be converted to freehold;
- Lawful and *bona fid*e" occupants of mailo land shall enjoy security on the land from the date of the Constitution until Parliament enacts a law regulating the relationship between them and the land owners, and providing a mechanism for them to obtain a register able interest in the land

The Constitution clearly states that men and women should be treated equally and that vulnerable groups need protecting from tenure insecurity and property deprivation. And, although the precise policy objectives of the Land Act are not spelled out, it was motivated in part by "a concern to provide stronger protection for the land rights of underprivileged groups, notably women and minors" (Hunt 2004: 176).[5] Sections 28 and 40 are particularly important in this respect, and there is further provision to ensure that the Uganda Land Commission should include at least one female amongst its five members; that one third of members of District Land

[5] There were also a series of other motivations behind the Land Act, including concerns to: create greater security of land rights to all those who were using land under customary tenure; establish freehold tenure at the behest of Uganda's larger commercial farm sector and some donors and a concern on the part of *mailo* landowners to obtain compensation for any curtailment of their rights (Hunt 2004: 176).

Boards should be female and that land committees at the parish level should have at least one women amongst their four members.

However, there is also the case of the famed 'Lost' or 'Missing' amendment on co-ownership, whereby women would jointly own their husband's property. This amendment that significantly challenged the patriarchal underpinnings of land usage and ownership in Uganda, and which (had it been implemented) would have protected widows from the problem of asset-stripping. The reasons for the late exclusion of this amendment have been the subject of much debate, although given the key role of the President in flagship policy initiatives in Uganda, the theory suggesting that the Amendment was not moved in time (Hunt 2004: 178) holds little water.[6] Indeed, the President has actually admitted that he decided to pull the co-ownership clause at the last minute (Tripp 2004: 7). Despite an intensive campaign from women activists, the clause was moved to the Domestic Relations Bill.

[6] Interestingly, as of 2002, only South Africa and Tanzania had enacted legislation requiring co-ownership.

3 How have policies intended to benefit the chronically poor been enacted?

3.1 PMA

The PMA formation process was initiated during presidential campaigns in 1996, with the President promising to "modernise" Uganda in his campaign manifesto. The quest to modernise propelled a series of meetings, workshops and consultations into motion that saw the policy arena emerge with the first PRSP (PEAP) in 1997. Basically the first PEAP that has under gone several revisions had pillars with the overall aim to eradicate poverty. This was followed by the operationalisation of the Medium Term Plan for the Modernisation of Agriculture in Uganda, 1997/98 - 2000/2001. At this point the PMA was seen as sector specific paper with the PEAP as the overarching poverty reduction policy paper. The need to make the PMA more comprehensive led to formation of steering technical committees to revise the PMA, which culminated into the first technical workshop on the PMA. It was proposed that sector wide consultation follow in addition to research to give better understanding to formulation of a comprehensive framework. This culminated into high-level consultation from an informed point of view following sector wide consultations, research and studies. The final consultative process involved the executive and the legislature where Ministers and the Select Committees of Parliament debated the draft proposals of the PMA framework. The outcome was a Revised PMA strategy and Operational Framework, which was then sent to districts for further consultations. The PMA was then integrated into the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) process, which gives the expenditure patterns and ceilings within a period of three years. The final draft PMA document was then presented to the Consultative Group Meeting. Finally the Cabinet approved the Draft PMA document in 2000 and it became a Government strategy and an operational framework for government to reduce poverty. [7]

Table 3.1 gives the process and the time when different activities took place when the PMA was developed into the core document we have today. At the heart of all these processes, to put together the PMA framework, was poverty reduction that preceded poverty analyses. It is evident that the process was highly consultative bringing together, politicians, development partners, technical people in line ministries and agencies, researchers and etc.

[7] NB: add fuller notes re the authorship debate and also the dispute between MFPED and MoAg over ownership.

Table 3.1: Key steps in the PMA formation process

ACTIVITY	YEAR/MONTH				
	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
1. Presidential Manifesto setting the stage for poverty eradication by modernising agriculture	March				
2. Tororo participatory Planning retreat	August				
3. Poverty Eradication Action Plan		June			
4. Operationalisation of the Medium Term Plan for the Modernisation of Agriculture in Uganda, 1997/98 - 2001/2002			January		
5. Steering and Technical Committees set up to revise the PMA			August		
6. First Technical Workshop on PMA			Septem ber		
7. Statement to the Consultative group (CG) meeting			Decemb er		
8. Sector wide Consultations, Research and Studies				May - Septem ber	
9. Top policy Consultations (Ministers and Committees of parliament				August	
10. Revised PMA Strategy and Operational Framework				Septem ber	
11. District Consultations				Decemb er	
12. Integration of the PMA into the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) process				October to May 2000	
13. Presentation of final PMA draft to the Consultative Group Meeting					March 2000
14. Presentation and approval by the Cabinet					August

Source: The Original Core PMA

The expected results of the PMA are embedded in its vision, mission and objectives that lead to identification of priority areas for which outputs and outcomes are designed. The vision of the PMA is "Poverty eradication through a profitable, competitive, sustainable and dynamic agricultural and agro-industrial sector" The mission of the PMA is "Eradicating poverty by transforming subsistence agriculture to commercial agriculture. The specific objectives of the PMA are to:

1. Increase incomes and improve the quality of life of poor subsistence farmers;
2. Improve household food security through the market;
3. Generate gainful employment; and
4. Promote sustainable use and management of natural resources.

The PMA operates beyond the traditional definition of the agriculture sector and seeks to address all the related issues – including land, environment, forestry, rural infrastructure and services, etc – that affect rural livelihoods. Agricultural transformation is multi-dimensional and therefore requiring more than one intervention, one stakeholder or one sector to sufficiently transform the agricultural sector. Thus, the PMA was designed to coordinate and harmonies interventions across seven key, but complementary priority areas through ten lead ministries. The PMA priority areas (pillars) are;

1. Agricultural research and technology development

The PMA research and technology development pillar aims at creating "a farmer responsive research system that generates and disseminates problem-solving, profitable and environmentally sound technologies on a sustainable basis" (PMA, 2005a). In this case it is to "generate, adopt and disseminate appropriate and demand-driven technologies, knowledge and information through effective, efficient, sustainable, decentralised and well co-ordinated agricultural research system."

2. Delivery of agricultural advisory services

The establishment of NAADS as a new national approach for extension with the main elements as the following has been arguably the greatest single PMA success story. The NAADS Board and Secretariat is a semi-autonomous self-accounting entity under MAAIF, designed to limit the bureaucratic structures that hinder the flexibility and effectiveness of many public sector institutions. This involves a decentralisation of responsibilities, work plans and budgets for agricultural advisory services from the district to sub-county level of government and farmers - to increase the relevance and the accountability of the programme. Services are contracted to agricultural advisers rather than employing career civil servants. With respect to targeting the poor there are issues that have attracted criticisms in the policy arena. By using the enterprise option/approach, there is restricted ability to meet needs of different categories of farmers. There was less differentiation of needs assessment to establish how different categories including the landless women and the poorest farmers could benefit. By using the group approach the participation of poor people is constrained by costs of belonging to groups, high level of enterprise management required and need for productive assets and skills to utilise the services. Therefore the while the design articulates the outcomes and impact very well for the active poor, the chronically seem to be left out.

3. Rural financial services[8]

The rural finance services pillar aims at spreading sustainable financial services to underserved rural areas. The key strategic elements of the pillar include:

- Focusing on MFIs as an immediate strategy given their comparative advantage in operating at the grass- roots;
- Targeting widespread geographical outreach in terms of service points per unit area given that agricultural production units are widely dispersed, small scale and diverse;
- Targeting coverage of a large proportion of the rural population by MFIs;
- Training MFIs and their clients for effective rural finance intermediation through use of international best practices; and,
- Specifically targeting women groups in the delivery of MFI services

The Micro-finance Outreach Plan (MOP) was finalised in October 2003 as the implementing vehicle for the pillar aimed at expanding the outreach of sustainable micro-finance in Uganda with a target of creating 40 new MFI branches and 40,000 new clients by June 2006. It is common knowledge in Uganda that micro-finance does not favour lending to agriculture given the risk involved in loan recovery. MFI loan portfolio by September accounted for only 13% while over 80% of the population depends on agriculture. The design of the scheme is not pro-poor and does not address itself to especially groups of the chronically poor groups.

4. Agricultural marketing and agro-processing

The PMA vision aims at achieving ‘improved market access’ through “increased and sustainable supply of and demand for competitive processed and non-processed agro-products on domestic regional and international markets”. The Ministry of Trade Tourism and Industry (MTTI) was given the responsibility for implementing the marketing and agro-processing (MAP) pillar, coordinating activities and linking with

[8] Source: Progress on the Rural Finance Pillar of the PMA -2003/2004

other ministries/ agencies. In theory (PMA 2005a), this includes developing the capacity of producer organisations to engage effectively in market transactions, educating farmers to engage more effectively in the liberalised market environment; improving the transport and other rural infrastructure by increasing rural road investment, to better link farmers with markets and developing of a comprehensive policy, legal and regulatory framework in areas such as trade policy and agricultural product exchange.

5. Agricultural education

This pillar focuses on three major programmes within agricultural education. The programmes are formal agricultural education in primary and secondary schools; Functional Adult Literacy programme (FAL); and District Agricultural Training and Information Centres (DATICS). The PMA seeks to address the availability and quality of agricultural education provision through a number of initiatives within the second Education Sector Investment Plan (ESIP, 2004-2015) currently being implemented by MOES.

6. Natural resource management

The pillar addresses issues of land, forest, environment and water for production. The key agencies are MWLE, which has the mandate for water for production, land, environment and Forestry, the National Environmental Management Agency (NEMA), which regulates use of these resources, and MAAIF. The focus on land here constitutes arguably the most relevant aspect of the PMA for the chronic poor, and is discussed separately here.

7. Physical infrastructure

The PMA recognises that rural infrastructure, particularly rural feeder roads and the associated network of bridges, foot and bicycle paths, are important for poverty reduction as they open up rural areas to input and output markets. In addition, the PMA document recognises the importance of rural electrification in enhancing the ability to store, preserve, and process agricultural products. The implementation of the physical infrastructure pillar is based on the original and updated ten-year Road Sector Development Programme (1996 and 2002, respectively). To address the poverty concerns is the District Urban Community Access Roads, a strategy for sustainable maintenance of district, urban and community access roads and the ten-year Energy for Rural Transformation Programme (PMA, 2005b).

3.2 Land policy: enactment and poverty focus

The integration of land issues into the broader national development strategy was conducted through two parallel processes. First was the Uganda Constitution of 1995, which attempted to address land issues in the country, and it had a provision, which required the drafting of the Land Act. The process of drafting the Land Act started in 1997 and was completed in 1998. Both processes involved significant levels of public consultation and interest group pressure, including in this case from the women's movement, followed by parliamentary ratification. However, as illustrated by the late axing of the co-ownership amendment, the presidentialism that shapes policy-making in Uganda has been far from absent here.

Under the PEAP 1, access to land and sustainable use of land were recognised as a critical issue for enabling the poor to increase their incomes. The strategies recognised tenure security particularly that of smallholders, women and tenant farmers, as key objectives of government policy towards land. The main policy objectives are listed as:

- To enact a land law which recognises and guarantees the rights of all the citizens (including women and orphans) over land, and to resolve the ambiguity in the relationship between absentee landlords and sitting tenants;
- To register land with a view to protecting the rights of widows, divorced women and orphans;
- To provide the poor with free legal advice and defense in litigations over land ownership;
- To assist Uganda's nomadic pastoralists to become settled pastoralists by providing their animals with a permanent source of water;
- To promote the sustainable development of land.
- Promotion of commercialisation of agriculture without marginalising food security
- Encouragement of the provision of credit and market information to farmers.

Although relatively harmonious in intent, however, these two processes (the Constitution and the PEAP 1) lacked coherence.

Since early 2000, there were renewed efforts to place land issues squarely within the framework for national poverty reduction (by now PEAP 2) and to develop realistic strategies for implementing reforms in the land sector. This has been coupled with a more participatory approach and stronger inter-institutional linkages within the land sector and between the land sector and related agencies. In September 2000, a draft sector plan was developed, which mapped out new strategies for addressing the difficulties highlighted. The key issues for the sector plan included developing:

- A workable strategy for demarcation and certification of customary land and occupation rights;
- An affordable and realistic means of providing decentralised land services;
- An affordable structure for resolution of land disputes;
- A strategy for utilizing the Land Fund to address the most pressing environmental and social problems.

In terms of a gender equity focus (Uganda Land Alliance Policy Brief (January 2006), Section 27 of the Land Act further stipulates that any decision taken on customary tenure that denies women, and persons with disability access to, ownership, occupation and use of any land violates constitutional principles, and are therefore invalid. This implies that all customary norms and practices that discriminate against women with regard to property are not allowed.

The consent provision under Section 39 imposes restrictions on sale, mortgage and transfer of land by spouses and any other transactions on land upon which the family lives and derives sustenance without express consent of the resident spouse(s) before undertaking any transaction. The act stipulates further that 'consent should not be withheld unreasonably by the spouse entitled to give consent to the land in question'. Section 38A of the Land Act guarantees spouses security of occupancy which means the right to access and live on the land, to use family land and give or withhold consent to transactions that affect the spouse’s rights on the land.

The Land Act of 1998 stipulates that decisions taken on customary tenure that deny women access, occupation and usage of land violates constitutional principles, hence invalid (section 27). Furthermore, Section 38A guarantees spouses security of occupancy i.e. right to access and usage of family land. Section 39 imposes restrictions on sale, mortgage or transfer of land without consent of the resident spouse(s). These land Act articles do not guarantee security to tenure and access to land for women. This is because it has been found that women are unable to prevent sale of land by their husbands (who in most cases own the land); whether the later accessed the land before or after getting married to the former.

Because of the lack of Sub County and urban area committees at the grassroots, women find it difficult and expensive to forward land related cases to district land boards and tribunals or even the courts of law.

Therefore, with a higher proportion of the population being predominantly subsistence farmers[9] (73 percent), of which the majority are women and who have

[9] Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2002 Census Analytical Report – 2006

limited or no access to land, poverty levels are expected to minimally lower or remain the same for a long time among the women.

What generally comes through here is that the land legislation in Uganda is till far from effective in addressing poverty issues and more so chronic poverty. Although attempts have been made to resolve this, significant obstacles remain, including the historical legacy of previous land reforms and the political culture that surrounds land at national and local levels. Actually at the centre of all this is the inability of the legislation to redistribute land especially to the poor and women. Here the difference is (in part) between the provision and the practice, whereby implementation has faced great difficulties in the face of patriarchal norms and other obstacles.

As a result of these failures, a first draft of the Land Usage Policy was completed in March 2006 and is to be presented to the cabinet and the Parliament for review during the first quarter of 2007. The last of these land legislation processes is the Draft Land Policy, currently in the formulation and consultative stage. Basically the Draft Land Policy is justified by the fact that land issues have not been resolved especially from the historical perspective. As a policy it seeks to address the following identified problems that the previous legislations have not addressed (MWLE, 2006; pp14-15).

- A poor or absent conceptual framework for land management
- Poor management of land resources leading underutilisation and inefficient use
- Substantial ambiguity within the constitution and legislation as to the content and viability of property rights under the various tenure categories
- Un-robust execution by the state and local authorities of land stewardship and development control
- Continued sabotage of sustainable management of rural land resources due to lack of proper recognition and facilitation of indigenous property
- Lack of intra-sectoral policy and legal framework that hinders land sector development
- Structural and systematic inequalities in the distribution and enjoyment of land rights.
- The lack of transparency and bureaucratic nature of land administrative structures.

4 What happens to policies following enactment?

4.1 Who has/where are the main structural or institutional responsibilities for implementation?

PMA

The PMA implementation is based on a decentralised and participatory approach to planning and service delivery. Within the decentralised administrative and political framework the responsibility for implementation of activities in the field lies with districts and sub-counties. However, at the central level, the PMA Steering Committee, chaired by the MFPED provides the overall coordination and guidance, while a wider PMA Forum of stakeholders is used to exchange views and follow up of issues. Several Sub-Committees of the Steering Committee have been established to address specific aspects of the PMA, including a Monitoring and Evaluation Sub-Committee. To support the implementation, a separate PMA Secretariat was established. Below is an outline of the lead agencies and their roles in implementing the PMA.

1. The MAAIF including NARO is responsible for formulating, planning, monitoring the implementation of and providing guidance on agricultural policy.

2. MFPED has the overall responsibility of providing public financing including coordination of donors, national planning and monitoring.

3. MWLE is responsible for developing a suitable land policy and to coordinate necessary land reform programmes that can ensure access to land for the poor. The ministry is also responsible for developing policies for providing water for agricultural production and policies to promote agro-processing and to protect the environment.

4. MWHC is responsible for roads and telecommunications i.e. developing policies for construction and maintenance of trunk, feeder and community or access roads.

5. MTTI is responsible for developing suitable policies including provision of grades and standards to ensure that PMA implementation satisfies the demand relevant for domestic, regional and international trade and marketing. It also promotes agro-processing and industrial use of raw materials.

6. The MoES is responsible for developing a human resource development policy including agricultural education, promotion of adult literacy and other aspects of informal and formal education.

7. The MGLSD is responsible for coordinating gender, labour and social development issues including rural financial services.

8. The MoLG coordinates the delivery of decentralised services and capacity building programmes aimed at improving delivery of services in local governments. Agricultural services have been decentralised as well.

9. The MEMD is meant to ensure that adequate policies are put up to promote rural electrification and energy related matters so that agro-processing and other high energy demanding services under the PMA can be served.

10. The MOH is responsible for ensuring suitable policies are in place to enforcing good nutrition and health services.

Land

The Land Act 1998 stipulates the following institutions to undertake the management of land issues in the country, with their roles clearly stipulated therein.

Uganda Land Commission

There is the Uganda Land Commission, which is a 'corporate body with perpetual succession and a common seal and may sue or be sued in its corporate name'. The commission consists of a chairperson and not less than four other members appointed by the President with the approval of Parliament.

Functions of the commission:

- The functions of the commission include –
- Holding and managing any land in Uganda which is vested in or acquired by the Government of Uganda in accordance with the Constitution;
- Where applicable, holding and managing any land acquired by the Government abroad, except that the commission may delegate the management of such land to Uganda's missions abroad;
- Procuring certificates of title for any land vested in or acquired by the Government;
- Performing such other functions as may be prescribed by or this Act or any other enactment.

Secretary and other officers of the commission

There is a secretary to the commission who is a public officer appointed by the President on the advice of the Public Service Commission upon such terms and conditions as may be specified in the letter of appointment. The secretary is supposed to be an individual/person with knowledge and experience in matters related to land. S/he is not a member of the commission but conducts the correspondence of the commission, keeps records and performs such other functions as the commission may direct. The secretary keeps custody of the seal of the commission. For the purpose of performing its functions under the Constitution and this Act, the commission may-

- Acquire by purchase or exchange or otherwise hold land rights, easements or interests in land;
- Erect, alter, enlarge, improve or demolish any building or other erection on any land held by it;
- Sell, lease or otherwise deal with the land held by it;
- Cause surveys, plans, maps, drawings and estimates to be made by or through its officers or agents; and
- Do such other things, as may be necessary for or incidental to the exercise of those powers and the performance of those functions.

District land boards

There is for each district a district land board, which is a corporate body with perpetual succession and a common seal and may sue or be sued in its corporate name. The board has a minimum of five members of which at least one has to be a woman.

The functions of the board are to

- Hold and allocate land in the district which is not owned by any person or authority;
- Facilitate the registration and transfer of interests in land
- Take over the role and exercise the powers of the lessor in the case of a lease granted by a former controlling authority;
- Cause surveys, plans, maps, drawings and estimates to be made by or through its officers or agents; specifically
- Compile and maintain a list of rates of compensation payable in respect of crops, buildings of a nonpermanent nature and any other thing that may be prescribed;
- Review every year the list of rates of compensation referred to in paragraph (e) of this subsection; and

Deal with any matter, which is incidental or connected to the other functions referred to in this subsection.

The board has powers to:

- Acquire by purchase or otherwise rights or interest in land and easements;
- Erect, alter, enlarge, improve or demolish any building or other erection on any land held by it;
- Sell, lease or otherwise deal with the land held by it; and
- Do and perform all such other acts, matters and things, as may be necessary for or incidental to the exercise of those powers and the performance of those functions.

Land Committees

There are land committees per parish consisting of a chairperson and three other members appointed by the district council on the recommendation of the sub county council. In addition there is in each gazetted urban area and division (in the case of city), a land committee consisting of a chairperson and three other members appointed by the council, and in the case of a city, on the recommendation of the city division council.

District land Tribunals

There is in each district a tribunal called the District Land Tribunal, which consists of a chairperson and two other members. The chairperson is a person qualified to be a magistrate grade 1. A member of the tribunal is a person with knowledge and experience in land matters. Members of the land tribunals are appointed by the chief justice on the advice of the Judicial Service Commission. The District Land Tribunal:

- Determine disputes relating to the grant, lease, repossession, transfer or acquisition of land by individuals, the commission or other authority with responsibility relating to land;
- Determine any dispute relating to the amount of compensation to be paid for land acquired under section 42 of the Land Act 1998;
- Determine disputes in respect of land the value of which exceeds the amount stipulated under section 84;
- Make consequential orders relating to cancellation of entries on certificates of title and vesting of title in cases handled by the lower land tribunals; and
- Determine any other dispute relating to land under this act.

4.2 How do civil servants and field level bureaucrats take such policies forward?

PMA

The MAAIF concentrates on policy, regulation and enforcement functions. It focuses more on strategic planning and policy analysis while the provision of public services (e.g. extension) is decentralised and operations like marketing left to the private sector. Under the Directorate of Crop resources in MAAIF, Farm management is responsible for ensuring that land and water resources are utilised efficiently. It is noted that policy formulation and planning constitute the major roles of MAAIF under the current arrangement, and this is reflected in the institutional structure whereby the department of planning reports directly to the Permanent Secretary. These roles also cut across the sector and as such the department is expected to have functional linkages with other departments within MAAIF, and other ministries and agencies responsible for/ or involved in the production, processing and marketing of crops, livestock and fisheries products.

Districts and Sub-counties are responsible for the delivery of advisory services including agricultural extension and spearheading the overall implementation of the PMA. The National Agricultural Advisory Services Program (NAADS) encourages the decentralisation of extension responsibilities to the sub-county level and contracts out extension services to private sector individuals or entities, enlist more local and stakeholder input into the planning of agricultural research, and focuses on the management of the farm as a business enterprise.

In addition to the delivery of agricultural services under the PMA the local governments (sub-county and District LGs) have other roles like construction and maintenance of rural roads, Infrastructure development and management (local market development in their localities and mobilisation) and information dissemination.

The National Agricultural Research Organisation (NARO) formulates strategic plans for agricultural research to ensure that research responds to the needs of the farmers and generates problem-solving, profitable, gender sensitive, and environmentally sound technologies. Agricultural research is decentralised to agro-ecological zones and technologies demonstrated on-farm within reach of the majority of smallholders through the development of Agricultural Research and Development Centres (ARDCs). NARO is supposed to expand the capacity for production of breeders' seed and strengthen linkages with the private sector for the multiplication and distribution of planting and stocking materials.

Rural financial services institutions that integrate savings, credit, financial transfer, and insurance are meant to constitute to financial intermediation under the PMA. Government has relegated its role to provision of a legal/regulatory framework, capacity building and promotion of rural financial intermediaries. It is the private sector that is responsible for providing rural credit, while the government regulated the activities.

Overall the private sector plays a greater role in the implementation of the PMA by undertaking all commercial activities, including:

- Production, processing and marketing of agricultural produce and inputs;
- Delivery of credit and other financial services;
- Production and distribution of seed, planting and stocking materials, including fish fry and artificial insemination and investment in irrigation and water harvesting technologies. Procure and distribute farm inputs (seeds, agro-chemicals, farm implements/ machinery, etc);
- Transport and market the agro-produce in local, regional and international markets and to add value through agro-processing;
- Participate in technology generation, multiplication and dissemination in partnership with government; and
- Provide market information and advisory services in production, farm management, financial services, etc.

In addition there are semi-autonomous and autonomous statutory institutions that are crucial in the implementation of the PMA and these include those under or related to MAAIF, MTTI and MFPED. These include the Cotton Development Organisation, Uganda Coffee Development Authority, the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology and the National Environmental Management Authority (NEMA).

Land

Many of the land legislations have not been implemented for various reasons. Where the institutional structures exist facilitation has been a problem. In addition specific land legislation to reach the poor or chronically poor has lagged behind without visible results. An attempt to understand the general implementation process has been analysed through studies undertaken by the Uganda Land Alliance. One particular study[10] reviews the performance of District Land Boards in six districts, and

[10] Challenges to District Land Boards in their First Five Years of their Existence 2005 edited by Rose Mwebaza and Dr Abby Sebina Zziwa

makes the following observations on the operations of the boards vis-à-vis the statutory mandates:

Establishment and set-up

The District Land Boards started operations a few months after the passing of the 1998 Land Act with Kampala beginning operations in December 1998. By 2005 all the district boards under review were set up and functioning though at varied paces. However, there were structural and financial problems that are elaborated below:

The vetting process for membership of land boards took a long time to be completed because this process had never been applied before hence creating uncertainties. An individual to be appointed a member had to be a nominee at the county, municipal or urban council within the district hence it was difficult to identify the nominees from the different counties. In some instances, many appointees forwarded by the district were rejected at the ministry level for failure to meet the statutory requirements. Some did not meet the gender representation or there was no representation for the different counties in the districts. There were delays due to lack of funding. The fact that regulations governing the operations of the boards were not yet in place meant that formal boards were put in place several months after the passing of the Act.

In conclusion, there was inadequate preparation for the decentralised land institutions. Though the decentralisation policy was in place before the land act was enacted, the local governments were not oriented into budgeting for the different decentralised services. Boards must directly work with the District Land Office technical staff such as the Land Officer, Valuer, Surveyor and Planner. The land boards without fully staffed land offices are handicapped and their activities are limited.

4.3 How do they describe the process(es) of implementation i.e. in terms of changes to the budget, changes to the types/cost of services; enforcement of particular legislation (who enforces, how do they ensure that it is pro-poor); through the dissemination of information on entitlements/rights etc.

<u>PMA</u>

The Non-Sectoral Conditional Grant (NSCG) was introduced in 2000/01 to support PMA implementation (PMA, 2005b). The NSCG is a transfer of funds from central government (from the Poverty Action Fund) to sub-counties for rural communities to plan and finance investments that address locally perceived poverty needs. The

NSCG is '**non-sectoral**' in the sense that it can be used flexibly in any sector, provided that the ultimate impact is to increase the profitability of agriculture. The grant is '**conditional**' in that it has to be for poverty-reducing activities that benefit the community as a whole (rather than specific individuals).

Expenditure on NSCG activities increased from USh.2.0bn in 2000/1 to USh.5.0bn in 2002/3, and has remained at this level for the last two years. The worry is that while NSCG budget remained at Ush 5bn, the planned expansion was to 33 districts. This implies that the level of funding of the NSCG is too low to allow significant investment activities to take place at sub-county and parish levels, thereby limiting the potential impact of the grant. Although disbursement rates for the NSCG were initially high, close to 100 % in 2001/02 they fell to 87 % by 2003/04. The NSCG review (2005)[11] - shows that, over the four years to 2003/04 nearly 65 % of NSCG funds were allocated to agriculture (including natural resource management). Within agriculture, half of the funds were used for the purchase of inputs for production (seeds, fertilisers, etc). The remainder was split between the construction of physical assets for production (irrigation, fish ponds, dip tanks etc), and capacity building (farmer training).

Continuous reviews of the performance of the NSCG show that non-completion of projects is a major problem. This issue is highlighted in the 2005 review, which shows a fall in the NSCG project completion rate from 85 % in 2000/01 to 56 % in 2003/04. The reasons for this include: (i) inadequate funds, (ii) late disbursement of funds; and (iii) changes in local investment priorities. The 2005 review also shows that local governments were not providing the 10 % contribution to the cost of NSCG activities required by the guidelines. This is a result of low levels of local revenues especially since the abolition of the graduated tax, making it harder for local governments to provide co-financing contributions to programmes such as NSCG, LGDP, and NAADS.

<u>Community participation</u>

There is strong evidence to show weak community participation in decisions over how funds are allocated, suggesting that in effect local political leaders and technicians have the major influence over the identification and selection of NSCG projects (PMA review, 2003). A review in 2004[12] pointed to the fact that the situation has not improved, highlighting general and consistent problems of weak community participation in the NSCG planning process.

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[11] Review of the use of the NSCG by local governments, 2000/1 – 2003/4, Independent Consulting Group (January 2005)

[12] Assessment of community mobilization in the PMA, DENIVA 2004

<u>Compliance with guidelines – poverty focus</u>

Previous reviews indicated that NSCG investments were often failing to comply with funding guidelines. Basically the criticisms are that the NSCG is not sufficiently poverty-focussed, that it tends to benefit individuals rather than the community, and that it is used excessively for the distribution of agricultural inputs (most of which have strong private good characteristics). The first monitoring report on the NSCG (2001), for example, found that only 50 % of investments qualified as compliant with NSCG funding criteria. Effort by the PMA Secretariat to comply with NSCG guidelines have been limited by its capacity to conduct detailed monitoring of all NSCG spending proposals.

The evaluation team (PMA, 2005b) notes that the 2002 PMA monitoring reported limited success in targeting the poor in NSCG demonstration and multiplication projects. That field visits made by PMA evaluation team confirm that this has remained the case. Although it is clear that many NSCG investments have strong public good characteristics and benefit the wider community including the poor (e.g. public latrines, water storage facilities etc), a major share of the NSCG continues to be used for the distribution of crop planting material and improved livestock breeds to individual farmers for demonstration or multiplication purposes. Recipients – or 'caretakers' - of these inputs are chosen by extension workers or political leaders, and tend to be amongst the better-off members of the community. While this may be justified on the basis that better-off farmers are most able to manage the assets provided to communities, it is important that measures are taken to ensure that the benefits are spread as much as possible throughout the community and that the demonstration and multiplication objectives are achieved.

Where projects are identified and selected by political leaders or technicians, the incentives to address the needs of the poor are likely to be limited. In one sub-county visited by the PMA evaluation team, almost the entire NSCG allocation for 2005/06 had been earmarked to a women's agro-processing group for the purchase of equipment. The process by which this had been agreed as a priority for NSCG funding was not clear, but it was evident that the group included members and wives of the local political elite.

The PMA second review (2003) proposes two reasons why the NSCG is not sufficiently poverty targeted. First, there is little evidence that NSCG planning processes distinguish sufficiently between the people with whom they are dealing with on poverty grounds. Second, that there is little evidence that poverty analysis is informing the diagnosis of issues to be resolved through NSCG expenditures. The PMA (2005b) evaluation supports these proposals and argues that, in the absence of more detailed information, it is not possible to assess the extent to which the NSCG reaches the poor. As has been suggested in previous reviews, further analysis is required to deepen the poverty focus of the NSCG. This indicates that the process is not sufficiently informed and that, it is in some way hijacked by politicians and technical persons at the local level.

The other way to gauge the pro-poor nature, the process, and progress of the implementation of the PMA is by looking at each pillar independently. Basically much of the progress of the Pillars is at the institutional level and little is on the ground except for the NAADS and a bit of road construction. Following is a pillar-by-pillar analysis and this information mainly comes from the review of period PMA Reviews and Evaluations (documents).

Pillar 1: Research and technology development

On the side of outcomes in relation to this pillar little has been achieved. There is little that can be attributed to the restructured National Agricultural Research Systems NARS), because there were delays in passing the NARS bill. In addition, the research undertaken has not, corresponded to the needs of poorer farmers, women, or specific groups such as the HIV/AIDS affected. Although Uganda was divided into 12 agro ecological zones, and it was originally decided to set up a Zonal Agricultural Research Institute (ZARI[13]) in each of these regions, due to financial and logistic reasons, only seven have been set up, in West Nile, the Lake Albert Crescent, the Southern Highlands, Western Highlands, the Lake Victoria Crescent, mid-Northern and Eastern regions. The Southern Dry lands, South East, Eastern Highlands, Karamoja Drylands, and Northern Zones are still without a decentralised ZARI. It is observed that impact is partly dependent on dissemination and uptake, and this has been negatively affected by the move away from the traditional extension system to NAADS. This implies that dissemination and uptake of developed technologies has been limited by the demand driven nature of NAADS compared to the former traditional extension service system which was supply driven.

We can further examine the impact so far by looking at the monitoring and evaluation indicators for NARO and see how they have been achieved. The indicators include

- The amount of GoU and donor funds allocated, released and spent;
- The amount or percentage of private sector funding availed;
- The level of farmer participation in priority setting and implementing agricultural research; and
- The number of technologies released by category and location.

By 2005 there was no evidence against the first three indicators. It was only indicator number 4 where, 8 technologies had been released (PMA, 2004).

[13] Also referred to as Agricultural Research and Development Centers (ARDCs). Check Map1 in Appendix

Pillar 2: Delivery of agricultural advisory services

Although the PMA document indicates that NAADS should target subsistence farmers who constitute the majority of the poor in rural areas, the NAADS principally targets the economically active poor (EAP) farmers. These are defined as subsistence and semi-commercial farmers, with access to productive assets, and with some skills and knowledge – i.e. those farmers with potential to take advantage of the technologies introduced. Enabling poorer or more marginal farmers to access appropriate services remains a significant challenge for NAADS. Farmers must join registered groups to access services, and yet the very poor are least likely to be members of such groups. Similar issues are faced by NAADS in meeting the needs of the elderly, or those affected by HIV/AIDS who have limited labour resources. NAADS uses a demand driven approach to provision of extension services. While such a notion sounds good, there are issues related to reaching out to the poor. NAADS favours non-traditional enterprises, which approach tends to exclude poorer, more risk-averse farmers, for whom improvements in traditional crop technologies may yield significant benefits (PMA, 2005b).

In 2001, the NAADS programme was launched, as planned, in six ‘trailblazing’ districts and twelve sub-counties. Table 4.1 shows that in FY2004/05 NAADS had a presence in 29 districts, compared to the target of 20 districts in the project appraisal document. However, in 8 of these districts the programme was at the farmer group formation stage, and had not yet (June 2005) commenced the delivery of extension services. It is also important to note that within NAADS districts not all sub-counties are covered. Amongst all PMA pillars, progress with the roll-out of NAADS has proceeded at the fastest pace, although the impact has been constrained by the weaker performance in the roll-out of other pillars (especially rural credit, and support to marketing and agro-processing).

Table 4.1: NAADS progress in rolling out

Financial Year	01/02	02/03	03/04	04/05	05/06	06/07	07/08
Project Year	**Year 1**	**Year 2**	**Year 3**	**Year 4**	**Year 5**	**Year 6**	**Year 7**
Districts							
Target no. (as per appraisal):	6	12	16	20	28	35	45
Actual no. (accumulative)	**6**	**16**	**21**	**29***	**-**	**-**	**-**
Sub-counties							
Target no. (as per appraisal)	13	26	162	264	388	500	683
Actual no.	24	100	153	280	**-**	**-**	**-**

* Includes eight districts (and 24 sub-counties) where NAADS is providing Farmer Institutional Development (FID), but not yet any agricultural advisory services.

Source: mid-term evaluation and NAADS Secretariat

NAADS delivers extension through private service providers (PSPs) and by 2005, 449 PSPs had been registered. There is low capacity amongst PSPs to deliver and for that reason NAADS has included an institutional development component to enhance the capacities of PSPs. In spite of this, spending against this component is low compared to other components of the programme. During 2003/4, 652 firms and 142 individuals (PSPs) had been contracted to provide NAADS services during the year. The total value of contracts was Ush 3.9bn, of which Ush 3.2bn was disbursed.

Although it is still too early to fully assess the impact of NAADS, available information is summarised below, together with comments based upon the findings of the PMA evaluation (PMA, 2005b):

Farmer empowerment: The mid term evaluation found that 88 % of NAADS farmer groups felt they had greater ownership of the extension system compared to 30 % for non-NAADS groups. The National Service Delivery Survey (2004) also suggests that NAADS has stimulated demand by farmers for more specialised extension services. This finding is not supported by the PMA evaluation, which finds that NAADS provides a more restricted range of services than that provided under the traditional extension system.

Access to services: Both the NAADS Baseline Survey (2004) and mid term evaluation indicate that over half of NAADS farmers have had access to training provided by a service provider and that over two-thirds have had access to a technology demonstration site (TDS). However, evidence on the quality of services received is mixed – while farmers perceive benefits from the services received, they also express a desire for improved quality of services. In considering these findings it is important to recognise that NAADS focuses only upon the economically active poor and that, at least for now, it may not be improving access to services for poorer farmers, or those with limited resources.

Adoption rates: The mid term evaluation indicates that NAADS has made a positive impact in terms of the uptake of new technologies. Surveys show that between 40 % and 60 % of farmers have changed agricultural practices as a result of exposure to TDS and training services.

Yields and incomes: Surveys indicate that NAADS has had a positive impact upon crop yields and farm incomes. The mid term evaluation survey reported significant increases in yields on demonstration sites - some in excess of 200 % - as a result of the new technologies promoted under NAADS. However data on incremental yields are not available at the household level. Independent analysis by IFPRI shows that participation in NAADS is associated with a 15 % increase in the value of crop production per acre. Analysis of yield and production changes is complex and can be difficult to attribute.

Economic analysis: Recent work undertaken as part of the mid term evaluation process, suggests that NAADS will generate an economic return of 18 %t and also that NAADS is more cost effective than the previous Agricultural Extension System (AEP) – in terms of costs per household reached and overall adoption rates.[14]

Pillar 3: Agricultural education

The overall policies and strategies supporting both formal and non-formal agricultural education are: National Agricultural Education Policy 2004-2015 and the National Agricultural Education Strategy and Investment Plan 2004- 2015 (NAEP). Achievements in this area include the National Agricultural Education Policy (NAEP) that was finalised in October 2004, and the National Agricultural Education Strategy and Investment Plan (NAES&IP). Cabinet was yet to approve these important policy documents. Key ministries in of the implementation of the NAES&IP are the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES), and the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MGLSD). MGLSD is mainly responsible for Functional Adult Literacy (FAL) while MoES is responsible for mainstream agriculture education and training.

[14] Four years of NAADS implementation: programme outcomes and impact, A. Ekwamu and M. Brown, May 2005.

As part of implementation of the strategy, Bukalasa, and Arapai agricultural training colleges were rehabilitated with assistance of one of the development partners.

Agricultural education at primary schools is an important means of conveying PMA messages and practices to tomorrow's farmers. The expectation is that children will pass on new agricultural skills and knowledge to their parents. The NSCG has supported school gardens in primary schools in PMA districts. According to the PMA annual report 2003/2004, in four districts 247 primary schools have started agriculture-related teaching or formed agriculture 'clubs'[15]. The school gardens established through the NSCG are supervised by extension services. It is noted that teachers are reluctant to take on the extra work of managing and maintaining the gardens, and students regard the work as a punishment rather than as education.

The FAL Programme was initiated in 1992 as a pilot project in eight districts and is now nationwide. The objective of the FAL Programme is to raise adult literacy levels to 85 % by 2007. By 2004 FAL had over 400 thousand learners enrolled, of whom 76 % were females. The target beneficiaries are youth and adults of 15 years and above, with a focus upon women and vulnerable groups. It is plagued by inadequate facilitation and funding of activities.

Pillar 4: Access to rural finance

The Micro-finance Outreach Plan (MOP) was finalised in October 2003 as the implementing vehicle for the pillar aiming at expanding the outreach of sustainable micro-finance in Uganda with a target of creating 40 new MFI branches and 40,000 new clients by June 2006. Five policy issues were to be given high priority:

1. Legal and regulatory framework to be spearheaded by the Bank of Uganda in collaboration with the micro-finance industry and other stakeholders;

2. Capacity building for MFIs;

3. Privatisation of government credit projects/programmes by which the state would withdraw from direct delivery of credit and focus on capacity building and policy formulation;

4. Promotion of other MFI initiatives including foreign-based NGOs to enter and operate freely in the rural finance industry; and,

5. Promotion of formal banking system involvement in rural finance.

[15] PMA Annual Report 2003/04 pgs. 17-21

Table 4.2 provides the implementation performance of the MOP under its different components.[16] The policy framework provides for sufficient space for private sector provision of financial services in rural areas. However, the financial products micro-finance institutions offer to their clients are hardly suitable to financing of agriculture activities. The question of long-term financing for agriculture keeps re-occurring. There is thinking that overtime, micro-finance institutions will develop suitable financial products that match demand of their clients.

The MOP was supposed to be rolled out to cover the whole country within a period of three years. It was supposed to start in July 2003 with 24 districts accessing LGDP and NSCG funds. Among these districts, priority was to be given to districts served by private Sector Business Promotion Centres and those selected for NAADS grants. Employment of Financial Extension Workers (FEWs) in sub-counties was linked to the availability of a Community Development Workers structure. The first districts where to be followed by 17 districts between July 2004 and June 2005 and then by 15 districts between July 2005 and June 2006.

The rollout of MOP has seriously lagged behind due to inadequate funding. Instead of 24 districts in Year 1, only 7 pilot districts were covered. Another 6 districts were added in Year 2 with DANIDA funds. However, rather than continue with the identified 24 districts, there was a diversion as DANIDA funds were linked to the Household Agriculture Support Programme (HASP). A further 12 districts were planned for Year 3 with the same DANIDA funds to bring the total number of districts to be covered by June 2006 to 25, a shortfall of many districts. Much of the progress reported in Table 4.2 pertains to national level activities. The establishment of District Finance Committees and recruitment of FEWs have not made much progress.

Lending to agriculture and specifically to small farmers, which should be the main target beneficiaries in the light of the overall aim of PMA is still unattractive to most MFIs. By September 2004, crop and animal production only made up 13 % of the total MFI loan portfolio, with 83 % for commercial services and 4 % others. Lending to smallholder farmers to finance purchases of seasonal inputs faces well-known difficulties as outlined below (PMA, 2005b).

1. There is a difficulty of mobilising savings for agriculture from agriculture. If agriculture is the dominant economic activity contributing to savings, savers are likely to withdraw their savings at the same time at the start of the farming season, which may cause serious operational problems for MFIs.

2 The concentration of demand for borrowing at the start of a season, followed by a period of several months without income (during which it may be difficult to make interest or principal repayments) and then a concentrated period after harvest when both interest and principal payments can be made. MFIs need to continuously

[16] Source: Progress on the Rural Finance Pillar of the PMA -2003/2004

recover and revolve their limited funds. Long grace periods appropriate for agricultural lending would choke their operations.

3 There are a small number of commercial and semi commercial farmers (30% of the farming population). Financing inputs for subsistence crop production will not directly lead to an increased cash flow from which repayments can be made.

4 There are high administration and transaction costs (in searching, screening, monitoring and enforcing agricultural loans) worsened by the dispersion of the rural population and poor communications infrastructure.

5 There is high risk involved in agriculture with covariant risks from adverse weather or price fluctuations affecting large numbers of farmers at the same time worsened by the lack of collateral (smallholders have freehold rights over land).

6 The difficulty in assessing capability due to lack of records and valuations of past income or future income estimates, or of assets.

7 The tendency towards ‘strategic default' among farmers whereby they have no incentive to repay loans due to past experience of not suffering penalties of enforced loan recoveries or even reduced access to future credit opportunities.

Table 4.2: Description and Performance of the Different Components of the Micro finance Outreach Plan

Component	Description	Output
Capacity Building Unit for Outreach	Registration of available and new training materials, training and certification of private sector suppliers in the provision of such appropriate training packages and compiling and dissemination of information to and from the supply and demand side, all of which serve to assist in expansion, upgrading and coordination of the supply of capacity building to meet the demand.	• 60 training packages for capacity building developed including: • Module for agriculture lending. Disseminated to 52 MFIs. • MicroSave SSP training opportunity in costing and pricing. • Household Saving course of the Business Culture component submitted to the curriculum development committee for approval • Institutional capacity assessment rolls (diagnostic toolkits) • Updated profiles and competencies of 64 MFI service providers
Matching Grant Facility for Capacity Building (MCAP)	MCAP is the largest component that includes provision of training through matching grants, logistical support, remote rural outreach and product development. This support is to be done using a coherent and agreed set of eligibility and selection criteria. The Implementing Partners for MCAP are to be autonomous private sector contractors.	• 9 MFIs funded to expand operations or open new branches in 11 districts • 12 new MFI branches created bringing in 22,000 new clients • Supported programmes which organised farmers with MFIs in two districts • Contracted the Association Microfinance Institutions in Uganda as implementing partner
Performance Monitoring System for Tier IV MFIs	AMFIU, the implementing partner, to develop and circulate a standardised performance reporting format to all Tier IV MFIs and register the completed formats received in a central database. Reporting MFIs to receive feed-back from the central database on performance against peer-group averages, and to be categorised based on performance.	• A standardised Performance Monitoring Tool (PMT) developed and operationalised by the SPEEP/USAID and is being used by 14 MFIs to monitor their performance.
District Level Microfinance Committees	MOP to be operationalised at district level with the establishment of District Microfinance Committees for the role of supervising the delivery of microfinance services in the district. The outreach map to be reviewed and updated for the District; members of the District Level Microfinance Committees are to be established; job descriptions, recruitment guidelines and standard contracts for the contracting of Financial Extension Workers (FEWs) by local authorities to be disseminated; and a monitoring system for FEWs in the District to be identified.	• 7 out of the planned 24 district microfinance committees established
Recruitment, payment and monitoring of Financial	FEWS responsible for sensitisation and mobilisation of groups of potential clients within the sub-county for good practice microfinance and linkage of such groups to sustainable MFIs. With their knowledge of the local micro/rural finance activities in their areas, FEWs to be an important link in the chain of information	• 48 FEWs trained and deployed after the following: • Mapped out undeserved areas in the 24 districts that would require microfinance outreach. Based on this, 7 pilot districts were chosen for recruitment of FEWs with an average 6 sub-counties for each district

Component	Description	Output
Extension Workers (FEWs	dissemination and reporting to the Microfinance Industry at national level. This information flow expected to help in countering negative political interventions and pressures	• A standardised Best Practice-Based Training Package, Toolkit and training of trainers, course were developed.
Data Collection and Updating of Outreach Map	AMFIU in collaboration with the Micro and Small Enterprise Policy Unit (MSEPU) of the Ministry of Finance to collect data on outreach to be utilised in the production of updated Maps as well as re-categorisation of MFIs in the Performance Monitoring System. This data to be fed into the policy framework.	• Data collected by MSEPU and AMPFIU with aid of GPS equipment but yet to be placed on the MOP website • An outreach digital map showing the outreach of micro finance services still being developed
Closure, Recovery and transfer of GOU credit funds	The Entandikwa Credit Secretariat (EGS) is responsible for three outputs: i) Reconcile and recover outstanding portfolio, ii) Divest the Entandikwa and Youth Entrepreneur Scheme (YES) credit schemes through sale or management contracts with MFIs and/or Non Performing Assets Recovery Trust, and iii) Transfer funds recovered to institutions providing sustainable credit, notably Microfinance Support Centre (MSC) Ltd or others. To be important step in making sure that the population is aware that there is no free money from government or donors.	• A survey was commissioned in July 2004 to establish the status of EGS with the following findings: • Starting March 1995, the EGS disbursed USh 9.924 billion to 45 districts through 113 intermediaries. • Ushs 282 million remitted to the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development • Ushs 133 million available on district accounts • Ushs 520 million recovered
MFI to MDI Upgrade scheme	To facilitate the upgrade of MFIs to Microfinance deposit taking Institutions aimed at: (i) Diversifying sources of funding; (ii) Decreasing reliance on donor funds; (iii) Increasing services/ Professional image to clients; (iv) Becoming more efficient and financially sound; and, (v) Gaining competitive advantage over non-regulated MFIs. The clients are to benefit through Savings services and Potential reduction in costs	• Microfinance Deposit Taking Institutions (MDI) bill became law in April 2003. FINCA was licensed by BOU in October 2004 while MOP has disbursed funds to UMU, Pride, Faulu and Uganda Finance Trust for transformation to MDI.
Promotion of Rural Business Culture	The objective is to create more knowledgeable, skilled and motivated rural clientele to enable them benefit from Microfinance activities. This is to involve training in literacy, numeracy and management to enforce the capacities of poor women and men to diversify and increase their incomes.	• Procurement process of management agency (contractor) to manage business culture commenced with Expression of Interest in 2005

Source : Annex PMA evaluation, Annex A final 2005-12-16

Pillar 5: Marketing and Agro-Processing MAP

A wide array of MAP initiatives is already occurring as components of a variety of interventions. Table 4.3 captures many of the major activities that have occurred or are still in process in this area. The interventions look at: the most effective way of collective actions by producers; improving transport and other rural infrastructure; development of a comprehensive policy, legal and regulatory framework; and better access to accurate and timely market information.

Table 4.3: Marketing and agro-processing strategy

Intervention	Justification and areas of public sector intervention
i. Effective collective action by producers	Smallholder producer groups and associations can achieve economies of scale and increased bargaining power by operating collectively in input and output markets. Collective action among traders can enhance access to international markets. Priorities for public intervention through PMA are to: • Develop the capacity of producer organisations to engage effectively in market transactions; • Provide support to farmers' enterprise selection and farmers' decision making, and; • Educate farmers to engage more effectively in the liberalised market environment.
ii. Improving the transport and other rural infrastructure.	Although there is a separate physical infrastructure pillar, MAPS considers that priority areas for public investment to improve market access for poor farmers, particularly in more remote areas are to: • Increase rural road investment, to better link farmers with markets; • Overcome other infrastructure shortcomings (e.g. expand the electricity grid and increase the efficiency of rail and air freight transport) [a] and; • Improve the efficiency of post-harvest technologies (including farm level storage).
iii. The development of a comprehensive policy, legal and regulatory framework.	*a. Trade policy*. Priority areas for public investment, specific strategies and interventions are to: • Develop a coherent position on key trade issues and constitute the Inter-Institutional Trade Committee (IITC), hosted by MTTI. • Improve government capacity to participate in regional and international trade negotiations. • Develop capacity to provide trade/market analysis, intelligence and strategies to identify competitive products, in particular regarding AGAO, EBA and COMESA trade opportunities. • Complete and implement a functional analysis of MTTI designed to suit its new responsibilities. *b. Legal matters and legislation*. There is a need to improve commercial contract law and associated procedures to make contract enforcement better suited to the needs of rural communities. Achieving this will be the responsibility of MTCS. *c. Agricultural commodity exchange (ACE) and warehouse receipt system (WRS)*. The Government is supporting the establishment of ACE and WRS as important interventions to enhance transparency and market efficiency and provide greater liquidity at the rural end of

	commodity supply chains. *d. Grade standards and quality*. Public agencies such as UNBS will be strengthened to draw up and enforce quality standards for imported inputs and agricultural produce exports, working in close partnership with the private sector to achieve this and encouraging self-regulation where appropriate. This will: generate incentives for traders and farmers to produce and market quality products; improve the usefulness of market information systems (MIS), and; underpin the functioning of a WRS and ACE. *e. Taxation*. MAPS recognises the need to review and reform the complex and burdensome local commodity, market, sales and transit taxes levied on agricultural produce. Research findings will be examined by the Local Government Finance Commission (LGFC), MoLG and PMA Secretariat.
iv. Better access to accurate and timely market information.	Objective, reliable, accessible and regular information on commodity prices is required in rural areas. Traders and agro-processors need an improved understanding of national and international agricultural marketing issues, access and trade agreements, analysis of areas of advantage, standards and traceability. This information should be made available through market chains and the work of UEPB and MAAIF. Small-scale market information systems (MIS) for rural areas have been piloted with the aim of nationwide expansion once sustainable systems have been developed. The long-term aim is for self-financing by the agricultural industry but, in the meantime, direct Government support or private sector partnerships will be required.

Note: a. MAPS recognises that MTCS is dealing with reducing air and rail transport costs, improving contract enforcement, etc.Source PMA, 2005

The nature of the marketing problem. Uganda partly as a land locked country has “chronic” marketing problems mainly due to: limited access to finance by many small traders, the small amounts that most farmers have to sell; and the high costs and availability of transport (PMA, 2005a). Within MTEF ceilings, PMA interventions are designed to gradually overcome these constraints. The market is often blamed for the inability to cope with sudden production surges caused by encouragement of farmers to diversify into, or expand production of, specific products without consideration of the whole value chain, the size of the final market, agro-processing capacity and the financing and risk costs involved.

Collective group action. Considerable emphasis is being placed on collective group action as a way of reducing transaction costs and increasing bargaining power. This effort may divert attention away from another important task, namely reducing the transaction costs of small traders and input stockists. Increasing their access to finance will enable them to buy larger quantities. Moreover, they are often in a better position to monitor seasonal loans to farmers than formal rural finance institutions, even if locally based.

Taxation. While there is some progress on most components of MAPS, there has been no progress on the issue of the impact of local agricultural produce taxes.

Target beneficiaries. The MAP strategy only states that the target beneficiaries are 'small-scale farmers'. Within this very broad group, actual benefits are likely to vary widely. For example, the criteria used for feeder road development and maintenance, the selection criteria used in providing marketing training to farmers' groups, the presence of agro-processing facilities in the locality, the farmer's ability to generate a marketable surplus, are just a few of the parameters that determine the actual beneficiaries within the farming community. Some of the components also target traders (e.g. ACE and WRS) although there should be indirect benefits for all those marketing produce through the new sources of finance that are mobilised.

<u>Pillar 6: Sustainable use of natural resources</u>

The current state of land tenure in Uganda poses problems without immediate answers. These problems emanate from the four land tenure systems in the country, namely, customary, freehold, mailo and leasehold. The concerns are that many poor farmers do not understand what their rights are legally to land, and this prevents them from investing in infrastructure, perennial crops and trees, or soil conservation technologies. Where people do understand their rights under law, they may have no faith in local judicial systems to enforce these. Secondly, women's rights to land are still highly disputed and attempts to address this have proved controversial and have not had sufficient political support to be adopted in law. A clause on co-ownership in the Land Act Amendment was dropped because of an inability to find a consensus position. There is no Conesus on various contentious issues on land reform. It is well known that land tenure is clearly important for the commercialisation of agriculture as it provides collateral for finance and allows larger scale production. The present system is difficult to consolidate the increasingly fragmented land-holdings. It is well known internationally that equitable access to land is a prerequisite for pro-poor growth in agriculture. From the preceding analysis, the medium-term impact of investment under PMA is likely to be constrained unless the land issue is addressed more expeditiously (PMA, 2005b). The poor or chronically poor for that matter happen to be the ones that are most affected. We can conclude that this Pillar is unlikely to achieve much in the direction of reducing chronic poverty unless pertinent sweeping reforms are implemented. Overall the PMA has failed in this regard.

The PMA core document suggests that Uganda should concentrate on the reconstruction of land records and the land registry in the medium term. There have been efforts to reform land laws; however, more problems crop up after these reforms.

The Land Act enacted in 1998, and, together with the Uganda constitution of 1995, define: land tenure systems, the processes by which land tenure can be registered and transferred, for example from customary ownership to freehold, and necessary structures at national and local levels, such as district offices, land tribunals and the Uganda Land Commission. It was later realised that implementing the Land Act was not feasible. The thinking on land legislation changed to major revisions. The Land Amendment Act was passed in March 2004, which contains new land regulations and guidelines. All other land laws are regarded as moribund, and UNDP has been assisting in the review of the Regulation of Titles Act, the Survey Act and the Land Acquisition Act. Local government has pushed for the revision of the Town and Country Planning Act, and a final draft of this was prepared, but it has hit a dead end over the institutional implications (PMA 2005a).

There is the Land Sector Strategy Plan (LSSP), (Adams and Aliber 2002) which is "designed to remove barriers to increased land utilisation, to broaden services to rural areas and customary land, to address inequality, tenure insecurity and inequitable systems and processes, to strengthen the land rights of the vulnerable and of women, to empower local governments and communities to make and implement their own policies and plans for their land, and to provide an appropriate and supportive framework for sound environmental and natural resource management." The Land Sector Strategy Plan (LSSP) addresses the need for a land policy, to define the range of formally recognised land rights, the distribution of those rights, and land use. This has propelled the process for putting in place a land policy. An integral part of this will be a land use policy. A draft land use policy was being finalised for presentation to Cabinet but has not yet been completed.

Pillar 7: Physical infrastructure

Expenditure on rural infrastructure projects accounts for 30%, which is the major share of overall PMA spending. The implementation of the physical infrastructure pillar is based on the original and updated ten-year Road Sector Development Programme (1996 and 2002, respectively). The strategy is sustainable maintenance of district urban and community access roads (October 2004) and the ten-year Energy for Rural Transformation Programme (PMA, 2004)

The development of rural roads was intended to be achieved through two major programmes. The District Roads Investment Programme (US$ 476million) and District, Urban and Community Access Roads (DUCAR) programme (US$ 577 million). Both are ten year programmes and should improve access to rural areas, enabling farmers to access markets for their produce, and building district capacities for road network planning and management. Maintenance of district roads is done through the use of private sector contractors. The major problems encountered include limited funds for maintenance of district and community roads, delayed transfers of funds from central government, which slow down progress of road maintenance and rehabilitation. It is also noted that MWHC is a reluctant partner in the PMA process, when contribution of roads is critical to the achievement of PMA objectives (PMA, 2005a). The linkage between MWHC and the PMA is weak and therefore needs to be strengthened. Since road maintenance has been decentralised and the MWHC restructured, local government should give priority to community access roads and district roads. Although under the Local Government Act, the responsibility of feeder roads falls under local government, most districts do not have adequate funds to address all their road maintenance needs. As presented in the PMA (2005b) the NSCG component spent on roads only provides modest inputs to on-going projects (e.g. culverts on feeder roads projects).

For rural energy there is the ten-year Energy for Rural Transformation (ERT) programme, which aims at increasing rural access to electricity from 1 % in 2002 to 10 % by 2012 using private sector led delivery mechanisms. The programme started implementing fourteen projects covering 10 districts of Uganda in FY 2003/04. ERT has strong linkages with agricultural production, therefore, it includes an agricultural component, which has implemented rural electrification projects in 3 rural trading centres of Kabarole district, and carried out sensitisation activities in 7 districts. Between 2002 and 2004, access to power in rural areas increased from 1 % to 3 %. There are strong challenges however including under-funding of the Rural Electrification Fund, and difficulties experienced in implementing the new private sector-led approach to rural electrification (PMA annual report 2003/04).

4.4 What do groups representing the chronically poor believe to be the most important aspects of such policy commitments?

PMA

As indicated earlier, the PMA does not specifically target any group. It is a general framework that uses different government ministries and agencies with a common view to reduce poverty. There are almost no groups solely representing the chronically poor or if they are present, they are too weak to be noticed. Instead it is government institutions like the National Council for children, NGO advocacy work, e.g., Uganda debt network etc that critically look at government programmes and budget allocations visa vis provision of social services. With respect to the PMA pillars, a few organisations would act as close proxies of groups representing the chronically poor. Uganda Land Alliance has extensively researched and published on land issues and their argument is that there is need to reform land laws to cater for the landless and the rights of women, especially to be considered by whatever legislation is put in place. Basically they have championed the cause of the landless. Their view was that if land issues were resolved it would enable the chronically poor access land for cultivation, but as will be shown later, the land question has even become more complicated requiring further legislation dominated by an atmosphere of a lack of consensus.

Inevitably, all aspects of such policy commitments are essential for the chronically poor especially with regard to the poor accessing the basic assets to move out poverty. However due to the lack of targeting element in the PMA design it becomes difficult to come up with some of its policy aspects as being more important than others with respect to the chronically poor. Almost all the pillars as discussed above are quite crucial to poverty reduction because they are complementary in nature with regard to their potential to poverty eradication. Overall, all aspects of the PMA commitments are important to poverty reduction.

Land

In principle Uganda does not have groups solely representing the chronically poor, and the same holds in relation to land. However, there is the Uganda Land Alliance[17], the main NGO that sensitizes the people on land issues and on several occasions mediates in land wrangles, and also a wide range of women activists and movements that have sought to influence the land acts and policies towards a stronger focus on gender equity. The pressure applied by women's movements – and the fact that the President was keen to assure them an important role within the drafting of the 1995 Constitution – were critical to the focus on gender equity in the land proposals (Tripp 2004). Women activists have also been strongly critical regarding the Missing Amendment, which perhaps goes down as the women's movement's most significant policy failure given the level of political energy expended on it (Hickey 2005).[18]

The Uganda Land Alliance has identified two aspects that are of great importance to women's land rights:

"*The consent provision under Section 39(Land Act 1998) imposes restrictions on sale, mortgage and transfer of land by spouses and any other transactions on land upon which the family lives and derives sustenance without express consent of the resident spouse(s) before undertaking any transaction. The act stipulates further that consent*

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[17] The Uganda Land Alliance (ULA) is a consortium of organizations and individuals advocating for fair land laws and policies.

[18] However, it is also the case that the women's movement has such close links to the regime – in part through the granting of quota seats to women in parliament – that their independence has been questioned (Goetz and Hassim 2003).

should not be withheld unreasonably by the spouse entitled to give consent to the land in question".

This implies that the consent clause although useful in the prevention of sale of family land by a spouse without the consent of the other, does not accord ownership rights to land. It only gives the power to approve or disapprove. Hence, it does not mean that women own land rights by virtue of their husbands owning land.

Section 38A of the land act guarantees spouses security of occupancy which means the right to access and live on the land, to use family land and give or withhold consent to transactions that affect the spouse's right on the land. Security of tenure means the right to and use of land and property is underwritten by a known set of rules, and that this right is justifiable. Security of tenure refers to the legal provisions that allow an individual or group of individuals to occupy and use land. It involves an individual or group to have access to land and residential property, which is governed by legal and administrative frameworks. The Uganda land Alliance believes that if all Ugandans, especially the marginalised groups, of which women are inclusive, had security of tenure, they would have a better life.

However, studies undertaken by the Uganda Land Alliance, observe that women have very little or no access to land. They are unable to control the income from their farming activities and to make decisions on land use. They also still lack inheritance rights. Women are unable to prevent sales of land by men (who may be their spouses or even sons). Their access to land is in the hands of their husbands. In addition the high illiteracy rates adversely affect women's security of tenure as most of them are made to sign a document without knowing that they are signing away their homes. The patriarchal tendencies (male dominance) tend to hinder women's security of tenure.

Therefore in conclusion the consent provision and security of tenure are the most important aspects that should be clearly defined in all land reforms. To alleviate poverty among women, consent on sale, transfer or usage of land should be a collective decision by both the husband and wife. Security of tenure will guarantee uninterrupted land usage for women hence a constant means of production that will lead to reduction in poverty levels. These good provisions have not fully translated into reality due to cultural and customary encumbrances.

4.5 What has blocked implementation?

PMA

It is difficult first of all to out rightly point out whether implementation has been blocked or not. What is true is that implementation has not been as smooth as intended. Out of the seven pillars perhaps, only two have effectively taken off (NAADS and infrastructure). Secondly it is debatable to apportion blame to different factors as to why implementation has not been smooth. There have been issues of low rates of disbursement of funds from the government and donor agencies, which are discussed later. The PMA framework has many agencies running independently with serious problems. However, what has attracted attention in the policy arena is the fiscal decentralisation strategy in implementing government poverty reduction programmes. These programmes are supposed to be co-funded with the district providing 10 % of the project funds. Districts are not able to raise this money especially after the temporal removal of graduated tax that contributed up to 70 % of the locally raised revenue. Bahiigwa *et al* (2005) argue that the PMA has the right target (the poor or chronically poor) but uses the wrong mechanism (decentralisation) to reduce poverty. They qualify their line of thinking by dismissing the lack of pro-poor priority setting approach in allocating the NSCG funds by local officials and politicians. The poor are excluded from benefiting from the PMA projects owing to the existing skewed disfavouring power relationships. For purposes of their political careers politicians prefer to invest in projects that will yield immediate tangible results. Discussions by the evaluation team (PMA, 2005a) with district and sub-county officials indicated that, given the chance, local politicians tend to prioritize resources towards ‘tangible’ investments (schools, roads etc), rather than to ‘productive activities’ The implication is that community participation in decision-making processes as a means of improving transparency and accountability in the use of funds is still weak and may not deliver.

A study was conducted to critically examine the institutional framework of the PMA vis-à-vis the delivery of intended services towards poverty reduction ((MFPED). They concluded that although in general there seems to be adequate institutional structures to facilitate the process of agricultural commercialisation, there are number of interrelated weaknesses/ constraints. These constraints mainly include: inappropriate or weak functional linkages; inherently poor coordination in planning and programme implementation; and lack of adequate facilitation and manpower.

There is lack of coordination in the implementation of government programmes, especially in the agricultural related sectors, for the PMA implementation. Individual ministries, government departments and other partners tend to work along sectoral lines, yet most programmes require inter-sectoral coordination. There is lack of shared views and perceptions among the key implementing agencies in Government, NGOs and the private sector. This is the case when the stakeholder representation on steering committees and other bodies specifically established for the implementation of the PMA is of a mixed nature.

Although the mandates and functions of various public and private institutions involved in the process of agricultural production, processing and marketing, activities are complementary or supplementary, the functional linkages with and among them tend to be too weak to facilitate their functioning. As an example, the UNCST responsible for coordinating research in science and technology has limited knowledge of who is doing research in what or where, to be able to provide appropriate policy guidance to government.

It was noted that most public institutions have limited manpower and logistical capacity to undertake their statutory roles anticipated under the PMA. The UNCST and UNBS are understaffed and have limited logistical capacity to undertake activities outside their head office.

Public institutions tend to be under-funded, making it difficult to conduct their responsibilities. Most government departments depend entirely on small budgets from Government, which are overstretched to include PMA activities. The UNCST remains constrained in developing and maintaining an information database, providing advisory services to and regulating the research activities in industry, agriculture, and other sectors.

Land

“That the schedule (for passing the Land Act) was so tight may perhaps explain help explain the failure of civil servants to develop a detailed budget for either the start-up activities or the recurrent implementation costs of the Act before it was passed. Alternatively, detailed budgeting may have been postponed for political reasons (namely from fear that this would scupper the act)” (Hunt 2004: 187).

There are a number of factors that have hindered implementation of the Land Act in relation to Women’s land rights, some of which relate to implementation issues at the local level, others in relation to more embedded problems within the Act itself. The most straightforward explanation is simply financial. Estimates of the implementation costs in 1999 revealed that costs were likely to be at least 400% in excess of the preliminary budget allocations (Uganda Government 1999: 5.4-5.9, as cited in Hunt 2004: 187).

The following more specific policy concerns were highlighted by the Uganda Land Alliance in one of its Land Policy Brief publications[19] and the presentation is a summary form.

Affirmative action was not applied to District Land tribunals to provide for women representation

The District land Tribunals, which have as one of their responsibilities the handling of disputes on the land and located at the lowest level of policy implementation, have no requirement by law to have women on the land tribunals. The lack of women implies lack of representation. This may therefore hinder women's access to justice especially in a male dominated tribunal.

Conflict between law and customary norms

While the land law outlaws customary practices and norms that discriminate against women, there is normally a very big gap between the law and practice. Women still face challenges when they lose their husbands. Wife inheritance is believed to be a mechanism to preserve property like land and when a woman refuses to be inherited, she is thrown out off the land. In the wake of HIV/AIDS pandemic, women's rights to land need to be recognised and protected.

Consent clause not enforceable:

The pertinent question is where does the spouse who is not registered on the land derive his or her mandate to give or deny consent? The consent clause does not accord ownership rights to land but only power to approve or disapprove. Withholding sometimes results in physical abuse. Traditional and societal beliefs take land as a man's domain, taking women as property in the home and who therefore cannot own land.

The cost of claiming legal land rights

Women are often over-represented amongst those lacking the resources and capacities to fight for their rights. Poor women may not pursue legal claims due to the associated costs and lack of simplified procedures. There are cases where women would be required to sell part of the land to be able to cover legal costs and in the process loosing more property. In such cases it becomes practically impossible to realize the provisions of good statutory legislations.

[19] Land Policy Brief: Women Demand Recognition and Protection of their Land Rights - January 2006

Women land rights not recognised in land reform processes

Women in some parts of the country continue to suffer from the inequitable allocation and re-allocation processes of land, after the government declares their land a game reserve, game park or a wet land for preservation. Some of those who owned land are now completely landless. Communities are not allowed to cultivate the land and wetlands; park rangers harass them and deny them access.

Commercialisation of agriculture

Uganda has in the recent past gradually promoted transformation of subsistence agriculture into commercial agriculture. This has not come without costs. Commercial agriculture requires large pieces of land and the tendency is for the poor to sell land to investors to meet other domestic demands, rendering the women and children landless.

Legal and regulatory framework

In addition to the above there are general challenges that have made it difficult to implement the Land Act in the country. According to Uganda Land Alliance Report on challenges to district land boards[20] the following were identified as challenges that limit the effective implementation of activities related to land issues in the districts[21] studied.

Weaknesses and contradictions in the law

The concept of ‘bona fide’ occupants in Section 30 of the Land Act was designed to protect the rights of tenants who were sitting on registered land in three categories of:

- Those who bought the land from the registered owner;
- Those who were historically sitting on the land by the consent of the registered owner;
- Those settled on registered land by government institutions regardless of the period of settlement; and
- Those who had been sitting on registered land without the challenge of the registered owner for 12 years between 1983 and 1995

[20] Challenges to District land Boards in the first five years of their existence; Reviewing the District Land Boards edited by Rose Mwebaza and Dr. Abby Sebina Ziwa.

[21] Kapchorwa, Mbale, Kibale, Kampala, Luweero and Apac districts

The proportions of the tenants that falls under each of category is first of all unclear. As a result many tenants have no legal support to qualify for either category. Because it is stated that land belongs to the people, many internal migrants just settle anywhere and begin counting the 12 years and use land. This has created a new group of errant tenants who begin to claim rights on already registered land. Landlords have found these provisions to be unfair and oppressive and in favour of squatters. This presents a potentially explosive situation for the future.

Institutional gaps

It was initially intended that land management is decentralised so that districts handle titling. The decentralised land registration systems are not yet fully effective. Details pertaining to the work to be performed by the boards are still with the central land registry and former regional land offices. The central registry still issues titles. This depicts the institutional failures of the whole process. Land committees, which were meant to assist the land boards, are yet to be established. In this case Land Boards rely on Local Councils or perform the functions of the Area land Committees by visiting cites themselves. This further complicates the operations of the institutions.

Corruption: This includes outright bribery of members to take a decision in one's favour, political meddling, and intentional delays to induce the applicant to offer money in exchange for service. There are cases of board members demanding money before consideration of applications. Corruption in this case undermines effective and equitable service.

Lack of adequate infrastructural facilities: The district councils have never readily allocated office space or equipment. Many boards had to wait for years before they were accorded equipment through the poverty alleviation fund (PAF).

Summary

The Land Act of 1998 clearly stipulates the functions and role of the various institutions in management and distribution of land. The Uganda Land Commission is already in existence and so are the District tribunals and boards (not in the newly created 20 districts). However, few districts have area land committees and those in existence are not functioning. This has led to the district boards handling cases from the grassroots, which would have been handled by the sub county/urban committees. The poor have found it difficult and expensive to forward land related cases to the boards and courts of law, hence, thereby failing to have access to or losing land that is a major factor for production especially in the rural areas.

Other factors i.e. contradictions in the law (bonafide occupants), institutional gaps and structural limitations (corruption, inadequate infrastructural facilities and non-remuneration of staff) have led to non-implementation of the Land Act and other land related policies. Traditional norms e.g., patriarchal tendencies (male dominance) are still strongly existent in the communities. Women have failed to or lost access to land as a result of their husbands' decisions on selling or transferring land without their (women) consent. This creates insecurity of tenure for women, thus, failure to set-up long time projects that aim at alleviating poverty.

5 How much of what is expected in terms of tangible implementation actually occurs? [22]

5.1 What is prioritized for spending/ action, and what isn't and why?

The analysis in this section is based on what the evaluation team (PMA) established when reviewing resource allocation to the PMA, with the view to find out to what extent the budget process (MTEF) influences the prioritisation of PMA activities, and issues relating to financial management of the PMA. The typical problem of the PMA framework is the lack of clear borderline between what is PMA-relevant and what is not. The analysis includes budget and actual PMA expenditure implemented through 12 government agencies, as well as district expenditure on NAADS and transfers to local government (e.g. NSCG). The analysis covers budget and expenditure data over the three years, FY 2001/02 – 2003/04.

The analysis shows that for FY 2001/02 and FY 2002/03, 11 % of total Government of Uganda expenditure was allocated to PMA activities. This slightly dropped to 10 % (Ush 270bn) in FY 2003/04. The share of MAAIF and NARO alone within total Government of Uganda spending increased from 3.2 to 3.8 % between 2001/02 2002/03, falling to 2.6 % in 2003/04. In this same period, PMA projects and spending under the PAF together account for 90 % of total PMA expenditures. Spending through NAADS and the Local Government Development Programme provide a small but increasing share of PMA spending. This is partly because NAADS as PMA pillar has effectively taken off. Over the same period the PAF, which accounts for around one-third of Government of Uganda discretionary spending, allocated 12 % of its funds to PMA activities - down from 14 % in FY 2001/02.

[22] This section and the following one are limited to a focus on the PMA due to lack of information on the Land Act in relation to these headings. For example, there is no monitoring and evaluation system for the land act and little effort has been made as yet to trace its impact on poverty. Issues of delivery and the views of CP representatives have been dealt with (as far as possible) in Sections 3 and 4.

Table 5.1: Breakdown of PMA spending, actual Ush bn

	Actual expenditure				
	2001/02	**2002/03**	**2003/04**	**Total 3yrs**	**Share 3yrs**
MAAIF & NARO recurrent (actual)	5.5	6.6	6.6	18.7	2.4%
PMA relevant projects (actual)	159.5	174.1	163.0	496.6	64.7%
NAADS districts	2.4	5.5	9.0	16.9	2.2%
LGDP	11.2	10.6	16.3	38.1	5.0%
Other PAF, not included above	59.7	62.6	75.4	197.7	25.7%
Total	**238.4**	**259.4**	**270.3**	**768.0**	100.0%

Source: Project expenditure database / Background to the Budget (MoFPED)

Since the PMA is meant to be an integrated framework for poverty reduction, it is important to analyse the expenditure patterns among the seven pillars. Analysis by PMA pillars shows that just three pillars account for 75 % of PMA project expenditure, where infrastructure takes 30 %, extension 29 %, and natural resource management 17%. This disproportionate nature of expenditure among the PMA pillars has much to do with the inability of the framework to reduce poverty successful as intended. Spending on the agricultural marketing pillar appears low at 0.4 %, although this pillar is supported through spending on rural infrastructure (especially roads) and through spending on policy and institutional reforms, including regulation and standards. Spending on the agricultural finance pillar is also low at 1.3 % and this pillar has attracted criticisms of lack of progress. The rollout of the Micro finance Outreach Plan (MOP), the principal implementing vehicle for this pillar, has been slow due to limited funding. Although government has a new programme to extend micro-finance to individuals, this is still at policy formulation stage. While support to this pillar may benefit from increased investment, for example through capacity building and loan guarantee funds targeted towards small farmers, more fundamental questions remain to be addressed over the role of this pillar in effectively achieving PMA objectives. This is because lending is not attractive to agriculture.

Table 5.2: PMA spending by pillar, Ush million

	Budget				Actual			
	2001/02	**2002/03**	**2003/04**	**Total**	**2001/02**	**2002/03**	**2003/04**	**Total**
1. Research & technology	33,384	32,030	26,745	**92,159**	17,460	20,907	13,018	**51,385**
2. Agric. advisory services	101,760	109,327	73,275	**284,363**	52,788	51,987	37,288	**142,063**
3. Rural finance	9,976	7,849	8,675	**26,499**	2,252	2,156	1,822	**6,229**
4. Agro-processing & mkt	5,069	2,487	7,006	**14,563**	450	313	1,231	**1,994**
5. Agricultural education	6,695	5,222	7,046	**18,963**	2,458	5,054	6,006	**13,517**
6. Natural resource mgt.	49,048	45,053	49,382	**143,483**	23,185	24,199	35,420	**82,804**
7. Infrastructure	82,584	88,487	106,257	**277,328**	41,724	51,607	55,909	**149,239**
Other - policy & instit. reforms	25,777	18,949	19,329	**64,055**	19,222	17,854	12,305	**49,382**
TOTAL	**314,293**	**309,404**	**297,715**	**921,413**	**159,539**	**174,076**	**162,998**	**496,613**

Source: Project expenditure database / Public Investment Plan (MoFPED)

Note: table excludes NAADS and LGDP

Table 5.3 shows disbursement rates on PMA projects, which can give insight into implementation of activities. As can be seen, the expenditure on PMA projects by 2004 was significantly lower at 54% than the approved budget for PMA-relevant projects over the three-year period at Ush 921.4bn, compared to actual expenditure of Ush 496.6bn. In real terms, it implies that just slightly half the activities intended were conducted during this period. Therefore the failure of the PMA to achieve its overall goal of poverty reduction is partly due to low disbursement rates.

When we consider disbursement by pillars, it is noticeable that the highest level of disbursement is for policy and institutional reforms at 77%. The lowest disbursement rates are in the marketing (14%) and rural finance (24%) pillars. It is not surprising therefore that access to rural finance for poverty reduction remains a nightmare at policy level especially with regard to constituting the most effective and efficient way of doing it. That is why in Uganda, past efforts to extend credit to rural households have miserably failed (Rural Farmers Scheme and the Entandikea scheme) with very high default rates.

When this is contrasted with the disbursement rates of the funding agencies it is observed that they have on average high rates (77 %) than at project level. What is noticed is the lack of consistence among the funding agencies because the variability is very high. The disbursement rates vary from the lowest 18 % to the highest 143 %. Disbursements rates by donors vary from over 120 % (Germany, UK) - implying some flexibility within the MTEF framework - to disbursement rates of below 40 % (IFAD, ADF, GEF) implying no room for flexibility. It should also be borne in mind that the funding is pegged to certain activities in which case switching funds from one project to another is prohibited implying that projects whose disbursement rates are low from donors are likely to stall and have poor performance

Table 5.3: Disbursement rates on PMA projects (actual / budget expenditure, FY 2001/02 – 2003/04)

Implementing Agency	Disbursement Rate. (%)	**PMA pillar**	Disbursement Rate (%)	. **Funding Agency**	Disbursement Rate(%)
MAAIF	51	Research & technology devt	56	GoU	72
MWLE	58	Agricultural advisory services	50	IDA	44
MWH	70	Rural finance	24	EU	94
NARO	56	Agro-processing & marketing	14	ADF	34
OPM	26	Agricultural education	71	UK	129
MTTI	61	Natural resource management	58	DENARK	40
MOLG	39	Infrastructure	54	USA	67
MEMD	10	Other - institutional & policy reform	77	GERMANY	143
MOES	69			IFAD	22
MOH	92			GEF	31
MOFPED	74			NORWAY	70
MGLSD	79			OTHERS	18
	54		54		77

Source: Evaluation report Notes: (ADF = Africa Development Foundation, GEF = Global Environment Facility

Table 5.4: Funding sources for PMA projects (PMA project spending, 2001/02 - 2003/04)

Funding source	Budget	Actual	Share of actual	Disbursement. Rate
GoU	352,293	255,178	46.3%	72.4%
IDA	164,431	72,514	13.1%	44.1%
EU	66,653	62,557	11.3%	93.9%
ADF	112,567	38,520	7.0%	34.2%
UK	26,735	34,536	6.3%	129.2%
DENMARK	54,175	21,626	3.9%	39.9%
USA	28,687	19,232	3.5%	67.0%
GERMANY	6,849	9,779	1.8%	142.8%
IFAD	39,335	8,625	1.6%	21.9%
GEF	25,608	7,813	1.4%	30.5%
NORWAY	8,273	5,804	1.1%	70.2%
Others	88,024	15,468	2.8%	17.6%
TOTAL	**973,630**	**551,652**	**100.0%**	**56.7%**

Source: Project expenditure database / Public Investment Plan (MoFPED)

Note: ADF (Africa Development Foundation); GEF (Global Environment Facility)

The evaluation team (PMA, 2005b) observed that there was no mechanism to ensure that PMA priorities are adequately captured within the budget process. This is because at the start of the budget process guidelines are prepared by MFPED to guide Sector Working Groups (SWG) in the preparation of their Sector Budget Framework Papers (SBFP). Since PMA does not constitute a Sector Working Group it is the PMA Steering Committee that recommends PMA priorities to the different SWGs to consider for inclusion within their SBFPs. It is noted that, SWGs or line ministries are not compelled to comply with these recommendations. A review conducted by the Steering Committee to assess whether the SBFPs incorporates the PMA priorities established that it did not conform to the Guidelines for the Budget Process 2005/06 and that several line ministries and agencies were not fully aware of the PMA undertakings. Initially some line ministries thought that prioritising PMA activities within their budgets would result in additional funding which was not the case. The evaluation concluded that there is little (if any) incentive for line ministries to prioritize PMA activities over and above their core programmes. This is because some line ministries complain that, within MTEF ceilings, they are only able to include PMA priorities by sacrificing ‘their own’ programmes – an action that few ministries are willing to consider.

5.2 What evidence is there that things are changing due to the trickle down of policy?

It is empirically difficult to point out trickle down effect of a policy because several policies may be responsible for the outcome. In the first instance the PMA implementation is still grappling to take off (some of the pillars) so that tracking trickle down effect is impracticable. The Uganda Bureau of Statistics collects and analyses data on service delivery periodically. This could be a valuable source of data for evidence purposes, although as pointed out earlier, attribution issues arise. For certain it is difficult to say that the improvement in the service delivery is exclusively as a result of the PMA implementation. Poverty in Uganda has reduced to 31 %. There is an ongoing debate as to what is responsible for this fall between 2002 and 2005. One school of thought has attributed the decline to the impact of NAADS activities in which case this is the PMA. It is early to speculate though.

5.3 Is there any Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E)?

There is a PMA M&E framework in place that conforms to poverty monitoring and eradication strategy. The PMA core document proposed monitoring that falls under four broad areas, namely implementation of the PMA activities, performance of the agricultural sector, the consistency with the PMA principles and framework, and impact on poverty reduction. On poverty reduction the PMA core document is particular about monitoring the impact and outcomes of broad interventions across sectors and districts on poverty in the long term if the PMA is to achieve its goals of agricultural transformation and poverty reduction by the year 2017. It was designed in such a way that the Poverty Monitoring Unit in the MFPED would provide the indicators to be monitored and to link it with relevant institutions. The actual PMA M&E framework defines the overall monitoring process for poverty eradication. The framework concerns itself with a whole chain of conditions that are the means of achieving the objectives of a poverty reduction policy including the tracking of financial and other inputs and monitoring of resulting immediate outputs as stipulated in the poverty monitoring and eradication strategy. The PMA M&E framework adopts the five levels of poverty monitoring as specified in the Poverty Monitoring and Evaluation Strategy, 2000 and these are; intermediate outcomes, outputs, processes and inputs and impacts. The framework cuts across the PMA pillars as presented in the structural and institutional arrangement. There has been continuous Monitoring and Evaluation of the PMA leading to production of periodic reports.

The government recognised gaps in the entire monitoring and evaluation practice and therefore came up with an integrated strategy called the National Integrated M&E Strategy (NIMES) that has been responsible for revising the PEAP monitoring strategy. It is responsible for investigating the trends and patterns in the share of benefits of government policies and programmes. It was expected that this would enhance better gauging of the impact of the PMA on the transitory poor and chronically poor people.

5.4 Does anyone know what is or is not being delivered/enforced?

There are practical difficulties associated with knowing what is being delivered/enforced or what is not. The information in section 4.3 and 6.1 partly gives an indication as to what is being delivered/enforced and what is not. A report by Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (2003) shows the difficulty involved in the process of M&E of the PMA. It gives the status of implementation of the PMA M&E framework indicators. It shows that there were 165 indicators for M&E in 2003. Out of these 32 % of them did not have data in the framework and there was partial or full data for the remaining 68 % of the indicators. In addition some indicators needed splitting for ease of M&E. Data was available for 82 % of the input type of indictors, 61 % output type indicators, 87 % process type indicators, 53 % intermediate outcome type and 33 % final outcome type indicators. Although the report argues that this was commendable progress in M&E, there are still a lot of ambiguities with some of the indictors and some stakeholders have proposed new indicators to replace those in the framework. Some implementing agencies still needed to be sensitized on the levels of monitoring and the ability to monitor them. In addition it was becoming clear that some of the initial indictors were obsolete with argent need to replace them. Data did not exist for those indicators that require surveys and have not been included in the traditional household or national service delivery surveys. Although, most of the stakeholders were aware of the framework and steps had been taken to assign specific officers to be responsible for keeping data on PMA related indicators, the mechanism for intra-ministerial intra-agency coordination were found to be poor in nearly all institutions. In some cases, stakeholders were not keeping data on some of the indicators because the data was not relevant for their own use. There was lack of integration of the data storage and management across various departments of the agencies. This shows that the PMA has still a long way to go to demonstrate through M&E that it is achieving its objectives. As a matter of fact it is difficult to empirically argue that PMA is reducing poverty due to lack of a systematic method of proving that.

In spite of the difficulties discussed above, there are quarterly and annual reports that detail the state of the implementation of the PMA objectives. These periodic reports outline the progress pointing out huddles in the implementations.

5.5 What do representatives of chronically poor groups think about the record on implementation?

There are probably no organised groups of the chronically poor people in Uganda who are aware of the PMA. Besides the PMA neither does nor specifically targets chronically poor people. The last National Service Delivery Survey (2005) shows an astounding 40 % of district policy makes who did not know the PMA concept. There is an ongoing debate in both the academia and policy arena as to whether the PMA is any relevant anymore. Some have described it as a white elephant.

Evaluation team (PMA, 2005b) reports that

" Considerable confusion has arisen because of the name, PMA. One stakeholder said that, *“PMA is not a plan, it is not about modernisation and it is not just about agriculture*”. That the PMA core document defines and uses several terms in confusing way. It is not always clear as to what it means by ‘commercialisation’, and even less so by ‘modernisation’. The ‘private sector’ is used to include farmers, whereas many Ugandans would take this to mean commercial businesses. The poorest level of farmers is referred to as ‘subsistence’ farmers, yet most farmers within this group have strong, if intermittent, linkages with markets. ‘Modernisation’ is not clearly defined, but seems to mean increased integration into markets, and the use of improved seeds and technologies".

There is also considerable growing scepticism about the multi-sectoral nature of PMA, both from parliamentarians and NGOs. This is made worse by the inability, so far, for PMA to properly exploit the potential synergies from the different pillars. There is concern that important sub-sectors in agriculture, particularly livestock and fisheries, appear to have been neglected in the plan. The scepticism is accentuated by the fact that although there are five main areas of constraints faced by subsistence farmers identified at different points in the PMA core document, that is, natural environment aspects; access to finance to address both food security issues and the financing of improved technological approaches; physical infrastructure; human capital, and; weak social capital in the aspects of accountability and transparency, five years after the start of implementation these constraints still hold. In addition, two further constraints have not been addressed namely, access to land, and vulnerability to market volatility. Overall the record of the PMA is far from addressing the issues it set to tackle from the very beginning and the increasing level of criticism is worrying, making the future of the PMA unpredictable as a poverty eradication framework.

6 Is there any evidence that implementation is delivering outcome/impact improvements?

6.1 Can improvements be directly traced back to a particular policy or are they the result of more generalised policy effort around poverty issues?

There is no objective baseline data that can be used to gauge the impact of the implementation of the PMA. As alluded to, although an M&E system does exist, and the programme has also suffered from data gaps. Therefore, empirically establishing causal relationships between improvement and the implementation of the PMA is not possible. Further more the PMA implementation is at the institutional level and many of the Pillars are yet to rollout to the entire country rendering impact assessment useless. Below are some few examples of what is on the ground.

Selected cases of impact assessment

Oxford Policy Management, conducted a tentative impact assessment in September 2005 to evaluate the performance of the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture.[23] The evaluation team concluded that The PMA had been under implementation for just over four years, which was a short time over which to measure impact, particularly when the ultimate objective is poverty reduction. The envisaged pathway to poverty impact includes delivery of services and public goods to improve agricultural practices increase yields and outputs thereby creating surpluses, which can be marketed to improve incomes and livelihoods. The evaluation conducted brings evidence to bear on the

[23] Oxford Policy Management, September (2005) Evaluation of the Plan for Modernization of Agriculture

different stages in this scenario from a number of sources in order to assess impact or the potential for impact. The sources used include, primary sources collected as part of the evaluation, a small household survey, focus group discussions and key informant interviews, a number of surveys undertaken on NAADS surveys and case studies undertaken by government and NGOs.

For purposes of chronic poverty, the information is also used to assess whether any particular groups of the population, women farmers, youths, HIV/AIDS affected households or the very poor, are benefiting from the services delivered, and why. Little exists in the form of baseline data against which to measure progress. There were retrospective baseline studies carried out in a number of districts in 2004 (Arua, Kabarole, Lira and Soroti) and these contain some information recall data, but this is not systematic enough. This makes attribution difficult in terms impact assessments especially because of the nature of weak evidence. The evaluation did not attempt to attribute changes in production or marketed output shown by the household survey because the data were insufficiently robust.

Incidence of service delivery

As part of the evaluation a household survey was undertaken in sub-counties in Arua, Moyo, Kasese and Kabarole. It investigated how many households were involved in various service activities. Membership of farmer groups was investigated first, as many of these activities are centred around group activity. Overall, where districts have had NAADS, there was a marked improvement in access to technology, through advisory services, demonstration sites, or increased access to improved seeds and livestock. Other pillars did not appear to have any major presence on the ground, though the improvement in roads should be having a knock-on effect on marketing. Although women were more likely to be members of farmer groups, they were less likely to receive extension services or visit demonstration plots.

Yield and production changes

The NAADS mid term evaluation survey showed significant increases in yield on the demonstrations sites run by NAADS over average national yields. These varied from 53 % in matooke to 253 % in groundnut. In a related way an IFPRI study using a module of the National Household Survey showed that between 1999 and 2003 participation in NAADS was associated with an increase in value of crop production per acre of 15 %. This is attributed to the promotion of high value crops, since the data showed no significant change in land management practices, or input use. On the contrary, most farmers felt that their production of crops had either stayed the same or decreased. For livestock, almost all categories of livestock production showed increase. It is important to note that inadequate land was given as the most important reason as to why production levels stayed the same.

Changes in marketed output

There is little systematic information on levels of marketed output. What clearly comes out from the household about marketed output by crop is that where production had increased, this was likely to result in increased sales. More households increased their sales of traditional food crops (matooke, maize, beans, groundnuts, cassava) and of livestock (particularly chickens and goats) than of other crops. The survey demonstrated that although most farmers were remaining with crops they understand, and are suitable for home consumption, they were taking advantage of buoyant market conditions to market surpluses.

Who is benefiting from service delivery and the NSCG?

Analysis of the household survey was done to determine whether there was bias or systematic exclusion of particular groups from the delivery of services. Membership of a farmer group was used as a proxy for ability to receive public goods and services. Results demonstrated that poorer farmers are more likely than other farmers, in three of the four districts included, to be members of farmer groups, and were also more likely to have received advisory services through these groups, though not as individuals. The exception to this is Kabarole. The numbers of households affected by HIV/AIDS in the survey were small and there is no clear evidence that they are excluded from farmer groups, though the data did not allow any differentiation between groups, which were composed entirely of HIV/AIDS affected and others. Farmers are less likely to belong to farmer groups if they farm less than 2 acres of land. Farmers who live in more remote areas are less likely to belong to farmer groups than others. These dimensions point to the fact that the chronically poor are likely to be more excluded than the non chronically poor, since the former has less land and they live in remote rural areas.

A related study by Oxfam GB and FOWODE in Luwero showed that the majority of NAADS participants were subsistence farmers producing mainly for their own consumption, and that women were well represented in the groups. The studies however raise concerns that widows, the least educated and the elderly were deliberately excluded. In field visits the team came across a wide variety of women's farmer groups, NAADS and non-NAADS. They varied from groups that were dominated by relatively well off women to others which included a significant number of widows and a few elderly women. The composition of groups varies by district and sub-county.

The Oxfam study also asked to what extent women in particular could benefit from membership of NAADS, and if there were constraints which prevented their full participation. Group members indicated that it was difficult to benefit from NAADS unless you had access to capital, either your own, or borrowed. Enterprises were regarded as risky, and for an example they gave dairy enterprise.

Changes in well-being

The evaluation study concluded that there was very limited information from the household study on effects of the PMA on household incomes. This is because the survey did not include quantitative questions. Nevertheless, respondents were asked if their income from different sources had changed over the five-year period. Findings revealed that income from livestock had most likely increased. Where food crop and cash crop income had increased, the most common reasons given were better practices, improved inputs and good market demand. On the other hand, reductions in income were most commonly a result of drought, pest and reduction in soil fertility. During the study focus group discussions were conducted on issues of changes in well-being and members of the farmers group indicated that they had moved up, usually from ‘very poor’ to ‘poor’, but in some cases even to ‘better off’.

7 Finally, what are the implications for the PRS?

This section begins with specific recommendations for each policy area before broadening out the discussion regarding the ways forward for the PEAP in Uganda and the PRS experiment more broadly.

7.1 PMA

The PMA does not (in the first instance at least) target the chronically poor. To an extent, it is aimed more clearly at development and structural transformation over the long-run rather than poverty reduction per se. This creates a difficulty in analysing its impact on chronic poverty. That aside, design problems and issues of institutional responsibility, alongside policy gaps, have made it very difficult to ensure the implementation of the numerous PMA pillars. The following list of issues regarding implementation is drawn from an evaluation of the policy constrains that was commissioned by the PMA.

There is lack of a National Agricultural Policy to develop agriculture in Uganda. The Agricultural sector is run through programmes and plans such as PMA, which have a definite life span. The effect of this is lack of continuity once the programme ends.

The provision of rural financial services is constrained by a number of bottlenecks, especially to smallholder farmers and rural based enterprises. The structure and operational framework of Uganda’s financial sector indicates that MFI services appear not to be accessible to most smallholder farmers because of, among others, the following:

- High interest rates for farmers yet the rate of return on farm investment is low;

- MFIs offer short grace period to recover the loans, which is not economically compatible with the seasonal production cycle;

- The risks involved in the farming business are very high, and financial institutions do not recognise them;

- Low prices and poor marketing of produce make the demand for rural finance limited. The harvest seasons attract low prices and the farmers have no mechanisms to cushion them from these unfavourable terms; and

- Farmers lack assets to use as collateral, which is critical in accessing credit. Rural land is not attractive to many MFIs because it is difficult to convert into cash.

There is lack of a comprehensive policy on livestock production, product development and marketing resulting in the persistence of the following problems, which undermine the efforts to commercialise the sub-sector:

- Diseases and epidemics hinder livestock movements and the marketing of livestock products, domestically, regionally, and internationally.

- Poor quality of markets and low value addition.

- Poor husbandry practices leading to poor quality animals and slow growth. Pasture development and livestock feeds in Uganda have been given limited attention in extension and research.

- Processing of livestock products to add value is limited.

With regard to agricultural research and extension the policy shift towards divesting the responsibility of technology dissemination to the private sector appears unworkable in the short to medium term. The issue is how effective can the agricultural technology that is publicly funded, be delivered by the private sector, whose main motivation is profit.

- The poor smallholder farmers, who dominate the farming community in Uganda, and who are the primary target of the PMA, cannot benefit from the publicly generated technology because they have no capacity to pay for it.

- The fact that technology transfer appears to be less attractive to the private sector as there are limited opportunities to maximize profits means that that rural farmers cannot benefit.

- Multiplying seeds and other planting materials, as well as production of farm implements and other technology such as farm implements processing and packaging machinery, is a costly venture for the less developed private sector in Uganda. Moreover, the risks in Uganda's agribusiness are very high and returns low.

The NAADS programme implementation is premised on the assumption that if farmers need the technology, they should be able to pay for it. This approach is impractical in the short to medium term due to a number of problems, for instance: The capacity of many smallholder subsistence farmers to pay for extension services appears to be low due largely to their low incomes. This capacity will only be realised when farmers' incomes are improved. Irrespective of the farmers' willingness to pay for some services, they find it uneconomical, due to the low returns from farming. The main strategy to keep production costs as low as possible is to use their indigenous technology, which is much cheaper and less risky. There are no incentives by way of increased agricultural marketing, to justify increased production.

The study also established that lack of market information is a major bottleneck with adverse impact on the economic lives of farmers, agro-processors and traders. There seems to be no policy specifically addressing agricultural marketing and agro-processing. The cooperative movement, which could have addressed these issues, has been weakened by the process of liberalisation and political interference in the management and administration of the institution, leaving institutional gaps that cannot be addressed by the current policy framework.

A quick look at the PMA structures shows that in general there are adequate institutional structures to facilitate the process of agricultural commercialisation. However, they are characterised by a number of interrelated weaknesses/constraints, which include: inappropriate or weak functional linkages; inherently poor coordination in planning and programme implementation; and lack of adequate facilitation and manpower. There is lack of coordination in the implementation of government programmes, especially in the agricultural related sectors, which is a major constraint for the PMA implementation. Individual ministries, government departments and other partners tend to work along sectoral lines, yet most programmes require inter-sectoral coordination. Although public and private institutions involved in the process of agricultural production, processing and marketing use a complementary or supplementary approach, the functional linkages with and among them tend to be too weak to facilitate their functioning.

<u>Recommendations for the PMA:</u>

The recommendations made in this section are based on recommendations made by various studies which reviewed and evaluated the PMA framework vis-à-vis poverty eradication (Evaluation reports, 2005a & 2005b, the periodic and annual PMA reports, Reform of the PMA legal and institutional framework document etc). In addition the views from key stakeholders and the researcher's analysis made vital contributions.

Further chronic poverty analysis required. There are indications that the process of project selection for the NSCG funding is not sufficiently informed and that, it is in some way hijacked by politicians and technical persons at the local level. Further analysis (especially chronic poverty) is required to deepen the poverty focus of the NSCG. Introducing poverty indicators in the district allocation formula should deepen the poverty focus of the NSCG.

Funds: For poorer districts, the requirement for 10% local financing contributions should be relaxed. The pace of NSCG roll-out should be linked to the level of overall funding available under the grant so that including new districts is commensurate to increase in funding.

The recurring issue that is causing bottlenecks in the implementation of PMA programmes is lack of financial resources due to budgetary constraints at the time of budgeting or reducing budgetary provisions during the course of the financial year. There is need to increase budgetary allocations and ensure timely and full disbursement of funds to enable activities to take place.

The PMA Steering Committee should continue exploring ways in which the MOP could be made more relevant to the PMA targeted beneficiaries, i.e. small farmers - the chronically poor. Pillars that directly deal with farmers should be encouraged to develop strategies of linking farmers to rural finance service providers. The emergence of savings and credit groups alongside or within farmer groups that the pillars are working with are a good opportunity that the MOP could build on to make rural finance more relevant to small farmers.

NAADS seems to reach only the active poor farmers. For purposes of reaching out to the chronically poor, there has to be an element of provision of free extension services in the medium term. A demand driven approach to extension services is not pro-chronically poor.

Private sector involvement in dissemination of agricultural technologies and provision of inputs like seeds cannot optimally be addressed by the private sector to reach the chronically poor since the cost element automatically eliminates them. These services in the medium term should be addressed by the public sector to be pro-chronically poor.

More systematic data collection for M&E and impact assessment is required. More systematic data collection on the progress of pillars should be conducted. This should be linked to the operationalisation of the PMA M&E system, and could include periodic case studies, to address more qualitative aspects of PMA implementation and impact.

Improvement in the coordination between implementing agencies is required. We recommend that coordination between institutions and ministries be intensified so that duplication is minimised or eliminated. It will also help reduce costs of programmes and wastage of time in implementation. It is also important that PMA should take precedence over the programmes/projects to ensure its success.

Institutional linkages should be significantly improved, in some cases the problems emanate from the Acts of parliament that are not harmonised which should be addressed urgently. With regard to the bottlenecks that have emerges in relation to particular PMA pillars, there is a case for an enabling set of policies, such as the following:

- A National Agricultural Policy should be developed/strengthened to provide a policy framework for sustainable agricultural development.
- A comprehensive policy on rural finance, specifically to address the special problems of smallholder rural farmers should be put in place. The resource poor farmers (particularly those without assets) cannot access loans currently, even if the interest rates were favourable to farm enterprises.
- A comprehensive policy on livestock production and marketing to address the livestock related bottlenecks should be put in place. In this connection, the new policy on Animal Breeding, the Meat Production Master plan and the Diary Development Master plan could form basis for evolving a policy framework for the entire sub-sector.
- A comprehensive policy on standards and quality management is recommended. Special focus should be put on ensuring that: farmers produce high quality products for the market- this will require intensive campaigns and training in harvesting and post-harvest operations, to avoid waste and losses. In addition, national and international standards should be adhered to in processing and packaging of agro-produce. Strict regulations should be established and enforced to avoid adulteration, misuse of trademarks, and other problems.

7.2 Land

The Land Act (1998), the Constitution of Uganda (1995) and the PEAP II try to define the policies linked to land in relation to poverty alleviation. The Land Act and the Constitution clearly state that men and women should be treated equally and that vulnerable groups need protecting from tenure insecurity and property deprivation. However, gaps have been found to existence in the definitions of these laws that affect women in relation to poverty alleviation.

1. The gap in the consent clause is that it does not accord rights to access, occupation and usage of land by the women but only their approval or disapproval. On most occasions, land has been transferred from the family by the husband's decision only. Women (wives) are just informed of what takes place.

2. Though the Land Act provides security of occupancy of women by virtue of their husbands owning land, access to land by the former is still in the hands of the latter. Women are still unable to control proceeds/income from the land (except where they have 100 percent ownership) and making decisions on how land should be used.

Therefore, the laws do not fully guarantee that women have all the rights to access to land (their husband's land) as a means of production. Usage is still controlled by the family head (the man) or other members, mainly the sons (in case of daughters). The customary norms are much stronger within the communities than the law (consent and security of tenure).

Another factor that has led to non-implementation is the weakness in the structural set-up of the management bodies as stipulated in the Land Act 1998.

<u>Recommendations</u>

Affirmative action should be enforced with regard to composition of District Land Tribunals: the land law should uphold the affirmative action principle in defining the composition of the District Land Tribunals so as to incorporate a representative number of women who would represent the needs and interests of women.

Review of the consent clause (Article 39 of the Land Act): this clause should be reviewed and amended to incorporate the concept of spousal co-ownership where property is owned equally between a husband and wife or wives as tenants in common (the 'Lost' or 'Missing' Amendment). Each spouse would therefore have distinct and fixed, yet undivided shares; such that in the event that one of the spouses dies, the heir inherits only the deceased's interest and the other spouse can deal with their interest. This would guarantee men and women both user and ownership rights.

Certificates or titles for customarily owned land should be issued: certificates for customary ownership would also mean that the land is surveyed properly and each owner or tenant is aware of how much land he or she owns. Findings indicate that while women were struggling to protect the family land, they did not know how much land they were struggling for, they were not fully aware of the boundaries.

Certificates of customary ownership will go along way in settling land disputes. Most of the disputes are along boundaries with neighbours accusing each other of stealing their land. Since a survey would have to be done, boundaries would then be clarified to the certificate.

Awareness raising initiatives regarding women's land rights should be considered as a means of challenging negative cultural norms and attitudes, which marginalise women's land (property) rights and hence encourage parents to include girls/women when they are distributing their property.

Fuller operationalisation of the land policy: after finalising the development of the Land Usage Policy, activities should be accorded fuller and more funding in order to move towards efficient implementation.

7.3 The PRS experiment: in Uganda and beyond

The PRS experiment is based on an ambitious attempt to ensure a holistic focus on poverty and the poor within the policy-making processes of poor countries. And there has been a marked success in achieving a pro-poor focus within the most powerful and significant ministry, MFPED, some important moves within sectors such as Health and Education, and also attempts by some ministries to become pro-poor and join the party. However, where either joined-up policy-making has been required (as with the PMA) or where responsibility for implementing PRS priorities has been allocated gone to more marginal ministries and public bodies (e.g. the Land reform policies) there have been significant problems. However, the blame cannot lie entirely with the Ugandan government. Even research centres devoted to the issue of chronic poverty have struggled to identify a clear and coherent policy strategy that would necessarily be pro-chronically poor, let alone guidance on how best to implement these.

AMBITION

RESOURCE CONSTRAINTS

SECTORAL RESISTANCE

As a recent review of the Uganda PEAP notes, the PEAP may have become too comprehensive for its own good, whereby "The PEAP seems to be a compendium of all development aspirations for Uganda – all that is good and ought to be pursued" (Canagarajah and van Diesen 2006: 658). This level of ambition creates serious difficulties. The issue of joined up government is particularly important here. The expectation was that multiple stakeholders would push forward with this in some sort of uniform, well-coordinated fashion. This was highly ambitious given the current state of governance and policy-making process in many poor countries. As Booth notes (2005, see Box 1 below), decision-making is not joined-up in most poor countries, and levels of co-ordination are generally poor. This is partly because many of the most important decisions are taken in informal spaces, which creates disincentives to invest heavily in ensuring that formal spaces work well, either in themselves or together.

Part of the problem may lie at a different level, and be bound up more with the problems of resource constraints and sectoral concerns to protect core duties. For example, one could imagine why the education sector working group may seek to prioritise its own agenda rather than take on those aspects of the PMA agenda. The experience of trying to mainstream cross-cutting policy agendas in Uganda's PEAP suggests that this kind of barrier has been a significant one (e.g. during the last PRS review, the Social Protection Task Force struggled to get either the Health or Education Sectors to take up what was perceived as a new agenda that would distract them from what they perceive as *their* core concerns). However, there is now more space for chronic poverty to become a larger issue on the Uganda poverty agenda although the small constituency pushing for this remains marginal from the key decision-makers within Uganda's policy processes.

Implementation has also suffered as a result of the fairly straightforward failure to (a) link PRS processes to budgetary ones and (b) accord sufficient resources for the tasks at hand. The costs of implementing the Land Act were never worked out at the time while the PMA is frequently under-budgeted, both nationally and locally. It is only in the third iteration of the PEAP that a concerted effort has been made to link the strategy to the budgetary process (Canagarajah and van Diesen 2006). Importantly, the PEAP has never been fully costed, although poverty related expenditures were protected within the budgetary, most notably through PAF but also through a super-SWG dedicated to this purpose, namely the Poverty Eradication Working Group (PEWG, Foster and Mijumbi 2001). It was initially devised without an implementation plan on the understanding that this would be left to the sectors (Canagarajah and van Diesen 2006: 658). However, the PRSC matrix was then put in place to guide PEAP implementation. There is now also the PEAP results and policy matrix which "which should make prioritisation and implementation of the PEAP more manageable and bring it firmly under government control (*op. cit*.). In addition, the latest PEAP revision was timetabled to coincide with the budgetary process, which should further help ensure a stronger commitment to implementation, particularly through its closer links to the preparation of sectoral and local government budgetary framework papers (*ibid*.). However, and despite some moves towards improved systems of monitoring and evaluation, current systems lack a focus on distributional issues.

It seems clear that more radical policies than those usually promoted within the current poverty agenda (such as those under the heading 'Rights, Culture and Empowerment') are required to reach the chronically poor. As such, it is important that processes of research and consultation for PRSPs and (critically) the filtering of this research into policy proposals moves beyond technocratic circles within ministries of finance and planning. In the case of policies aimed at gender equity there is an argument that what is required for successful implementation of such policies is advocacy at each stage of the process from *feminists*. The fact that the most recent PEAP review resulted in very few 'surprising' or radical policies has been linked to the filtering process was undertaken, whereby technocrats apparently fazed by the mass of data prioritised more familiar and 'safe' options (Canagarajah and van Diesen 2006). The role for activists, including ideologically oriented (even populist politicians) is worth exploring here; it is not clear that the types of NGOs consulted by governments during PRS processes can necessarily fill this more political gap.

It is also possible that the PRS experiment is a little too young as yet for final judgements to be made with regards its success. Within Uganda's PEAP, for example, some of the goals are very long-term, including those associated with the Land Act (e.g. equity) and also the PMA with its focus on modernisation writ large. If the commitment to these policies is real, there may be a sense in which the PMA helps move Uganda towards the type of structural transformation envisaged by Museveni, and which has been identified by others as critical for long-term social change. As argued by Cook (2006) such structural change requires economic growth and a significant shift away from agriculture towards urban-based processes of industrialisation. Although there is little evidence of this in Uganda (e.g. moves into agro-processing have yielded some gains but have been very controversial and mored in governance problems), Kappel *et al* (2005) do note that employment shifted out of the agricultural sector in the late 1990s.

Politics matters to PRS processes, in several very important ways. The Ugandan case reveals the following linkages:

- High-level political commitment has underpinned all of Uganda's flagship efforts to reduce poverty, from tackling HIV/AIDS, UPE, PMA and the PEAP itself. Elections have provided a significant launch pad for several of these flagship policy initiatives, although arguably more important has been the capacity of the Movement to pursue a sometimes radical programme of reform.

- The politics of patriarchy and land created greater incentives for the executive than the politics of inclusion.

- The PRS – more than any previous modality of development policy – is embedded in the politics of individual countries. However well-intentioned or designed a PRS might be, progress is unlikely to occur if there is a lack of political (including bureaucratic) commitment and capacity to drive through and implement policies. Here, the Land Act has fallen foul of some patriarchal tendencies and the presidentialist approach to policy execution.

Yet it is not clear that the assumptions that underpin the PRS process are based on a sound analysis of how politics works in poor countries, particularly in the terms that Booth (2005) schematically elaborates in the Box below. In particular, if politics does indeed work in this way, then ambitions that open consultative processes and a reliance on joined-up policy-making around a transparent budgetary process are somewhat unrealistic. This understanding informs some of the final recommendations that we offer below.

Box 1: How politics works in HIPC countries/The gap between the PRS theory of political and policy change and reality

"Many or most of the key decisions are made informally, by small groups of politicians linked together by networks of clientelism and patronage;

Governments are not unified or well-coordinated actors…;

Formal decision-making processes…are…largely 'theatre';

Whereas in some middle-income countries, there is an informed public opinion and a degree of effective parliamentary scrutiny, here the preconditions (e.g. a large local newspaper readership and an effective press) do not exist;

The reasons are partly sociological; to function well, the institutions of formal, universal-franchise democracy require a level of urbanisation, literacy and de-peasantisation that is unusual at this level of economic development";

Source: Booth (2005: 4-5).

7.4 Moving forward

Rethink the co-ordination issue. Perhaps the move to sector-wide approaches is as far as things can reasonably go at this stage, and ambitions for inter-sectoral co-ordination should be rethought/scaled down.

There clearly need to be closer links between the PEAP and budgetary processes in Uganda, despite some advances on this. This is critical for implementation.

Elections can be important, particularly in terms of the launching of key policy initiatives (e.g. PMA in 1996). PRS processes should be timed with much greater sensitivity with regards domestic political timetables.

Institutionalising a longer timeframe for PRSPs would enable a stronger focus on implementation (as opposed to upwardly accountable monitoring and intensive review processes). The 3-year cycle is too short to actually achieve significant headway with implementation given the very onerous processes of the review process and also the M&E process for each year – which is very donor led (Canagarajah and van Diesen 2006). There would seem to be a strong case to extend the timeframe to around 4-5 years (although a more radical idea would see PRSPs become ‘constitutionalised’ for a certain number of years…).

More effort need to be made in terms of including more radical, alternative and activists voices at the what of PRS processes. Given the nature of the policies required to address chronic poverty, the role for activists, including ideologically oriented (even populist politicians) is worth exploring here, particularly as it is not clear that the types of NGOs consulted by governments during PRS processes can necessarily fill this more political gap.

The lens of poverty reduction may not provide a sufficiently ambitious or political lens for policy-making, particularly in contexts where there is a nation-building project underway as is the case in Uganda (Piron with Evans 2004). This, along with the strong sense that politics is critical to the success of the PRS process, leads us to echo wider calls which suggest that donors should focus more attention on helping states to acquire the political capacities associated with developmental statism rather than insisting on the uptake of complex policy agendas (Booth 2005, Khan 2005, also Fritz and Menocal 2006). Our study of land reform in Uganda reveals that this is particularly important regarding the capacity of states to protect and redistribute property rights (Khan 2005), but other capacities are also important, such as those associated with controlling rent-seeking activities that distract government attention and finance from formal budgetary and administrative processes.

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