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University of Dar es Salaam

The Role of Government Decentralisation in Rural Poverty Reduction in Post 1992 Uganda : a Case Study of Moyo District

August 2006



THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT DECENTRALISATION IN RURAL POVERTY REDUCTION IN POST 1992 UGANDA

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A Case Study of Moyo District

Robert Senath Esuruku

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Doctor of Philosophy (Development Studies) Thesis

University of Dar es Salaam

August 2006

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT DECENTRALISATION IN RURAL POVERTY REDUCTION IN POST 1992 UGANDA

A Case Study of Moyo District

By

Robert Senath Esuruku

A Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Dar es Salaam

University of Dar es Salaam

August 2006

CERTIFICATION

The undersigned certify that they have read and hereby recommend for acceptance by the University of Dar es Salaam, a thesis titled: *The Role of Government Decentralisation in Rural Poverty Reduction in Post 1992* Uganda: A Case Study of Moyo District; in fulfilment of the requirement of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Dar es Salaam.

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Date: 1 0 08 2006

DECLARATION

AND

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I, Esuruku, Robert Senath, declare that this thesis is my own work and that it has not been presented and will not be presented to any other university for a similar or any other degree award.

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However, all errors and omissions in this thesis are solely mine and should not be attributed to any person or institution mentioned above. I remain solely responsible for the views, ideas and content of this work except for the duly acknowledged work.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to men and women who struggle daily to make poverty history in Uganda and Moyo District in particular. The poor are the experts in poverty issues and debates and they hold the key to rural poverty reduction. They know what best fits their own situation and what should be done to reduce the prevailing rural poverty.

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ABSTRACT

Since 1990s, government decentralisation has assumed a significant role in social service delivery and poverty reduction in Uganda. It is believed to offer an opportunity to bring public services closer to local demands and preferences, and build more responsive and accountable government from the bottom-up. In Uganda, there is commitment from the central and the local governments and a framework is in place to achieve valuable progress towards poverty reduction through improved service delivery. This study endeavoured to critically examine the role of government decentralisation in rural poverty reduction in post 1992 Uganda taking Moyo District as a case study. A variety of data collection methodologies were used to gather the secondary and primary data needed for the study. These included interviews, structured and non-structured questionnaires, direct observation, and focus group discussions.

The findings from the study suggest that government decentralisation is a silver lining in the clouds as far as poverty reduction in Moyo District is concerned. This is because the link between government decentralisation and poverty reduction is not direct. Although power and responsibilities have been devolved to the local government, they continue to suffer from a variety of constraints. The problem of resource mobilisation and severe human capacity limitation is a challenge to poverty reduction efforts under the contemporary decentralisation program in Uganda and Moyo District in particular.

Although government decentralisation in Uganda is driven primarily by a political motive of power and popular participation, one of its main goals is to increase efficiency and effectiveness in social service delivery with the aim of reducing poverty. In Moyo District, significant progress still needs to be made in the area of primary education, primary health care, water and sanitation, feeder/community roads, and agricultural extension services.

The top community priority concerns about the role of government decentralisation in poverty reduction in Moyo District were good governance, political commitment to pro-poor growth; improvement in the quality, effectiveness and efficiency of service delivery; establishment of a clear propoor policy guidelines about the roles of the central and the local governments; collaboration with NGOs, the private sector, and the local community. Gender and governance have been considered as crosscutting issues in the study.

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Conceptual Framework

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

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			A
AAH	-		Aktion Afrika Hifle
ACORD	-		Agency for Corporation and Research in Development
ADB	-		African Development Bank
ADEO	-		African Development and Emergency Organization
AECG	-		Agricultural Extension Conditional Grant
AES	-		Agricultural Extension Service
AIDS	-		Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ALGO .	-		African Local Government Ordinance
ASDS	-		Agricultural Sector Development Strategy
ASDS	-		Agricultural Sector Development Strategy
CA	-		Constituent Assembly
CAO	-		Chief Administrative Officer
CAP	-		Community Action Program
CARE	-		Co-operation and Research Extension
CBO	-		Community Based Organization
CCG	-		Classroom Completion Grant
CEFORD	-		Community Empowerment for Rural Development
CFO	-		Chief Finance Officer
CG	-	\leq	Capitation Grant
CRC			Constitution Review Commission
CREAM	1		Community Rural Enterprise Activities Management
CWD	-		Children with Disabilities
CWO	-		County Water Officer
DANIDA	-		Danish International Development Association
DC	-		District Council
DCDO	-		District Community Development Officer
DCO	-		District Council Ordinance
DCs	-		Department Councils

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DDP	-	District Development Plan
DEC	-	District Education Committee
DEO	-	District Education Officer
DFF	-	District Farmers Fora
DFI	-	District Farm Institute
DHMT	-	District Health Management Team
DHSSP	-	District Health Services Support Program
DIS	-	District Inspector of School
DMIC	-	District Marketing Information Committee
DPAC	-	District Public Accounts Committee
DSC	-	District Service Commission
DSOER	-	District State of Environment Report
DTPC	-	District Technical Planning Committee
DWO	-	District Water Officer
EAC	-	Economic Adjustment Credits
EARS	-	Educational Assessment and Resource Services
ECS	-	Entandikwa Credit Scheme
EDF – MPP	-	European Development Fund – Micro Projects Program
EFA	-	Education for All
EFRDC	-	European Forum on Rural Development Cooperation
ERP		Education Reform Program
ESAF	-	Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facilities
ESIP	-	Education Strategy Investment Plan
FAL	-	Functional Adult Literacy
FAO	-	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FGD	-	Focus Group Discussions
FPS	-	Fondos Socialy Productivo
GAES	-	Government Agricultural Extension Services
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
GOU	-	Government of Uganda

GPRS	-	Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy
GWP	-	Government White Paper
HC	-	Health Centre
HDI	-	Human Development Index
HDR	-	Human Development Report
HIPC	-	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
HIV	-	Human Immune Virus
HSP	-	Health Sector Plan
HSR	-	Health Sector Reform
HSSP	-	Health Sector Strategic Plan
HUMC	-	Health Unit Management Committee
IDPs	-	Internally Displaced Persons
IDS	-	Institute of Development Studies
IEDS	-	Institute of Ethics and Development Studies
IFAD	-	International Fund for Agricultural Development
ILO	-	International Labour Organization
IRD	-	Integrated Rural Development
JARD	-	Joined Annual Review of Decentralisation
LAA	-	Local Administrative Act
LAD	-	Law of Administrative Decentralisation
LC	-	Local Council
LGA		Local Government Act
LGAs	-	Local Government Authorities
LGDP -	-	Local Government Development Program
LGFC	-	Local Government Finance Commission
LGL	-	Local Government Laws
LGPAC	-	Local Government Public Accounts Committee
LGTB	-	Local Government Tender Board
LLG	-	Lower Local Government
LPP	-	Law of Popular Participation

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LRA Lords Resistance Army Lutheran World Federation LWF Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries MAAIF Madi AIDS Control Initiative MACI _ **Mission Aviation Fellowship** MAF MDA Moyo District Administration Moyo District Development Plan MDDP Millennium Development Goals MDGs Movo District Local Government MDLG Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development MFPED Ministry of Education and Sports MOES MOH Ministry of Health Ministry of Local Government MOLG Ministry of Works and Telecommunication MOWTC Moyo Town Council MTC Medium Term Competitiveness Strategy MTCS Medium Term Expenditure Framework MTEF Mobile Telecommunications Network MTN Medium Term Transport Sector Policy MTTSP Madi Women Development Association **MWDA** Ministry of Works, Housing and Communication MWHC Ministry of Water, Land and Environment MWLE National Agricultural Advisory Development Services NAADS National Adult Literacy Program NALP National Agricultural Research Organisation NARO NARS National Agricultural Research System National Dialogue Against Poverty NDAP National Environment Management Authority NEMA _ National Farmers Forum NFF Non – Governmental Organization NGO

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NHP	-	National Health Policy
NMS	-	National Medical Stores
NÖVIB	-	Netherlands Organizational Development
NPAPDG		National Program and Action Plan on Democratic Governance
NPES	-	National Poverty Eradication Strategy
NRA	-	National Resistance Army
NRM	-	National Resistance Movement
NSCG	-	Non-Sectoral Conditional Grant
NUDP	-	National Union of Disabled Persons
NURP .	-	Northern Uganda Reconstruction Program
NUSAF		Northern Uganda Social Action Fund
NWSC	-	National Water and Sewerage Corporation
NWSCA	-	National Water and Sewerage Corporation Act
OPD	-	Out Patient Department
OPM	-	Office of the Prime Minister
PAF	-	Poverty Action Fund
PAP	-	Poverty Alleviation Plan
PAPSCA		Program for Alleviation of Poverty and Social Costs
		Adjustments
PCP	-	Private Consumption Poverty
PEAP	-	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
РНС	()	Primary Health Care
PMA	•	Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture
PNDC	-	Provisional National Defence Council
PPA	-	Participatory Poverty Assessment
PPDAA	-	Public Procurement and Disposal Assets Act
\mathbf{PR}	-	Poverty Reduction
PRSP	-	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSR	-	Poverty Status Report
PWD	-	Persons With Disabilities

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RCS	-	Resistance Council Statutes	
RDC	-	Resident District Commission	
RDS	-	Rural Development Strategy	
RPR	-	Rural Poverty Reduction	
RSDP	-	Road Sector Development Plan	
SAC	-	Structural Adjustment Credits	7.55
SAP	-	Structural Adjustment Program	1.1
SDSSP	-	Social Development Sector Strategy Plan	
SFG	-	School Facility Grant	
SMC ·	-	School Management Committee	
SNV	-	Netherlands Development Organization	
SPLA	-	Sudanese People's Liberation Army	
SPSS	-	Statistical Package for Social Science	
SRS	-	Self Reliance Strategy	
SSD	-	Social Sector Development	
STDs	-	Sexually Transmitted Diseases	
STI	-	Sexual Transmitted Infection	
SWA	-	Sector Wide Approach	
TB	-	Tuberculosis	
TDSM	-	Teacher Development Management System	
TDV		Tanzania Development Vision	
ТРО		Trans – Psycho Social and Cultural Organization	
TSU		Technical Support Unit	
UBOS	-	Uganda Bureau of Statistics	
UDHR	-	Universal Declaration of Human Rights	
UDN	-	Uganda Debt Network	
UBNs	-	Unsatisfied Basic Needs	
UIA	-	Uganda Investment Authority	
ULG	-	Upper Local Government	
UNDHI	-	United Nations Development Human Index	

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UNDP-	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	-	Uganda National Family Planning Association
UNHCR	-	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNHS-	-	Uganda National Housing Survey
UNICEF	-	United Nations Child and Education Fund
UNMD	-	United Nations Millennium Declaration
UPE	-	Universal Primary Education
UPPAP	-	Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Program
USAID	-	United States Agency for International Development
VHC	•	Village Health Committee
WB	-	World Bank
WBCR	-	World Bank Country Report
YAASA	-	Youth Anti AIDS Services Association
$\mathbf{Z}\mathbf{D}\mathbf{V}$	-	Zanzibar Development Vision
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

We will spare no effort to free our fellow men, women and children from the abject and dehumanising conditions of extreme poverty to which more than a billion of them are currently subjected. We are committed to making the right to development a reality for everyone and to freeing the entire human race from want. We resolve therefore to create an environment at the national and global levels alike, which is conducive to development and to the elimination of poverty. Success in meeting these objectives depends inter alia on good governance within each country (UNMD, 2000).

After two decades of stagnation, governments in Africa have demonstrated new commitment to reforms and a correspondingly enhanced potential for contributing to national development. Among these are democratisation, decentralisation and economic liberalisation reforms that have together reinforced and encouraged the granting of greater autonomy to public institutions and development sectors. In the meantime, the governments are showing willingness to break away from inherited traditional ways of governance and administration and embark on new and innovative management and service delivery strategies. In Uganda, president Museveni launched the decentralisation policy in 1992, and a year later, the government embarked on effective implementation of the decentralisation program with the enacting of the 1993 Resistance Council Statute (RCS). The policy was later enshrined in the Uganda's Constitution of 1995 and legalised by the Local Government Act (LGA), 1997. The Act established districts, municipalities and town councils/Sub-counties as corporate bodies of the local governments to which it devolved far-reaching powers and responsibilities in such areas as finances, legislation, and planning.

Uganda's decentralisation system based on local council system of governance has the following objectives:

- > To transfer real power to the districts, bringing political and administrative control over services.
- To free local managers from central government constraints; improving financial accountability.
- > To improve capacity of local councils to plan, finance and manage delivery of services to constituencies (Republic of Uganda, 2001).

The dramatic transformations created by the changing roles and responsibilities of the local governments in a decentralised system of

governance calls for a comprehensive approach involving different stakeholders to jointly identify available opportunities and challenges. Equally important is the need to improve linkages and interactions among policy makers and implementers at different levels in order to ensure sustainability and institutionalisation of the governance innovations.

Decentralisation and rural poverty reduction seem to have close correlation as seen in the parallels that exist between the statutory responsibilities of local government institutions and the manifestations of poverty. According to the European Forum on Rural Development Cooperation (2002), the search for good governance is a search for effective mechanisms to address the various dimensions or manifestations of rural poverty; namely:

- > Poor access to or the absence of basic necessities and facilities
- > Inability to provide for education and medical care for family
- > Lack of assets, including skills and education
- > Unemployment and under-employment
- > Poor access to production resources, including credit, land and technology
- > Hunger, malnutrition and inadequate household food security

- Exclusion from decision making, policy formulation and response allocation mechanisms
- > Loss of dignity and self-esteem
- \succ Vulnerability.

Government decentralisation and the promotion of local governance have come to be accepted in development circles as constituting an enabling environment within which effective mechanisms for rural poverty reduction could thrive (EFRDC, 2002). The understanding is that local governance promotes good governance factors such as participatory democracy and grassroots or civil society participation in decision making and resource allocation, transparency and anti-corruption mechanism, human rights and administrative justice, equitable and fair access to service, fair balance between government and private sector, and the separation of powers between the executive, the legislative, and the judicial arms of government.

1.2. Background to the Problem

Poverty continues to pervade rural areas in developing countries. Inappropriate public policies and ill designed programs and projects have both served to impoverish rural communities. Despite the recognition of the need for special strategies to address the widespread incidence of rural

poverty in developing countries, initiatives aimed at bringing about transformation of the rural standard of living have not had a consistent impact on reducing poverty.

The failure of the most recent interventions such as Integrated Rūral Development (IRD) has left a policy vacuum as donors and countries struggle to find new ways to reduce rural poverty. Recent initiatives designed to put in place decentralised mechanisms for rural development offer possibilities for building rural poverty reduction strategies while avoiding problems associated with centralisation of functions and responsibilities of governments.

In Uganda, poverty has remained persistent despite signs of economic growth. Uganda has remained one of the poorest countries in the world and it ranks 158 out of 174 countries in the United Nation's Development Human Index (UNDHI), which compares life expectancy at birth, the adult literacy rates, and per capita incomes (UNDP, 2000).

However, over the past decade, income poverty levels have fallen drastically in some parts of the country. Overall between 1992-2000 income poverty fell from 56% to 35%. However, in the north of the country, poverty levels are

still high with 66% of the population estimated to live in poverty as compared with 72% in 1992 (MFPED, 2002). The share of Uganda's poor in the north is 25% even though it is home to only 19% of Uganda's population (UDN, 2003).

According to the recent UNHS 2002/2003, the percentage of the population living below poverty line rose from 34% to 38%. This corresponds to nearly 8.9 million persons living in poverty. This figure can be compared with estimates from UNHS 1999/2000 in which 34% were poor which was equivalent to 7.2 million persons living in poverty in absolute terms. This means that despite some modest economic growth, poverty increased.

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Poverty increased both in rural and urban areas between 1999/2000 and 2002/2003 surveys. In rural areas, the percentage of people living in poverty rose from 37% to 42%, corresponding to 8.5 million persons in poverty. In urban areas, the percentage of people living in poverty increased from 10% to 12%, recoding an increase of the poor persons from 0.3 million to 0.4 million. However, poverty levels are still worsening in some parts of the country, especially in the wartorn North and Eastern Uganda.

The proportion of people living in Northern Region unable to meet their basic consumption needs has declined marginally from 72% in 1992/93 to 63% in

2002/03 (MFPED, 2004). However, the urban north has experienced much faster poverty decline from 55% to 29% over the same period, implying that poverty in northern Uganda is mainly rural based, similarly to the national trends. These figures suggest that policy action must focus on the rural north if poverty levels are to decline overall in the region.

According to Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2004), almost one third of the chronically poor in Uganda live in Northern Uganda. Between 1992 and 1999, the proportion of households that moved back into poverty in the Northern Region was 20% higher than the national average of 10%. Chronic poverty is highly associated with large family size, illiteracy, low asset base and being engaged in subsistence farming. Improving the asset base of the poor and promoting literacy and engagement in alternative sources of income particularly in the non-farm sector should be a priority on the development agenda.

In 1995 Uganda started a process of developing a comprehensive and sustainable development strategy, with an overall objective of wiping out abject poverty in the country. This process culminated in the formulation in 1997 of the draft Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), which aimed at reducing absolute poverty to 10% by 2017 (Muduuli, 2001). In 2000 this was

revised to incorporate new information generated from the widened consultations and analysis, particularly from the Pilot Participatory Assessments (PPAs) undertaken and analysed over the past three years.

The revised PEAP also reflects progress in various sectors in terms of elaborating on their policies, investment plans, outcomes and performance indicators (Muduuli, 2001). Besides roads and education sectors, the major additions relate to the health sector, modernisation of agriculture, which covers environment, private sector competitiveness, water and sanitation, and justice, law and order. The PEAP for that matter is a fairly comprehensive Framework and the PEAP summary was adopted in 2000 as Uganda's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP).

Based on the PEAP as the guiding policy framework, Uganda has pursued the development and implementation of sector-wide policies, investment plans and programs, with the participation of representatives of as many stakeholders as possible, in a genuine partnership, which involves government at the centre and in the decentralised lower levels of government in the districts; external funding agencies (Development Partners); the civil society and NGOs and the private sector. Uganda's strategic action plan for mass poverty eradication is based on four interrelated pillars. These includes

ensuring sustainable economic growth and structural transformation; good governance and security; ability of the poor to raise incomes; and improve their quality of life (Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2000).

The actual implementation of the PEAP programs is undertaken by Local Governments (LGs) to which extensive powers have been devolved by the constitution and the LGA, 1997 (Republic of Uganda, 2002). Among other things, local governments are empowered to make and approve their own development plans and budgets, to raise local revenue, to recruit and manage personnel, and to make bylaws. Committees have also been set up at district and lower local government levels to coordinate HIV/AIDS mitigation activities.

According to the Uganda Country Paper for the Fifth African Governance Forum presented in Maputo in 2002, Uganda's decentralisation policy has made a major contribution to the realization of the country's PEAP objectives. It has provided the framework within which central government resources have been channelled to the ground in key poverty sectors, and it has led to significant improvement in resource utilisation due to increased citizen and

civil society involvement in local affairs. In Uganda, there is overemphasis on the achievement of government decentralisation in poverty reduction.

Democratic decentralisation is often presented as the sine qua non of rural poverty reduction (Johnson, 2001). As mentioned earlier on, Uganda's National Resistance Movement (NRM) government adopted for decentralisation in 1992 in fulfilment of its earlier promise during its guerrilla war struggle to democratise Ugandan society and to improve social services provision in the country.

Uganda is one of the several countries around the world, pursuing the policy of decentralisation as a pillar of public sector reform. The government decentralisation policy was designed to devolve powers and responsibilities in the areas of administration, planning and finance to the local levels where people at the grassroots will participate in decision making of their respective areas.

The NRM set up Resistance Councils (RCs) through which people freely made decisions over matters that affected them directly. Since the enactment of the present constitution in 1995 and the local government Act in 1997, decentralisation has emerged as a key instrument in the struggle to reduce poverty and to improve social service provision in Uganda (Republic of Uganda, 2002). The study, "The Role of Government Decentralisation in Rural Poverty Reduction in Post 1992 Uganda: A Case Study of Moyo District" is thought to be appropriate to explore and examine poverty reduction concerns under the contemporary government decentralisation program in Uganda.

1.3. Statement of the Problem

Poverty reduction, which is often associated with improvement in social service delivery such as in education, health, water and sanitation and agricultural services, has often been linked to government decentralisation since it was implemented in Uganda. Although there is a big rhetoric about the role of government decentralisation in poverty reduction in Uganda, this has not been adequately explored and documented in Moyo District in particular. This study therefore attempted to bridge this gap with a case study of Moyo District.

The study attempted to identify the general characteristics of government decentralisation in Uganda and Moyo District in particular and compare and contrast the poverty situation in Moyo District before and after the implementation of the contemporary government decentralisation programs. The study further endeavoured to find out how social service delivery such as

in education, health, water and sanitation, infrastructure and agricultural extension was conducted before the contemporary government decentralisation and whether social service delivery under present-day government decentralisation has led to poverty reduction in Moyo District in terms of improvement in literacy rates and health status, clean water provision, better infrastructure and agricultural services.

The study also examines the strength and weakness of the contemporary government decentralisation in poverty reduction in Moyo District. The study thereafter proposes what still needed to be done by the contemporary government decentralisation programs to reduce poverty in Moyo District in particular. What should be the role of government decentralisation in rural poverty reduction is the central focus of this study.

1.4. Objectives of the Study

1.4.1. Broad Objective

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The main objective of this study is to explore and examine the role of government decentralisation in poverty reduction in Moyo District.

1.4.2. Specific Objectives

- (i) To identify the general characteristics of government decentralisation in Uganda and Moyo District in particular.
- (ii) To find out the characteristics of poverty in Uganda and Moyo District in particular.
- (iii) To compare and contrast the poverty situation in Moyo District before and after the implementation of the contemporary government decentralisation programs.
- (iv) To find out the extent to which social service delivery in education, health, water and sanitation, infrastructure and agricultural extension under government decentralisation has led to poverty reduction in Moyo District.

1.5. Research Questions

This study attempts to answer the following research questions:

- (i) What is the role of government decentralisation in rural poverty reduction in Uganda and Moyo district in Particular?
- (ii) What are the general characteristics of government decentralisation in Uganda and Moyo District in particular?
- (iii) What are the characteristics of poverty in Uganda and Moyo District in particular?

- (iv) What was the poverty situation in Moyo District before and after the implementation of the contemporary government decentralisation program?
- (v) What was the social service delivery system before and after the implementation of the current government decentralisation program in Moyo District?
- (vi) What are the strengths and weaknesses of government decentralisation in poverty reduction in Moyo District?
- (vii) What still needs to be done by the contemporary government decentralisation program to reduce poverty in Moyo District?

1.6. Significance of the Study

The study attempts to explore and examine the link between government decentralisation and rural poverty reduction and to provide a baseline for further investigation in this field. It is hoped that the study will increase the attention paid to rural poverty in development policy and action, thus sensitising the policy making community and ensuring sustained commitment to rural poverty reduction.

The study attempts to contribute to the current academic debates on poverty issues. The study focused on rural poverty reduction in Uganda and Moyo District in particular. Studies in the role of government decentralisation in rural poverty reduction in Uganda and particularly Moyo District are scanty, if not none existent and this study attempts to bridge this gap.

1.7. Organisation of the Study

This study is organised into seven chapters. The first chapter consists of the introduction and background to the study. In this chapter, issues discussed include background to the problem, statement of the problem, research objectives, questions guiding the study and the significance of the study.

Chapter two deals with the literature review. In this chapter, we examine the most recent literature on government decentralisation and poverty reduction in the Third World countries. This chapter also discusses the theoretical and conceptual underpinning of government decentralisation and rural poverty reduction, and we also defined the key concepts of the study.

In the third chapter we critically examine current literature with specific reference to government decentralisation and rural poverty reduction in Uganda, which is the main focus of our study. Under this chapter we discuss a number of themes, which among others include the historical development of the post 1992 decentralisation program in Uganda, the institutional framework for government decentralisation in Uganda and pro-poor social service delivery under the current government decentralisation program in Uganda.

The fourth chapter in this study examines the research methodology, which precisely focuses on the study area, research design, tools we used for data collection and analysis, methods of data presentation and the limitations of the study. Data analysis, presentation and discussion are explored in chapters five and six. Chapter seven summarises the study, concludes and presents policy recommendations on the ways forward for rural poverty reduction under government decentralisation in Uganda and Moyo District in particular.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the recent literature on government decentralisation and poverty reduction in the Third World countries and Africa in particular. It describes, summarises, evaluates and interprets information from the already existing body of literature to enrich our area of study grounded in the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that guides the study.

2.2. Government Decentralisation and Rural Poverty Reduction: An Overview

The 20 years between 1970 and 1990 saw the fastest and most widespread retreat of poverty, hunger, premature death and illiteracy in history (IFAD, 2001; Vedald, 2003). But progress has stalled since then, and large rural areas, containing hundreds of millions of rural people remain mired in poverty and most of those affected were the rural poor of developing world (IFAD, 2001). In the 1990s, poverty reduction fell to less than one third of the rate needed to meet the United Nations' commitment to halve extreme poverty by 2015. The majority of the poor in developing countries live in rural areas and are excluded from elite politics and thus decentralisation which appears to offer greater political participation seems likely to increase voice and deliver the goods needed for rural poverty reduction. According to European Forum on Rural Development Cooperation (2002), the link between government decentralisation and rural poverty reduction can be discussed as follows:

- Political decentralisation in which local government structures, including traditional authorities, civil society organisations, locally identifiable groups, women and minority groups in rural areas are enabled to participate in and take joint ownership of local decision making processes and implement their own systems of accountable and transparent governance. This is expected to lead to a sustainable poverty free growth.
- Administrative decentralisation that transfers functions, and their related powers and resources to local level structures and enables sector departments to integrate their programs, resources and assets into local government system for coordinated development and efficient resource management. This would create wealth that would reduce rural poverty.
- Fiscal decentralisation that gives local governments, traditional authorities and NGOs equitable access to national development

resources for implementing their prioritised development programs. This is complemented with financial management and reporting mechanisms that promote accountability at the local level. Decentralised development planning and program implementation that centres on locally identified priorities is expected to lead to rural poverty reduction.

In the last two decades governments, individual politicians, local bureaucrats, international agencies and academicians in Africa have been advancing decentralisation as a solution to a variety of development problems including poverty reduction. Some argue that decentralisation may determine the extent to which governments may reach and help the poor to improve their living conditions (Matovu, et al, 1996). According to World Bank Report (1992), devolution of decision making to local institutions, public or private can play a positive role in achieving poverty reduction and enables local institutions to become more responsive to local needs and priorities.

Local institutions are in a better position than the central government to identify the needs of a local community and then mobilise its people and other recourses on a sustainable basis (Kabbaja, 2003; World Bank, 1999). Local authorities are also in a strong position to encourage wider

participation by citizens in handling their own affairs. Such participation helps overcome inertia and apathy and breeds a sense of identification with government. Decentralisation can play a vital role in evolving efficient management of development programs intended to benefit the poor.

The literature above, however, provides relatively weak correlation that exists between government decentralisation and poverty reduction. Despite great strides at devolving power to local, democratically elected bodies, government decentralisation has remained at rhetorical level as far as rural poverty is concerned. The literature above does not offer concrete evidence of the role of government decentralisation in rural poverty reduction. The central question of whether decentralisation is an effective means of fighting rural poverty has not been clearly answered in the literature; this study attempts to bridge the gap with a case study of the role of government decentralisation in rural poverty reduction in Uganda.

2.3. Government Decentralisation and Poverty Reduction in the Third World Counties

Efforts to decentralise and the interest in decentralisation have a long pedigree in development process and administrative organisation in developing countries. According to Litvack et al (1998), central governments

around the world are decentralising fiscal, political and administrative responsibilities to lower-level governments and to private sector.

Decentralisation is particularly widespread in developing countries for a variety of reasons. These reasons among others include: the deepening of democratisation in Latin America; the transition from command to a market economy in Eastern Europe and the Soviet union; the need to improve delivery to local service to large populations in the centralised countries of East Asia; the challenge of ethnic tensions in other countries (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ethiopia, Russia) and the attempt to keep centrifugal forces at bay by forging asymmetrical federations; and the plain and simple reality that central governments have often failed to provide effective public services (Bird, 1998; Crook, 1994; Manor, 1997; Rondinelli, 1981 and Tanzi, 1999).

According to Manor (1997), some policymakers and social scientists influenced by neoliberal ideas have viewed decentralisation as a means of shifting power away from the dictatorial centralised state. Others, frustrated by poor results of centrally organised interventions to reduce rural poverty, see decentralisation as a possible alternative mechanism for poverty reduction. While the post-modernist anthologists and a diversity of activists and commentators who stress the need to draw upon the knowledge of people at the grassroots see it as a means empowering the local people, advocates of pluralist competitive politics have regarded decentralisation as a device for deepening democracy or for prying closed systems open to give interest groups space in which to organise, compete and assert themselves (Manor, 1997).

However, it must be stressed that some of the decisions to decentralise in many Third World countries were donor-driven, although political pressure advanced decentralisation efforts. Whatever the origins, decentralisation can have significant repercussions for resource mobilisation and allocation and ultimately macroeconomic stability, service delivery and equity (Litvack et al 1998). Our study examines the role of government decentralisation in rural poverty reduction in Uganda with a case study of Moyo District and the findings of the study are presented in chapters five and six.

2.3.1. Government Decentralisation and Poverty Reduction in Kerala State in India

India, as a sovereign republic, consists of a union of state governments and union territories. Prior to the major decentralisation initiative taken in 1992,

the Indian union consisted of 25 states and seven union territories. Whereas the states are governed by the parliamentary system of government, as provided for by the union constitution, the union territories are administered directly by the union government through an administrator who is constitutionally known as the Lieutenant Governor. In 2001, three new states were created, increasing the number of states to 28 (Vijayanad, 2001).

Kerala is a relatively small state lying in the southern tip of India. it represents only 1.18% of the total area of India and 3.43% (31.8 million) of the population of the country. Kerala occupies an area of 38,863 sq km (Edmonds, 2002). Kerala's development achievement has often been held up as a model and as an object lesson to countries having relatively low economic development. Kerala is hailed for its equity and is cited as an example of what mass mobilisation and public action can achieve when responsive democratic governments are in place. The widespread provisioning of health and educational services has spearheaded the achievement of all round human development in Kerala (Heller, 2001; Vijayanad, 2001).

Kerala has achieved commendable success in attaining good coverage of basic minimum services. Its universal distribution system provides good food security; its social security system in the form of pensions to vulnerable

groups and welfare funds for various types of labourers are also reasonably well spread (Craig 2003; Vijayanad, 2001). Thus, from the capability point of view as well as entitlements points of view, Kerala appears to have performed better in tackling poverty.

Kerala has embarked on a trajectory of rapid decentralisation. The State has moved ahead at good pace with the transfer of not only functions and responsibilities but also the authority to carry them out along with resources both human and financial (UNDP/UPDI, 2004). Though historically Kerala had not achieved anything significant in decentralised development, after the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments, it has carried out certain pioneering reforms worthy of attention and study. The reforms carried out in the State to decentralise governance particularly, in the developmental field, have been very fundamental. They constitute an earnest attempt to set up genuine institutions of local self-government as envisaged in the constitution.

According to Vijayanad (2001), since mid 1970s Kerala' had been facing severe economy problems. The much acclaimed Kerala model of development aimed at bringing about human development started facing the sustainability crisis. It became difficult to maintain the level and quality of governmental services. These problems were further compounded by the sharply adversarial political relations in the State. It was felt that decentralisation in Kerala could provide an answer to the above problem with following objectives:

- > To improve the quality of investment by allocating resources for priorities fixed by the local people.
- To facilitate emergence of local solutions to developmental problems through improved panning, better implementation, use of traditional knowledge and appropriate technology.
- > To exploit local production possibilities.
- To enable people's participation leading to better vigil in execution of schemes, followed by better upkeep of assets.
- To provide enabling environment for people to make contributions in kind and cash for development programs identified by the people for priority action.
- > To bring about a convergence of resources and services to tackle development problems with greater vigour.
- > To unleash public action resulting in demand led improvement in the delivery of developmental and welfare services.

In the process of realising these objectives it was felt that it would lead to new politics of development emerging out of dialogue and consensus rather than conflict and collusion and help forge a realist approach to development based on a clearer understanding of problems and issues at the grassroots level (Heller, 2001; Vijayanad, 2001).

To operationalise decentralisation, Kerala chose the path of participatory local level planning as the entry point. This succeeded to a considerable extent in harnessing public section in favour of decentralisation. In order to push the system and force the process, a campaign approach was followed for decentralised planning known as the "People's Planning Campaign". This campaign created a powerful demand factor for decentralisation to be guided along the right path.

Government decentralisation might have worked for India and Kerala in particular for sustainable participatory development and poverty reduction. The question that our study attempted to answer in chapter five is "What is the role of government decentralisation in rural poverty reduction in Uganda and Moyo District in particular?"

2.3.2. Government Decentralisation and Poverty Reduction in Bolivia Bolivia is a landlocked country with a population of 8.3 million. The country has a low population density of 8 people per km2, difficult terrain, and poorly developed transport and communications infrastructure. Apart from the Spanish speaking population that has dominated the political and social affairs since independence, Bolivia also has a very large indigenous population that comprises of Aymara speaking people in the highland, Quechua speaking people in the valleys and smaller ethnic groups in the lowlands and the rainforest (Alesina et al, 2003).

Politically, Bolivia oscillated between military dictatorships and civilian rule between the 1950s and the early 1980s when the country entered in the era of democratic governance. The decentralisation reform process in Bolivia started in 1994 with enactment of the Law of Popular Participation (LPP), legislation that encompasses a comprehensive set of territorial, political, administrative and fiscal aspects (Klasen, et al, 2004). In summary, this law has brought about two critical transformations:

- ➤ The full transfer to municipal authorities of significant responsibilities and sources of revenue, together with the creation of a large number of new municipalities spanning urban/rural areas throughout the country.
- > The legal recognition of rural and urban grassroots territorial organizations (organizaciones territoriales de base) and the creation in each municipality of a Vigilance Committee (Comité de Vigilancia)

whose members are elected by these organizations and which hold the right to participate in planning processes and to audit municipal budgets.

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According to UNDP (2005), it was until 1994, municipal governments formally existed only in urban centres of more than 2000 inhabitants. In reality, the nine departmental capital cities accounted for more than 90 % of national transfers discreetly assigned to municipalities. The Law of Popular Participation (LPP) subdivided the whole Bolivian territory into 327municipalities, on the basis of an old administrative territorial division called Provincial Section. At the same time each municipality has been entitled to receive automatically a share of national resources (Molina, 2003). Known as the principle of co-participation (Coparticipación), 20 % of all national state revenues are now distributed among local governments according to their population, on a per capita basis. These transfers complement municipalities' own sources of revenue which stem mainly from property and vehicle taxes.

Municipalities own the local infrastructure in education, health, irrigation, roads, sports and culture, and they hold the concomitant responsibility for maintaining these facilities, and investing in new ones. The provision of

social services as such has not been decentralised to the municipal level, but municipalities have the ability to request health and education local authorities for a ratification or change. Public utilities such as water, electricity and telecommunications are supplied by private providers, users' cooperatives or municipal enterprises, with a strong push from national authorities towards privatisation, especially in large cities.

The first municipal elections under LPP were held in 1996. Each municipality is run by a government composed of the municipal council and a mayor. Municipal councils include from five to eleven members according to the population of the municipality. According to the State's Constitution, municipal elections are held every five years. Candidates for mayor and councillor posts must run under the umbrella of a political party list or, thanks to a constitutional amendment approved in 2004 by the Congress, a citizens' association list. At least 30 % of the list's candidates must be women. Candidates for mayor are the first on their respective lists. Although citizens formally vote for a list, in actual practice electoral campaigning focuses on the first candidate in person and/or their political affiliation.

Electoral results are processed according to proportional representation. For a candidate to be elected mayor directly through general elections, it is

necessary for his/her list to win more than 50 % of the votes. Otherwise the municipal council elects the mayor, choosing between the two candidates with the highest shares of the vote. The Constitution allows for a constructive censure vote if a mayor has not been directly elected by more than 50 % of the voters, s/he can be revoked by three-fifths of the municipal council members. In replacement, any councillor can then be elected by the other members.

The Bolivian constitution provided for the grassroots territorial organisations, peasant communities and indigenous organisations in the rural areas, neighbourhood associations (*juntas vecinales*) in the urban centres hold the right to propose, request, control and supervise the provision of public works and public services at the local level. On the other hand, they have an obligation to participate and cooperate in the implementation and administration of these projects and services.

The Vigilance Committee (VC) acts as a liaison between grassroots organizations and the municipal government in the exercise of their rights and duties. The VC oversees the equitable allocation of municipal resources between urban and rural communities in the municipality, and it must issue a public statement about annual municipal budgets. The VC has the authority to denounce the misuse of municipal resources, in which case the

central government is obliged to conduct an evaluation. If the situation is not corrected, the central government, according to the State's Constitution, transmits the denunciation to the Senate, and if the Senate admits the denunciation, national transfers to the local government concerned are suspended until the situation is resolved definitively.

The decentralisation legislative framework was complemented in 1995 by the Law of Administrative Decentralisation (LDA), which regulates the functioning of the nine departmental Prefectures (*Prefecturas*), an intermediate level of administration between central government and municipalities. The Prefectures are in charge of formulating departmental development plans and executing public investment in the areas of roads construction, rural electrification, irrigation, research and extension, environment, tourism, and others concurrently with municipalities. The Prefectures, by delegation from central government, are also responsible for supervising and administering human resources and budget line items assigned to personal services in the areas of education, health, and social assistance.

The main sources of Prefectures' revenue are, on the one hand, departmental royalties established by law from natural resources exploitation such as

hydrocarbons, mining and forests, and 25 % share of a special national tax on hydrocarbons and their derivatives. Prefectures also benefit from extraordinary transfers from national treasury. They finally administer allocations as annually established in the national budget for expenses incurred in health, education and social assistance personal services.

According to the State Constitution (1995), the Prefect is designated by the President of the Republic. The LDA complements the power structure with the creation of Departmental Councils (DCs) composed of citizens elected by municipal councillors. These Departmental Councils are fundamentally a consultative body with some audit powers. The Councils may request the removal of Prefects but the President is not compelled to accept this request.

2.3.2.1. Poverty Reduction Reforms in Bolivia

Despite its progress over the past decades in important aspects of human development, Bolivia remains a paradigmatic case in Latin America of a country that combines an elevated incidence of poverty with deep social and economic inequalities. At least six people out of ten have incomes below the poverty line, and the average income of the 10 % richest people is 15 times the average income of the 10 % poorest. At the local level, income inequalities are the most acute in municipalities that are at the top and the bottom of the

human development index scale, namely in the departmental capital cities and in the rural municipalities of the central valleys (UNDP, 2004).

The poverty measure widely used in Bolivia is the Unsatisfied Basic Needs method (UBN). UBN is a composite index that weights equally four measures of need: (i) housing quality; (ii) access to water and sanitation; (iii) educational achievement and attendance; (iv) health services attendance. UBN makes use of national census data produced in 1992 and 2001, which allows comparison before and after the initiation of the decentralisation process. The UBN index is highly correlated with the social components (life expectancy and education) of the human development index (UNDP, 2005).

Poverty, as measured by the UBN index, decreased overall from 71 % in 1992 to 59 % in 2001. As we have already pointed out, the most important achievements have taken place in primary education. Illiteracy has been reduced to 15 % in 2001, and net coverage in primary education reached 97%. The Education Reform Program (ERP), which was put in place in 1995, has given priority to increasing access to primary education and transforming its content. It has also introduced bilingual (Spanish native languages) education in rural areas, promoting an inter-cultural approach. Spending on education (not including universities) increased from 6.9% in 1990 to 14.7% of total public spending in 2002 (UNDP, 2005).

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In the health sector, coverage of priority maternal and child interventions increased substantially, due to the introduction of a public health insurance programme. Coverage of skilled birth attendance more than doubled from 25 % in 1994 to 54 % in 2002, and preliminary data suggest that this increase in coverage has translated into a drop in infant and maternal mortality. However, according to a recent study by the World Bank (2004), the rate of coverage in recent years has been tapering off, and the equity gaps remain: in 2001, the coverage of skilled birth attendance was 89 % for the richest fifth of the population, while it reached only 25 % for the poorest.

In 2000, the Bolivian government launched a National Dialogue Against Poverty (NDAP) which started with consultations of representatives from municipal governments and local *comités de vigilancia*. Through a bottom-up consultation process that preceded the formulation of the Bolivian Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS), the National Dialogue finally agreed that the greater part (85%) of the funds liberated by the debt alleviation (around USD 110 million annually) should be shared out between the municipalities according to their level of poverty (The Bolivian PRSP, 2000). The municipalities are allowed to use these resources to finance or co-finance projects and activities according to locally established priorities, mainly social and productive infrastructure, insofar as these projects fall under the PRS main areas of intervention. The municipalities can also access additional resources from the *Fondo Socialy Productivo* (FPS), a national fund supported by international donors that co-finances projects submitted by the municipalities. In practice many municipalities have tended to use their share of the HIPC fund to cofinance projects submitted to the FPS (UNDP, 2005).

It is worth noting that the PRS document approved in 2001 is organised around four broadly defined components that includes; opportunity (employment and income); capacity (health and education); security and protection; and participation. These objectives are translated into five impact indicators and several results indicators that do not refer explicitly to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). A major criticism of this PRS is its lack of priorities. It includes a long list of actions that cover almost all governmental interventions, and the relationships between these actions and the projected results and impacts over the next 15 years (ISS, 2003). The implementation of the new financial transfer arrangements agreed in the National Dialogue 2000 has faced several problems. In 2002, the municipalities only executed 52 % of their debt alleviation resources, and many municipalities have had difficulties in elaborating projects that meet the FPS technical requirements (ISS, 2003). At the same time, the national government was facing a growing fiscal deficit as a result of a prolonged economic slowdown (1999-2003) coupled with ever-increasing public expenditure to cover rises in public sector wages and in retirement pension benefits.

However, there is no doubt that during the last decade the country has achieved significant progress in reducing illiteracy and increasing access to basic services, as a result of sustained public investment in education and social infrastructure (UNDP Bolivia, 2002). Nevertheless, the political and social crisis that the country went through in 2003 has manifested that structural adjustment and institutional reforms in Bolivia have so far had limited impact on long-standing problems of poverty and social exclusion.

Although Bolivia is among the countries of Latin America exhibiting the highest index of structural economic reforms, economic growth since the 1980s has not contributed to any significant reduction in income poverty

(UNDP, 2004). Actually, the incidence of poverty increased between 1999 and 2001, and income distribution inequalities have broadened (INE/UN/UDAPE, 2003; UNDP Bolivia, 2002). In 1999, Bolivia's income inequality coefficient was the second highest, after Brazil.

2.4. Government Decentralisation and Rural Poverty Reduction in Africa

Poverty in Africa is a rural phenomenon, a situation that is also true of other world regions (Bigsten, 1987; Ravallion, 1994; World Bank, 2000; IFAD, 2001). Rural poverty accounts for nearly all of the overall poverty in most countries in the developing world (Mwabu and Thorbecke, 2001). In Africa, rural poverty accounts for 90% and this exceptional poverty burden is due to large rural populations characterised by high incidences of poverty (Mwabu and Thorbecke, 2001).

Sub Saharan Africa accounts for a quarter of worlds 1.2 billion people living on less than \$1 a day. Out of the 20 countries classified by UNDP as possessing the lowest human development index, 19 are in Africa. Although a number of poverty reduction programs are being implemented in almost all these countries, little positive impact has been recorded. Poverty is still pervasive on the continent (UN-Habitat, 2002). According to IFAD (2002), rural poverty can be decisively reduced, and rural areas can give impetus to economic development throughout the continent. For this to happen, there has to be more investment in rural change, and the rural poor have to be enabled to take control of their own destinies. African countries have in fact been involved in such changes with regards to governance and economic organisations. There is a palpable and growing commitment to poverty reduction through economic liberalization, which is quite advanced in many African countries, and government decentralisation, which is an emerging reality.

Decentralisation advocates argue that decentralised governments are more responsive to the needs of the rural poor than central governments, and thus more likely to conceive and implement pro-poor policies (Crook, 2002). Decentralisation brings government closer to the governed both spatially and institutionally and thus the government will be more knowledgeable about and responsive to the needs of the people (Peterson, 1994; Tendler, 1997). This tendency to conflate decentralisation with democratisation and enhancement of participation at the grassroots level underlies the believe that decentralisation will lead to greater responsiveness to the rural poor. The theory that government decentralisation contributes to poverty reduction is an assumption that the study attempts to prove with a case study of Uganda and Moyo District in particular. The question such as, to what extend can government decentralisation programs lead to the pursuit of a policy on poverty, when the civil society is insufficiently supportive of people living in poverty and the rural poor themselves are insufficiently organised to be able to exercise effective influence on rural poverty reduction has not been answered by the literature above. Anther question, which this study attempts to answer is the extent to which government decentralisation has contributed to improvement of quality of services when local authorities are given responsibilities without human and other resources being put at their disposal.

2.4.1. Government Decentralisation and Poverty Reduction in Ghana In Ghana, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) lunched a major decentralisation program with the promulgation of PNDC Law 207 in 1988. The initiative for the program was inspired by the government's political philosophy of "power to the people" and its Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) whose principle concern was the role and responsibilities of the state and the expanding role of the private sector both in the sense of private commercial entrepreneurship and voluntary community initiatives (Asante and Ayee, 2004; Eboe, 2002; Keyi, 2000).

In the 1992 Constitution, various legislation on decentralisation and government publications and donor reports (LGA, 1993; GPPS 2002-2004, 2002; Ghana Vision 2020; PRA, 1998 to mention) have articulated the objectives of decentralisation. The objectives of decentralisation in Ghana include participation, empowerment, accountability, decongestion of the national capital, effectiveness and checking the urban-rural drift. According to Ayee (2004), specifically the decentralisation program was design to:

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- Devolve political and state power in order to promote participatory democracy through local level institutions.
- Deconcentrate and devolve administration, development planning and implementation to the district assemblies.
- Introduce an effective system of physical decentralisation that gives the district assemblies control over a substantial portion of their revenues.
- Establish a national development planning system to integrate and coordinate development planning at all levels and in all sectors.

Incorporate economic, social partial and environmental issues into the development planning process on an integrated and comprehensive basis

In addition to the above objectives, the individual Establishing Act (Legislative Instruments) for each of the district Assembles, which supplement the Local Government Act (Act 462), include a list of 86 specific responsibilities which include the following:

- > To construct and maintain feeder roads, streets parks and other public utilities
- To build, equip and maintain primary, middle, secondary and special schools
- > To maintain, as agents of the Ghana highway, trunk roads lying within boundaries of their areas of authority
- > To promote and safeguard public health
- > To regularly inspect the metropolitan are for the detection of nuisance or any condition likely to be offensive or injurious to health
- To establish, install, build, maintain and control public latrines, lavatories, urinals and wash places

- To establish, maintain and carry out services for the removal of nightsoil from any building and for the destruction and treatment of such night-soil.
- > To provide, maintain, supervise and control abattoirs.

From the above objectives of decentralisation in Ghana poverty reduction has not been explicitly mentioned. However, policy documents have left no doubt that the decision to engage in decentralisation process was also driven by poverty reduction concerns. The decentralisation program aimed to address a number of political and institutional development constraints that were only later more systematically referred to as causes of poverty (Asante and Ayee, 2004). For example, the absence of opportunities for political participation by the majority rural population, the allocative inefficiency and low degree of needs orientation of a top-down command administration, and the absence of private initiative and self-help were all referred to as poverty.

In 1992, the Ghana Government launched the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS). This represents comprehensive policies to support growth and poverty reduction over a three-year period (2002-2004). The preparation of GPRS was preceded by two other national development strategies since the mid 1990s, namely the Ghana Vision 2020 which was the first step (1996-2000) and the Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (2002-2004). The implementation of these two strategies met considerable challenges in part due to weak national ownership, unrealistic implementation strategies and inadequate financing (Olowu, et al, 2004; Republic of Ghana, 2002; Tetty, 2003). The GPRS attempted to address the mentioned challenges by instituting broad based consensus building among government, civil society, the private sector and development partners on key issues and programs for accelerated and sustained poverty reduction.

The Ghana government with the GPRS aimed at creating wealth by transforming the nature of the economy to achieve growth, accelerate poverty reduction and the protection of the vulnerable and excluded within a decentralised, democratic environment (Republic of Ghana, 2002). This goal is to be achieved by:

- > Ensuring sound economic management for accelerated growth.
- > Increasing production and promoting sustainable livelihoods.
- Direct support for human development and the provision of basic services.
- > Providing special programs in support of the vulnerable and excluded.
- > Ensuring good governance and increased capacity of the public sector.

The active involvement of the private sector as the main engine of growth and partner in nation building.

The GPRS will also ensure that all Ghanaians, irrespective of their socioeconomic status or where they reside, have access to basic social services such as healthcare, quality education, potable drinking water, decent housing, security from crime and violence and the ability to participate in decisions that affect their own lives (Republic of Ghana, 2002).

According to Asante and Ayee (2004), two main activities of the poverty strategy in line with the decentralisation process are:

- Strengthening leadership and capacity of district assemblies through district elections, traditional authority, local government service, district assemblies financial management role and training and refresher programs and among others.
- > Deepening district assemblies association with civil societies through establishing a working partnership with NGOs and the private business sector.

From close examination of the role of government decentralisation in poverty reduction with experience for Ghana, poverty seems to be closely linked to political factors such as access to power and resources and the accountable and transparent management of local affairs. A genuine devolution of resources and authority can create openings for local opportunities, traditional leaders, the private sector and Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to become more fully involved in local development processes. Thus, democratically controlled local governance system in Ghana's case seems to be a precondition for poverty reduction.

However, from the literature above, the link between decentralisation and rural poverty reduction has not come up very strongly. The literature has not extensively examined the degree of responsiveness to the rural poor and the extent to which decentralisation impacts on rural poverty. A process of decentralisation that can best serve rural poverty reduction is one that combines the strategies of political empowerment, resource mobilisation and enhanced service delivery. These have been given duly consideration in our study of Moyo District in Uganda.

2.4.2. Government Decentralisation and Poverty Reduction in Tanzania

Tanzania is a United Republic with two governments. The Union Government is in charge of all Union matters in the Republic and non-Union matters on the main land. The Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar is in charge of all non-Union matters in Zanzibar. Local Government happens to

be a non --union matter and therefore there are two ministries dealing with the matter each with its own jurisdiction (Max, 1991; Othman et al, 2002; Shivji et al, 2000).

Mainland Tanzañia is governed by Articles 145 and 146 contained in Chapter 8 of the 1977 Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, while Zanzibar is governed by Article 128 contained in Chapter 12, Section 2 of the 1984 Constitution of Zanzibar. According Othman et al (2002), the Mainland Tanzania has a long experience of function of local government starting with the Native Authority Ordinance of 1926. There was a ten-year break in 1972-1982, but when local authorities were reintroduced, it quickly picked up.

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In the case of Zanzibar, the 1964 Revolution not only abolished the monarchy, but also did away with separation of the legislature, the executive and the judiciary, and fused all the functions of those three organs into the Revolutionary Council consequently turning government institutions into party departments. Thus the party branch at the grassroots then became the focus of local governance (Max, 1991; Othman et al, 2002).

Since the promulgation of its first Post-Revolution Constitution in 1979, Zanzibar has passed several legislations on local government and has given the question of local governance big prominence. A constitutional Act No.3 of 1986 provided for the establishment of constituency governments, District Councils, Town Councils and Zanzibar Municipal Council (Othman et al, 2002).

The Tanzanian local government system is based on political devolution and decentralisation of functions and finances within a unitary state. According to Othman et al (2002), there are two types of local authorities in Mainland Tanzania. On the other one hand there are urban authorities and on the other there are rural district councils. The former comprise city council, township council and village councils. Local government authorities vary in size (geographical area), resource endowment and population. For example, Mwanza and Arusha municipal councils are both smaller in size than Monduli District Council but command far bigger resources in financial terms.

Local governments have responsibility for social development and public service provision. These responsibilities are translated into specific functions and duties of local governments and are spelt out in the relevant legislatives grouped under two categories-basic and general. The basic functions comprise ŝ,

of the responsibilities of each local government authority and revolve around three areas:

- > Maintenance of law, order and good governance.
- > Promotion of economic and social welfare of the people within their areas of jurisdiction.
- > Ensuring effective and equitable delivery of qualitative and quantitative services to the people within their areas of jurisdiction.

In addition to the basic functions all local governments are charged with seven other functions and duties as follows:

- Formulation, coordination and supervision of the implementation of all plans for economic, industrial and social development in their areas of jurisdiction.
- Monitoring and controlling the performance of duties and functions of the council and its staff.
- > Ensuring the collection and proper utilisation of the revenues of the council.
- Making by-laws applicable through their areas of jurisdiction and considering and improving bylaws made by village councils within their areas of jurisdiction.

- Ensuring, regulation and coordinating development plans, projects and programs of villages and township authorities within their areas of jurisdiction.
- Regulating and monitoring the collection and utilisation of revenue of village councils and township authorities.
- Subject to the laws in force, doing all such acts and things as may be done by a people's government.

Since 1999, the government of Tanzania embarked on a reform for its local government. A policy paper on Local Government Reform (1998), endorsed the broad objective, principals and strategies of this reform. The shared and common objective between local government reform and other sector reform initiatives is to improve on the quantity, quality and access to the public services provided by or facilitated through the Local Government Authorities (LGAs). In order to implement the government policy, in April 1999 Parliament passed the Local Government Laws (Miscellaneous Amendment) Act, 1999 which has been incorporated into Laws of Tanzania as Act No.6 of 1999. The Act provided for enabling provisions for the implementation of the local government reform. According to Kawa (2003), the institutional, policy and legal changes made under the local government system resulted in conflict with sectorial legal arrangements. In view of this the government declared that the relevant sector laws were to be reviewed and amended to bring them in line with institutional, policy and legal changes brought under the local government system. In tandem with these measures the government implemented other governance related reforms including the public sector reform; public financial management reform; sector reforms in health, education, water and agriculture to mention. This is a clear indication of the collective efforts of the political leadership to address the issue of poverty in the country.

A more concrete measure taken by the government in that direction is the adoption Strategy for Poverty Reduction in 2000. The poverty reduction strategy for the Mainland is based on three consideration. First, the strategy was viewed as an instrument for channelling national efforts toward broadly agreed objectives and specific inputs and outputs for poverty reduction. Secondly, the poverty reduction strategy is to a large extent an integral part of ongoing macroeconomic and structural; reforms that are being supported by Tanzania's multilateral and bilateral partners. Finally, in keeping with the concerns of stakeholders and guided by the overarching orientation of Tanzania Development Vision 2025 and the National Poverty Eradication Strategy, the focus of poverty reduction strategy concentrates on efforts aimed at reducing income poverty; improving human capabilities, survival and social well-being and containing extreme vulnerability among the poor (Broathen, 2005; Lange, 2005; Ngware, 2005). Zanzibar has adopted a similar strategic plan and, coupled with the Zanzibar Development Vision 2020, it aims at uplifting the status of the poor, improving the quality of life and addressing social exclusion.

The implementation of Poverty Reduction Strategy in rural areas will be implemented through two complementary initiatives. These are the and the Rural Development Strategy (ASDS) Agricultural Sector Development Strategy (RDS) both adopted by the government in 2001. Whereas the ASDS covers the agricultural sector, the RDS covers all dimensions of poverty reduction including agriculture, non-farm economic activities, social services and economic infrastructure. In addition to these policy initiatives, the RDS has been prepared in the context of various structural reforms that take key sectors such as agriculture, education, health and civil service reform, transport, water and local government (Boex, et al, 2003; Teggo et al, 2003; Steffensen et al 2004; Lange, 2005).

The overall objective of RDS is to provide a strategic framework that will facilitate the co-ordinated implementation of sector policies and strategies concerned with the development of rural communities. In particular, the RDS will support the implementation of the Poverty Reduction Strategy and create a development environment that will contribute to enabling rural communities and households achieve sustainable livelihoods. In this respect the RDS identifies short and medium term priorities that will support the goal of sustainable livelihoods and contribute to the long-term goal outlined in Vision 2025 (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2001).

2.5. Summary and Critical Reflection on the Literature

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Over the past decade, many countries across Africa, Asia and Latin America have initiated transition from centralised and authoritarian regimes to more decentralised and democratic forms of governance (Heller, 2001). Such moves towards government decentralisation have important effects on the relationships between the central state, local organisations and individual citizens.

The explanations for the emergence of government decentralisation as a major reform are diverse. First, there is increasing political demand for selfrule from societal groups from the authoritarian centralised state such as

Uganda and Bolivia. A second compelling factor is the dissatisfaction with the state and the failure of large, centralised development schemes to reach and involve intended beneficiaries and deliver tangible benefits to local people including disadvantaged groups in countries such as India, Bolivia Uganda and Tanzania. A third and increasingly important factor relates to the desire for national unity in a situation of ethnic and regional diversity in Asian, Latin American and African countries. The motives for government decentralisation are typically mixed and the key driving forces are frequently are administrative and fiscal considerations (Bossuyt and Gould, 2000; Crook, 2002; Manor, 1999; World Bank, 2000).

The relationship between government decentralisation and poverty reduction is not clarified in the literature. There seems to be little systematic evidence relating to the outcomes of government decentralisation processes. Evidence reviewed in Kerala, Bolivia, Ghana and Tanzania is partial or piecemeal. Moreover, government decentralisation is a complex process in its goals, design and implementation which makes it difficult to measure in degree as well as in outcomes. However, even if hard evidence is limited, certain general agreements seem to be emerging regarding the connection between government decentralisation and poverty reduction based on an increasing body of literature emerging from Kerala, Bolivia, Ghana and Tanzania. First of all, there seems to be agreement that government decentralisation has often had a variety of positive outcomes in terms of efficiency, governance and even occasionally poverty reduction.

From the illustrative cases from Kerala, Bolivia, Ghana and Tanzania, creation of new laws and institutions, the establishment of new locally elected bodies, a shift on the policy and practice of central state towards local level issues, emergence of multiparty systems, new fora and freedoms for citizens and civil society to organise and voice claims, more open public discourses including the media, the introduction of accountability mechanisms, increased local capacity to mobilise and manage resources and greater participation in local decision-making and public affairs.

Some initial changes have also emerged in the way rural services and resources are being managed at local level and in coordination of roles, rights and responsibilities between the state, local government and civil societies. For example, participation has become part of local vocabulary and mechanisms of participation and accountability are being employed by the local government administration and the technical services (Blair, 2001; Johnson, 2001). The relative successful stories bring us closer to understanding some of the key preconditions for good performance in

government decentralisation even if the good practice countries or areas within countries in which some degree of accountability and participation has been adopted or poverty reduction observed are limited in number.

The degree of success and criteria for success are being debated. Some of the initial successes have faded on the ground of little accountability and inclusiveness being found on closer scrutiny (Kerala, Bolivia and Ghana), while others are considered successful on certain accounts and less successful on others. However, compared to assumptions or goals of these important programmes, major deficiencies in the processes are often observed reflecting that government decentralisation faces many enemies and obstacles from central and local levels (Smoke, 2003; Crook, 2003).

An increasing body of literature underscores a weak connection between government decentralisation and poverty reduction (Crook, 2003; Schou and Steffensen, 2003; Smoke, 2003; World Bank, 2000). In the assessment of government decentralisation in Asia, Latin America and Africa, Crook and Sverrisson (2001), concluded that responsiveness to the poor was a rare outcome. Manor (1999) was pessimistic about the experiences of government decentralisation and poverty reduction in Bolivia and India. Manor held only Kerala to be successful in terms of responsiveness to local demand in comparison to Ghana. Similar evidence emerge from Blair's work in Bolivia and India, assessing the employment of mechanisms of accountability and participation and the degree to which these contributed to responsiveness and effective service delivery.

This is also underscored by a recent comparison between countries undertaken by Crook (2003), relating to linkage between government decentralisation and poverty reduction. Crook relied on some of the "best documented" African cases such as Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Tanzania, Kenya and South Africa. Crook based his analysis on the same independent variables related to poverty reduction and concluded that government decentralisation will empower the local elite who are resistant to or uninterested in development of pro-poor policies. He perceives, on contrary, elite capture of the new structures being promoted by the ruling elite in a desire to create or maintain power bases in the rural areas. Accountability arrangements are too weak to represent the substantive interests of the poor in decision making even if there are cases of the rural poor acquiring some representation through democratic decentralisation processes.

Some key gaps emerged from the literature reviews which we would like to further explore in our study. For example, it emanated from some the

literatures cited that government decentralisation was as a fixed form of government (Crook, 2003 and Johnson, 2001). In our study, we perceive government decentralisation as an evolving political and administrative process rather than a particular form of organisation structure of institutional management. Bearing in mind that the characteristics of decentralisation in any particular country are dynamic and are subject to rapid change depending on the current government in power and popular trends, our study is limited to Uganda. Because decentralisation is such a new concept in many countries and Uganda in particular, for us it is a learning process. We have further narrowed our study to the role government decentralisation plays in rural poverty reduction in Uganda and Moyo District in particular.

In the existing literature, government decentralisation has assumed an important place in modern day development ideology in Africa (Crook, 2003; Olowu, 2003). However, the linkage between government decentralisation and poverty reduction has not been clearly articulated in the literature. There is rhetoric of what government decentralisation should do for the citizenry of countries in Africa in the areas of social, economic and political arenas without a case study to access the impact on rural poverty reduction. This study attempts to bridge this gape with a case study of Moyo District. Some of the literature provides relatively weak correlation that exists between government decentralisation and poverty reduction. Despite great strides at devolving power to local, democratically elected bodies, government decentralisation has remained at rhetorical level as far as rural poverty is concerned. The literature has failed to offer concrete evidence of the role of government decentralisation in rural poverty reduction. The central question of whether decentralisation is an effective means of fighting rural poverty has not been clearly answered in the literature; this study therefore endeavours to bridge the gap.

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Some of the literatures do not form pro-poor points of view. This study endeavours to explore and examine whether decentralised forms of government are more responsive to needs of the poor and hence are more likely to conceive and implement pro-poor polices. It attempts to answer the questions such as; what is happening to rural poverty under government decentralisation? What does the local government and the local people have to offer to reduce persistent poverty in Uganda and Moyo District in Particular?

2.5. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

2.5.1. Theoretical Framework.

The fight against poverty is a central concern among researchers, decision makers, donors and households. However, the fight against poverty is an objective that is difficult to identify and translate into effective policies. According to Baccanfuso (2004), in order for the fight against poverty to become a consensus objective, it is necessary to identify its credible theoretical and operational content, identify the real issues and most promising approaches, understand the processes at work and reconstitute the chains of causality.

As a concept, poverty has its origin in social ethics, which belongs to the field of political philosophy on which the theory of arrangement of society is based (Asselin and Dauphin, 2001). This area of philosophical research belongs to the foundations of the theory of social choice. Social ethics is also deeply rooted in the more global subject of moral philosophy.

Why should we consider that the concept of poverty is primarily an ethical concept? Essentially, to think about poverty means to identify individual situations, which are judged unacceptable, that means unfair, unjust in a given society. Thus, the concept of poverty arises basically from normative considerations in regards to equity. Within the body of political philosophy, the theory of justice is the most appropriate domain on which to rely for the development of the concept of poverty. This study on the role of government decentralisation in rural poverty reduction will be rooted in four philosophical and socio-economic theories namely; welfarist theory (utilitarianism), social contract theory, Sen's capability approach to equity and basic needs approach.

The welfarist theory better known as utilitarianism is a dominant doctrine, which developed two centuries ago in the western industrialised world (Asselin and Dauphin, 2001). This theory has been developed as a strict economic view of the best social arrangement, dominated by two concepts: Growth and Efficiency. Equity is a by-product of aggregate utility maximization, and then consists of equal marginal individual utilities (Asselin and Dauphin, 2001). We recognise in all this what is usually named economic neo-liberalism. From the achievement space reduce to utility, the marginalist analysis transposes equity considerations in the income space as a resource space: income determines the utility level. Poverty is then defined as a socially unacceptable level of income and poverty reduction policies will mostly try to increase the productivity of the poor.

In contrast to utilitarianism or welfarism is the social contract theory, which has also quite old historical roots. Rawls (1971), with his theory of justice, is the most influential modern philosopher to explore and systematize this approach to ethics. Equity (or justice) is directly and explicitly considered as what should be the basis of the social arrangements and has always priority over growth and efficiency considerations. Social democracy appears as the corresponding natural political regime, in which economics is subordinated to politics. On these theoretical grounds, Sen (1982) proposed his capability approach to equity. The space where equality should be looked for is the freedom space; consisting of a set specific capabilities defined in reference of corresponding types of achievements he called 'functionings' (Sen, 1982). Poverty is then defined in reference to a subset of capabilities identified as basic capabilities and by unacceptable deficiencies in these basic capabilities. Poverty reduction policies will then look for empowerment of the poor.

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The basic needs school transposes the equity debate from social theory to policy area and goes directly to poverty issue. Some types of poverty must be identified and reduced with a short-term perspective (Asselin and Dauphin, 2001). Without rejecting the productivity approach to poverty reduction favoured by welfarist, it identifies a small set of achievements corresponding to the satisfaction of some basic needs and requires that poverty reduction

policies ensures as quickly as possible that everybody achieves these basic satisfactions. Strictly speaking, this school is not guided by welfarist objectives, neither by freedom considerations, but essentially by humanitarian prepositions.

In recent years, poverty has been viewed in a more holistic sense, based at least in part on the increased credence given to the views of the poor themselves. Bevan and Joireman (1997) argue that, while poverty everywhere involves people experiencing very real material and other deprivations, the concept of poverty is used to cover a wide-ranging set of interrelated life-chances, which vary and are valued differently in the diverse cultures of the world.

On this basis, the notion of what constitutes 'basic needs' has expanded to encompass food, water, shelter and clothing, but also access to other assets such as education, health, credit, participation in political process, security and dignity. The Copenhagen Social Summit (1995) was the first major international gathering to mark the expansion of the concept of poverty and well-being. The World Bank (2000) describes poverty in terms of material deprivation, low levels of education and health, exposure to vulnerability and risk, voicelessness and powerlessness. Multi-dimensional approaches capture

the full range of deprivations that constitute poverty and may give voice to the lack precision and comparability of poor, but they the income/consumption measures. Indeed the rural poor are likely to be poor in several ways, not only in terms of income. However, this study has not covered all the multi dimensional aspects poverty. The areas that has been covered by this study included poverty dimensions in education, health, water and sanitation, rural feeder roads and agricultural extension services which are the focus of the current decentralisation program in Uganda.

2.6.2. Conceptual Framework.

2.6.2.1. Conceptual Linkage Between Government Decentralisation and Rural Poverty Reduction

In the economics literature of poverty, decentralisation has long been ignored. Even research on public spending and targeting of the poor hardly touches decentralisation (Van de Walle and Nead, 1995). In the mid-nineties, there was a strong focus on public sector reform as well as capacity building and institutional strengthening to increase both, the focus on social priorities and the capacity of the state to reduce poverty (Lipton and Van der Gaag, 1993). Recently, increased attention is being paid to promoting opportunities, to human resource, enhancing security and rights, and is directly linked to decentralisation. Thus lately decentralisation and poverty reduction have come jointly into focus through the search for good governance and related poverty implications (Dethier, 2000).

Participatory local governments are generally better informed about the needs and prefaces of local population than central government, which has limited capacity to collect information. In a decentralised system, monitoring and control of local agents by local communities is easier in principle. Elected local government may generally be more accountable and responsive to poor people and better at involving the poor in political processes. Decision making at local level gives more responsibility, ownership and thus incentives to local agents and local information can often identify cheaper and more appropriate ways of providing public goods (Bardhan, 1997).

However, there are also dangers and advantages for the poor as a consequence of decentralisation. Problems of expenditure control, which are more complicated in a decentralised government than in centralised government system, can arise and may lead to the capture of public resources by the elite and administrations at the local level (Grote and Braun, 2000). Government decentralisation can also lead to fragmentation of society and exclusion of the poor by the elite. According to Grote and Braun (2000), while successful decentralisation may improve the efficiency and responsiveness of the public sector to the needs of the poor, unsuccessful decentralisation may threaten economic and political stability with negative outcomes for the delivery of public services of particular relevance for the poor. If decentralisation were to raise economic welfare, but combine this increased poverty, there could theoretically be a call for compensation of the poor.

Besley (1997) categorises approaches to poverty reduction into two alternatives: technocratic or institutional. The former emphasises targeting and explores program designs that try to direct limited resources to people with greatest need. The later approach notes, that the poor lack political power and that administrative incompetence and corruption hinder service delivery of government. Poverty reduction therefore requires developing institutions and changed political structures, improved governance and changed attitude towards the poor.

Decentralisation has implication for both of those two broad approaches. Decentralisation may facilitate more effective technocratic program designs as regional targeting may be facilitated. Accountability of bureaucrats may be strengthened and managing poverty reduction programs may be

enhanced. Decentralisation also can offer the legal framework and serve as a means for institutional approaches to poverty reduction as it may enhance political power of the poor through increased participation.

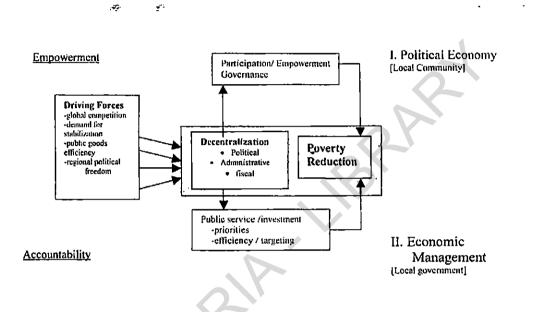
Taking these two broad categories of poverty reduction approaches as a base, we move from the pro and cons of decentralisation towards a conceptual framework. We essentially distinguish between two sets of linkages i.e. political empowerment and efficiency linkages. In both linkages, adverse forces and risks may interfere and undermine potential benefits of decentralisation for the poor.

- Against a political economy background, decentralisation may promote participation by the poor, facilitate increased supervisory powers and enhancement of pro-poor choices of investment.
- > From the economic management perspective, decentralisation may help local government to improve the efficiency of public service delivery to the poor and targeting efficiency in transfer programs.

While equity and efficiency considerations are thus described as largely independent, they generally overlap. By engaging the poor in operating, monitoring and evaluation of delivery of public service at the local level, accountability of local government increases leading to more efficiency in the delivery of public goods. The two linkages are explored further below:

Figure I: Conceptual Framework

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Source: Grate and van Braun (2000), <u>Does Decentralization Serve the Poor</u>? Centre for Development Research, University of Bonn.

2.6.2.2. Link 1: Decentralisation, Participation and Empowerment for Poverty Reduction

Decentralisation is a way to enable civil society to participate in the policy process and thus, to increases transparency and predictability of decisionmaking. Local governments are generally better informed about and more responsive to needs and preferences of local populations than central governments (Asselin and Dauphin, 2001). It is easier for them to identify and reach the poor as long as local politics permit this. Decentralisation also has the principle advantage that officials can be more easily monitored and controlled by the local communities than officials in the central government if the rule of law exists on the local level.

Whether local participation in governance system of public goods and services will really have a positive impact on low-income groups is unclear. Participation to be operational requires first a minimum of education, basic capabilities and equality based on gender, religions or castes and secondly empowerment of people at local level. Often these preconditions are not given; in addition, local elite has often direct access to and influence over local officials and resist sharing power in new decentralisation and participation policies (Narayan, 2000). If communities or the state cannot influence or control the actions and power of local leadership, then this may lead to investments, which benefit the elite interest and an under-investment in public goods and service for the poor. There is also evidence that in many settings, such as heterogeneous communities and underdeveloped rural economies, the benefits of decentralised social programs are captured by local elite (Bardhan, 2000, Galasso and Revallion, 2000). Grote and Braun (2000), argue that pro poor coalitions like cooperatives or farmers or the landless may be important to improve the outcomes of decentralisation from an equity perspective. But the political system is often such that those who are in power have few incentives to allow participatory institutions to develop. Mahal and Sanan (2000), tested the hypothesis that increased decentralisation/democratisation at local level positively influences enrolment rates and child mortality once the influence of socio-economic circumstances, civil society organisations, the problem of capture of local bodies by elite groups are controlled. Mahal (2000), found out that indicators of decentralisation and public participation such as frequency of elections, presence of non-governmental organisations, parent-teachers associations and indicator variables for decentralised states generally have the expected positive effects.

2.6.2.3. Link 2: Decentralisation, Public Service and Pro-Poor Development

From the perspective of information and transaction costs, Grote and Braun (2000), provide an arrangement for centralisation if the central authority has unlimited ability to gather, process and disseminate information. However, there are advantages to decentralisation since central authority does not generally have the unlimited ability to gather, process and disseminate

information. Decentralisation can be powerful in achieving development goals by assigning control rights to people who have the information and incentives to make decisions best suited to those needs (Bardhan and Mookherjee, 1998). For example, local information can often identify cheaper and more appropriate ways of providing public goods (Bardhan, 1997).

Decentralisation can also be seen as a way to increase accountability of local officials by bringing authority to the local level. Decision-making at the local level gives more responsibility, ownership and thus incentives to local agents. There is some evidence that, by making local officials more accountable and placing responsibility for decision-making and implementation in the hands of local stakeholders, the quality and efficiency of public service improves (Bardhan, 1997).

What local governments can achieve depends on the resources and responsibilities they are granted. The separation of financing responsibilities from expenditure administration can lead to inefficiencies. Tanzi (2000) notes that certain conditions have to be met before fiscal decentralisation can successfully take place. These include conditions related to tax administration, public expenditure management systems, or hard budget constraints, which derive from political and administrative decentralisation.

According to Grote and Braun (2000), in a politically and administratively decentralised system, each tier of government feels entitled to add its own regulations. The resulting fragmentation of the domestic market can lead to distortions in resource allocations. Excessive legislation may be a consequence too, driven by the scope for local rents to be captured by bureaucrats and policy markets. This may also apply to public services meant to cater to the needs of the poor. Regulations in such areas as health, sanitations and environmental protection often result in significant expenses for enterprises and therefore, have often been breeding grounds for corrupt practices. Even when bureaucrats are accountable to the local government, benefits can be captured by interest groups with implication for efficiency. Capture leads to several problems in the delivery of local public services including cost effectiveness and black market problems. Corrupt bureaucrats will tend to overstate costs, divert the public goods to resell it to the non-poor on the black market or give priority to powerful socio-economic groups (Dethier, 2000). According to Alderman (1999), the increasing complexity of decentralised programs may raise the potential of improved delivery, but it also increases the chances for misallocation of funds at different modes of the system.

Gupta, Davoodi and Alonso-Terme (1998), argue that many decentralised counties have corruption problem. For example, Nigeria and Uganda are at the bottom of the Transparency International Index. They argued that corruption increases poverty and the extent it is increased or reduced by decentralisation is relevant here. Gupta, at al (1998), show that corruption increases income inequality and poverty through channels such as lower growth, regressive taxes, less effective targeting of social programs, unequal access to education, policy biases favouring inequality in asset ownership, reduced social spending, and higher investment risks for the poor. Kaufman (1999) has found out that corruption increases infant mortality and reduces life expectancy and literacy rates.

Proximity between the government and the governed may reduce corruption due to improved accountability and transparency. However, there is also empirical evidence and economic theory indicating that decentralisation may increase corruption and reduce accountability (Rose-Ackerman, 1997). According to Tanzi (2000), corruption is often more wide spread at the local level than the national level. Tanzi argues that it is easier to enforce the rule of law among strangers than among neighbours or friends at the local level. It is also easier to buy votes or influence in a local setting. This study is an explore and critically examine the role government attempt to

decentralisation in rural poverty reduction in Uganda and Moyo District in particular. We shall endeavour to examine the socio-demographic and economic characteristics of households. We shall also critically scrutinise social service delivery under the contemporary government decentralisation taking education, health, water and sanitation, rural feeder roads and agricultural extension services as our central focus. We shall evaluate the involvement of the local government in planning, utilisation and management of resources in relation to poverty reduction in Moyo District.

2.7. Definition of Key Terms

The key terms used in this study are defined below and these include: Poverty, Rural poverty, Poverty reduction, Government, Governance, Government decentralisation, Local government, Local governance and Social Service Delivery.

2.7.1. Poverty

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Frequent usage of the term poverty in different contexts and within conceptual frameworks has resulted in a variety of new meanings and concepts. According to Braun and Madge (1982), poverty is unsatisfactory and undesirable circumstances, whether material, emotional, physical or behavioural as admitted by a high level of societal consensus. It involves a

lack of something generally held to be desirable. For example, lack of an adequate income, good health, shelter, education etc., a lack, which goes with a greater or lesser extent with some degree of suffering.

Poverty may also be defined as a lack of means to satisfy material and social needs as well as a feeling of powerlessness. Poverty being multi-dimensional concept must be conceived beyond low levels of income and such dimensions include powerlessness, insecurity, social exclusion, and remoteness (Esuruku, 2003). This study has adopted and used the later definition of poverty.

2.7.2. Rural Poverty

Rural poverty is inability of the rural people to attain a decent living standard. According to IFAD (2001), the rural poor suffer from interlocked disadvantages; they live in remote rural areas, they are usually unhealthy and illiterate, have bigger families, work in insecure and relatively unproductive jobs and may experience discrimination as women and as members of ethnic minorities.

2.7.3. Poverty Reduction

Rural poverty reduction is the process overcoming disadvantages steaming from remoteness, lack of education and health care, insecure and unproductive jobs, high fertility, gender discrimination and ethnic minorities (IFAD, 2001). Poverty reduction is a process of creating opportunities for the poor to free themselves from their poverty; this can be achieved via the state, the market and society.

According to Crook (2002), poverty reduction is a complex and multifaceted concept with the following dimensions:

- Empowerment of the poor understood as effective participation and voice met by some degree of responsiveness on the part of the government.
- Social or human capacity development through better access to health, education, water and infrastructure.
- > Economic gains by the poor through pro-poor growth or improved economic opportunities.
- Social inequality reduction through income redistribution and reduction of inter-regional disparities.

Poverty reduction demands that the poor themselves are involved in the development process and their views are utilised in the process of poverty free growth (Esuruku, 2003). The participation of the poor in poverty reduction process will increase the opportunity for equality, democracy and sustainable development. In this study, poverty reduction will be perceived as a process of tackling the causes of poverty itself through sustainable development. To reduce rural poverty, the rural poor must have legally secure entitlements to assets such as land, water, credit, information, technology and human assets like health, child nutrition, education and skills and access to market.

2.7.4. Government Decentralisation

Government decentralisation is a term that means different things to different people depending on their interest and area of focus (Nsibambi, 1998). According to Grote and Braun (2000), government decentralisation is the transfer of authority and responsibility of public functions from central government to subordinate government. Government decentralisation refers to the redefinition of structures, procedures and practices of governance to be closer to the citizenry (Miller, 2002). Government decentralisation in this study is perceived as an evolving political and administrative process rather than a particular form of organisational structure or institutional arrangement. There are different forms of decentralisation that are often recognised in literature. These include deconcentration, delegation, devolution and sometimes privatisation.

(i) Deconcentration often referred to as administrative or bureaucratic decentralisation describes the transfer of specific functions of the central government institutions to the peripheral agencies of the same central government institutions without the transfer of the faculty of interinstitutional or inter-sectoral coordination or integration (UNFPA, 2000). In this type of decentralisation, the decentralised agencies remain dependent on the central government.

Deconcentration assigns specific functions and tasks performed by the central administration to the districts. Administrative staff, equipment, and budgetary resources are transferred to the districts and the district officials are given authority for autonomous decision regarding the operations previously undertaken by the central government.

(ii) Delegation is the attribution of certain specific functions to semi autonomous autarchic or parastatal organisations, which execute them independently, without owning direct responsibility to either local or sectoral central government institutions (UNFPA, 2000). Delegation is a more extensive form of decentralisation. Through delegation central governments transfer responsibility for decisionmaking and administration of public functions to semi-autonomous organisations not wholly controlled by the central government, but ultimately accountable to it. Governments delegate responsibilities when they create public enterprises or corporations, housing authorities, transportation authorities, special service districts, semi-autonomous school districts, regional development corporations, or special project implementation units. Usually these organisations have a great deal of discretion in decision-making. They may be exempt from constraints on regular civil service personnel and may be able to charge users directly for services.

(iii) Devolution refers to the transfer of specific functions to the local authorities together with the legal basis, capacity for the generation of material and human resources and discretionary decision power (UNFPA, 2000). The decentralised agencies in this context have little reliance on the central government, unless prescribed in the legal basis for the devolution. When governments devolve functions, they transfer authority for decision-making, finance, and management to quasiautonomous units of local government with corporate status. Devolution usually transfers responsibilities for services to municipalities that elect their own mayors and councils, raise their own revenues, and have independent authority to make investment decisions. In a devolved system, local governments have clear and legally recognised geographical boundaries over which they exercise authority and within which they perform public functions. It is this type of administrative decentralisation that underlies most political decentralisation.

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(iv) Privatisation refers to a complete and final transfer of a package of government service to private for-profit or non-for-profit organisations. Privatisation can range in scope from leaving the provision of goods and services entirely to the free operation of the market to "public-private partnerships" in which government and the private sector cooperate to provide services or infrastructure. Privatisation can include: 1) allowing private enterprises to perform functions that had previously been monopolized by government; 2) contracting out the provision or management of public services or facilities to commercial enterprises (indeed, there is a wide range of possible ways in which function can be organised and many examples of within public sector and public-private institutional forms, particularly in infrastructure; 3) financing public sector programs through the capital market (with adequate regulation or measures to prevent situations where the central government bears the risk for this borrowing) and allowing private organisations to participate; and 4) transferring responsibility for providing services from the public to the private sector through the divestiture of state-owned enterprises.

2.7.5. Government

There are several definitions of what exactly constitutes a government. The term government comes from the Greek word "Kubernites" which means steersman, governor, pilot or rudder (Webster, 1999). It is an organisation that has power to make and enforce laws. In its broadest sense, it demonstrates the power to administrate, whether over an area of land, a set group of people or a collection of assets. Government is also defined as the dominant decision-making arm of the state. This is because it has power over violence and can use force within a territory (Webster, 1999). Government can also be defined as the political means of creating and enforcing laws typically via a bureaucratic hierarchy. Government is also defined as an organisation that attempts to maintain control of a territory, where "control" involves activities such as collecting taxes, controlling entry and exit to the state, preventing encroachment of territory by neighbouring states and preventing the establishment of alternative governments within the country. For our purposes, the term government refers to the executive branch with the power over the legislature.

2.7.6. Governance

The term governance means different things to different people. In its broadest terms, governance is about the institutional environment in which citizens interact among themselves and with government agencies. According to the World Bank (1991), the concept governance is concerned directly with the management of the development process involving both the public and the private sectors. It encompasses the functioning and capability of the public sector as well as the rules and institutions that create the framework for the conduct of both public and private business including accountability for economic and financial performance and regulatory framework relating to companies, corporations and partnerships.

Governance in the context of this study is perceived as the exercise of political, administrative and economic authority to manage a country's affairs. It entails participation, transparency, efficiency and equity in the application of laws in any given country. In this perspective governance comprises of the mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligation and mediate their differences.

2.7.7. Local Government

Local government can be defined as a sub-national level of government, which has jurisdiction over a limited range of state functions within a defined geographical area, which is part of a larger territory (Miller, 2002). Local governments also defined as administrative offices of an area smaller than a state. The term is used to contrast with offices at nation-state level, which are referred to as the central government, national government, or (where appropriate) federal government (Wikipedia, 2005).

In modern nations, local governments usually have less powers than national governments do. They usually have some power to raise taxes, though these may be limited by central legislation. In some countries local government is partly or wholly funded by subventions from central government taxation.

The institutions of local government vary greatly between countries, and even where similar arrangements exist, the terminology often varies. Common names for local government entities include state, province, region, department, County, district, city, township, town, borough, Parish, municipality, shire and village. However all these names are often used informally in countries where they do not describe a legal local government entity (Wikipedia, 2005). For our purpose, local government will encompass institutions, structures that exercise governmental functions at local level.

2.7.8. Local Governance

Local governance refers to the processes through which public choice is determined, policies formulated and decisions are made and executed at the local level, and to the roles and relationships between the various stakeholders which make up society (Miller, 2002). It is an exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage local affairs. It is a framework of rules and practices that set limits on the behaviour of individuals, organisations and companies within the framework of local government.

2.7.9. Social Service Delivery

In our study, Social Service Delivery (SSD) is perceived as the provision of basic community goods and services by the central government, donors, NGOs and other voluntary organisations geared towards improvement of quality, performance and efficiency in health, education, water and sanitation, rural roads and agricultural services under the local government.

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Our understanding is that social service delivery addresses local needs and it needs direction if they are to serve people better. Social service delivery creates jobs, facilitates economic development, sets up access to support services, improves infrastructure support and enhances human capital.

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2.8. Summary

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This chapter provided literature about government decentralisation and poverty reduction. It attempted to critically explore and examine the link between government decentralisation and poverty reduction in developing countries and Africa in particular. It has also explored the theoretical and conceptual framework that guides the study. The definitions of the key terms used in the study have also been considered in the chapter. The next chapter deals with government decentralisation and poverty reduction in Ugandan context.

CHAPTER THREE

GOVERNMENT DECENTRALISATION AND POVERTY REDUCTION IN UGANDA

3.1. Introduction

. بالغر Uganda has one of the most ambitious decentralisation programs amongst developing countries (MFPED, 2002). The process of decentralisation is at the heart of Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), which sets out the strategy through which the Government of Uganda (GOU) aims at reducing absolute poverty to 10% by 2017. The Millennium Development Goal for poverty eradication, which set its target to 28% by 2015, is considerably less ambitious than the PEAP target.

According to the Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development (2002), the PEAP is implemented through the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF). The GOU is among the front-runners in translating debt relief under the Highly Indebted Poor Country Initiative into increased financing for Poverty Reduction Programs via the Poverty Action Fund (PAF). The combination of the PEAP/MTEF framework and the PAF resource transfer modalities have given donors sufficient confidence to provide a growing proportion of their aid as budget support. Uganda's decentralisation program consists of an innovative combination of three forms of decentralisation namely privatisation, devolution and deconcentration (MOLG, 2003). The government has privatised a number of services that used to be provided by the state; it has devolved substantial powers to local governments; and some of the central government functions have been deconcentrated to the districts. However devolution is the dominant form of Decentralisation Uganda government has adopted since 1992.

3.2. Overview of Decentralisation in Uganda

The modern state of Uganda was a colonial creation (Lubanga, 1996). Before the establishment and consolidation of effective colonial administration, each tribal institution had its own system of local government, ranging from the monarchical centralised system of hierarchical kingdoms to highly centralised non-kingdom areas of the North-East and the South-Western Uganda (Lubanga, 1996). The colonial regime in 1919, attempted to set up local administration when the African (Native) Authority Ordinance (NAO) was passed to provide powers and duties to African chiefs. The chiefs then collected taxes, presided over native courts, maintained law and order, enforced laws and constituted native councils at district and lower levels (Lubanga, 1996). However, the native councils were not representative and democratic, they simply provided forum for the chiefs to exercise their powers.

According to Lubanga (1996), after 1919, the local government in Uganda went through two main important watersheds. First, the reforms under the African Local Government Ordinance (ALGO) of 1949 provided for the setting up of body-corporate councils in all districts and functional committees. Second, there were reforms under the 1955 District Council Ordinance (DCO) that provided for elected majority in the council and also endowed the council with the legal power to assume wider functions in areas such as primary education, local forests, rural leprosy work, provision of local courts, maintenance of local roads to mention a few.

According to Lubanga (1996), the period between 1962-1966 witnessed a blossoming of local governments in Uganda. The kingdom governments and district councils exercised considerable authorities and set up priorities in the areas of their jurisdiction and executed their decisions. However, it was also during this period that seeds for emasculation of local governments were sown. The central government became worried about autonomous local governance and started curtailing the powers of councils on the pretext that they were breeding grounds for opposition. For example, in December 1963, district councils lost their powers to appoint and remove their political heads (Secretary generals) to the central government. The relationship between the central and local government deteriorated in 1966 when the conflict between Buganda kingdom and the central government was given a military solution. In the following year, the 1967 constitution was promulgated and in the same year the Local Administration Act was enacted which centralised power and stifled local decision-making.

The current philosophy of government decentralisation in Uganda is closely related to the 1980s National Resistance Movement (NRM) liberation struggle. This is clearly stated in the Ten Point Program (TPP) whose first objective was to create a local government system that would be democratic, participatory, efficient and development oriented. It also stated that the system would empower communities to take charge of their own destiny through local institutions of self-governance and resource mobilisation (Nielsen, 1996).

In 1980s, the National Resistance Army (NRA) launched a popular guerrilla movement, which promised a fundamental change in Uganda, which focused its mobilisation on the rural peasantry and other marginalised social forces. To draw on popular support to counter and survive state oppression, the NRA

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had to broaden the parameters of popular participation and this brought within its rubric formally excluded social groups such as women and youth. The development of the Resistance Council (RC) system then directly relates to the specific needs of the mass struggle in the 1980s as a revolutionary process where broader democratic structures became necessary (Dungu, 1994). The RC System was one such structure that was started in war zones, to enable people choose leaders and participate in decision making in their communities.

The RC system was a hierarchical structure of councils and committees that stretched from village RC1 to District RC, up to the legislature the National Resistance Council (NRC). Every village community was organised into a Resistance Council with the Village Council as RC1, Parish, RC2, Sub-county RC3 County RC4 and the District RC5. In respect of each RC there was a Resistance Committee of nine (9) members elected from the members of the Resistance Council comprised of the Chairperson, Vice Chairperson, General Secretary and Secretaries for Women, Information, Youth, Defence and Mass Mobilisation. Mandatory positions for women and youth in such structures were particularly the first of its kind (Tamale, 1999, Byanyima, 1992). To many observers and scholars, this inclusion of previously marginalised social groups as participants in community affairs was one cutting edge of the RC system in terms of changing the political landscape in Uganda.

However, similar to mass participation and democratic structures that evolved within the context of mass struggles, the RC system had a number of democracy deficits. The combination of two contrasting roles, that is, original populist role of RCs as instruments of the people to check state power and their bureaucratisation as instruments of local administration overtime undermined their capacity to fulfil any of the roles (Makara, 1997; Dungu, 1994). The mode of election was only direct at village level and the rest of the levels were indirect elections where elected members for one level would constitute the Electoral College (EC) for the level above it.

Launching the government decentralisation program in 1992, president, Yoweri Museveni, noted that the RC system had eliminated some of the problems related to local authority and peoples participation, but the system was more of a limited deconcentration. The limitations of the RC system were located in the fact that they were dual systems of local administration, and lack of clear mechanisms of accountability overshadowed the RC system and as expected, there arose conflict between the RCs and the chiefs. Seeking to place the new initiative of decentralisation within an historical context,

Museveni submitted thus:

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You will recall that in 1967, the republican constitution replaced 1962 Independence Constitution that had devolved the significant powers to local authorities and had granted them sufficient revenues to enable them to deliver services efficiently. The 1967 constitution and the Local Administration Act (LAA) centralised powers and severely constrained local authorities. Between 1967 and 1970 local governance deteriorated rapidly as local administration political offices became appointive. Without direct accountability to the electorate for the efficient and effective provision of services, the discipline of the councils generated and so did the services. Then came Idi Amin who dissolved district and Municipal Councils (MC) in 1971. When Milton Obote reigned as a president for the second time, his regime did not make any effort to revive democratic local governance. Instead, the regime set out to monopolize the control and distribution of resources at the local and national levels partly to acquire a decisive capacity to starve opponents into submission and partly to reward proven party functionaries and supporters (Republic of Uganda, 1992).

The launch of the decentralisation program in 1992 led to the Local Government (Resistance Councils) Statute in 1993 and this provided for the transfer of powers and resources to the local governments which began with phase one with thirteen districts (out of 45 then). The local government statute 1993 gave powers and responsibilities to every RC to exercise political and administrative authority and provide services as it deemed fit within its own area of jurisdiction (Kasumba, 1997). During the Constituent Assembly in 1993/4, government decentralisation emerged as one of the most contentious issues with some sections of Ugandan society preferring federalism to decentralisation as they argued that the latter was merely borrowed power (CA proceedings, 1994). Government decentralisation, however, had a strong backing, also due to the composition of the Constituent Assembly fairly dominated by delegates who supported the NRM positions. Government decentralisation eventually enshrined in the 1995 Constitution.

3.3. The Institutional Framework for Government Decentralisation In Uganda

Article 176 (b) of the Ugandan constitution stipulates that government decentralisation shall be the principle applying to all levels of Local government and in particular, from higher to lower local government unites to ensure peoples participation and democratic control in decision making. Government decentralisation in Uganda is legally guided by the Local Government Act, (1997), whose objectives are stated as follows:

- > To give full effect to decentralisation and devolution of functions, powers, responsibilities and service at all levels of local governments.
- > To ensure democratic participation in and control of decision making by the people concern.
- > To establish a democratic, political and gender sensitive administrative set up in Local Governments.

- > To establish sources of revenue and financial accountability.
- > To provide for election of Local Councils.

The specific objectives of decentralisation in Uganda are stated as:

- > To transfer real power to the districts and thus reduce the load of work on the remote and under-resourced central officials.
- > To bring political and administrative control over services to the point where they are actually delivered, thereby improving accountability and effectiveness, and promoting people's feeling of ownership of programs and projects in their districts.
- > To free local managers from central constraints and as a long term goal allow them to develop organisational structures tailored to local circumstances.
- > To improve financial accountability and responsibility by establishing a clear link between the payment of taxes and provision of services.
- To improve the capacity of local councils to plan, finance and manage the delivery of services to the constituents.

The current system of Councils, though based on the RC system, presents major changes too. The RCs have been transformed into more conventional local government units, known as Local Councils (LCs). The system of local government is based on the District as a unit rather than a part of a political movement and there are no intermediate levels between the national and local government. Under the district, we have the lower local governments and administrative units and every local government council is a body corporate. In case of urban councils, the city is equivalent to a district, while municipal councils and town councils are equivalent to the Sub-county as lower local governments.

According to the Local Governments Act (1997), Councils and Committees are constituted by elected representatives. At LC1, there are ten positions of the Executive Committee, composed of, the Chairperson, Vice Chairperson also Secretary for children welfare, General Secretary, Secretary for Information, Education and Mobilisation, Secretary for Security, Secretary for Finance, Secretary for production and Environmental protection; the chairperson of the Women Councils at village level, Secretary for Women and Public health Coordinator, Chairperson of the Youth Council at village level, Secretary for Youths, and the Chairperson of the Organisation for Persons with Disabilities (PWDs) at the village level and secretary for PWDs. At LC 2 level, all Village Executive Committees in a Parish form the Electoral College and elect another Executive Committee with similar positions at that level. Also at LC4 the elected representatives at LC3 constitute the Electoral College from which an executive Committee is elected. In other words, with regard to administrative units, the LC system is still similar to the old RC system in terms of election and modes of representation.

At LC5 (Local Government) and LC3 (Lower Local Government) levels, representatives known as councillors, are directly elected by universal suffrage on the basis of a ward system, representing Sub-counties and Parishes respectively. In addition, the 30% quota for women as well as representation for youth and People with Disabilities (PWDs) is effected through separate elections. The Youth representatives, a male and a female, are elected through their organisation of Youth Councils, while the PWDs are elected through their National Union of Disabled Persons (NUDIPU). With regard to women, a separate quota of one-third is effected through an election that redraws the existing constituencies to get the women's representation.

The ongoing process of government decentralisation in Uganda is aimed at empowering local communities to determine their own destiny in terms of decision making, problem solving and resource utilisation (Villadsen and Lubanga, 1996). Government decentralisation holds great promise for improving delivery of public services and poverty reduction. However, Villadse and Luganga have not answered whether government decentralisation whose ultimate goal is the creation of an efficient, democratic, transparent, and accountable and result oriented political system in Uganda has been reflected in rural poverty reduction. This study is an attempt to examine the role of government decentralisation in rural poverty reduction in Uganda with a case study of Moyo District.

3.4. Legal Framework for Government Decentralisation in Uganda

Uganda has benefited from the enactment of specific legislations to govern decentralisation policy. The existence of a strong legislative framework for decentralisation facilitates the definition of roles and responsibilities and provides guidance on implementation of the policy (JARD, 2004).

The government decentralisation policy in Uganda evolved over a number of years since the NRM bush war in 1981 through a collection of government policy documents and was concretised with enactment of various laws that governs its implementation. In 1987, the government set up a commission of inquiry into LGs, which made a number of proposals on the effective and efficient management of local governments (JARD, 2004). The report recommended the strengthening and devolution of among other decision making powers and financial resources to local government. In 1992, the president launched the decentralisation principles. The devolution of powers in Uganda was initiated in 1993 through the Local Governments (Resistance Councils) Statutes which devolved a number of previously held central government powers to elected local authorities. For example, the statute provided for the decentralisation of functions and powers and services to Local Government (Resistance Councils) to increase democratic control and participation in decision making and to mobilise support for development which is relevant to local needs.

The 1995 Constitution consolidated and strengthened the devolution of powers under Chapter eleven that provides for the principals, structures and finances of local government. Under the constitution Article 176 (1), the system of local government in Uganda is based on the district which is the basic unit of local government with the council as the highest political authority. Furthermore in Article 191 and 192, Local governments are empowered to levy, charge, collect and appropriate fees and taxes in accordance with the LG Act. The constitution further provides for grants to local government, the functions of the Local Government Finance Commission (LGFC) and the District Service Commission (DSC). The Local Government Act (1997) was enacted to further elaborate and operationalise the decentralisation principles. The objectives of the LG Act 1997 were to amend, consolidate and streamline the existing law on local governments in line with the constitution to give effect to the decentralisation and devolution of function, powers and services; and provide for decentralisation at all levels of local government to ensure good governance and democratic participation in and control decision making by the people and to provide for revenue and political and administrative set-up of Local Governments; and to provide for election of Local Councils.

Part IV (Section 30 c and d) of the LG Act sets out the functions, planning and legislative powers of local government councils. In the execution of their functions, the local councils are under an obligation to ensure they protect the constitution and other laws of Uganda and ensure implementation and compliance with government policy.

Under the second schedule of the LG Act section 33, the functions of the central and local governments are set out in details. Furthermore, line ministries may delegate their functions, powers and responsibilities to a local government council. The delegated functions can only be effected subject to agreement of all parties the provision of adequate resources and measures taken to bring the change to the attention of public.

The LG Act sets out institutional structures that facilitate local governments in financial management and staff recruitment and these include the District Service Commission (responsible for appointment of local government staff and their respective functions and mandate), the Local Government Tender Board (LGTB) and Local Government Public Accounts Committee (LGPAC). Local governments, though autonomous, are expected in the execution of their functions to adhere to national policies and performances standards. To ensure this adherence, various line ministries have the mandate under part IX of the LG Act to inspect, monitor and where necessary provide technical advice, support, supervision and training of local governments.

The LG Act has already been amended three times and the fourth amendment is on the way. In the first amendment, the Local Governments (Amendment) Act 5 of 1997 was passed to cater for the units pending election of the council. In the second amendment, LG Act 13 of 2001 provided recognition of affirmative action, definitions, administrative and procedural issues that were either omitted or required amendments due to implementation challenges. Some of the amendments include:

- Section 32 made councillors and staff personally accountable for financial loss of the LG arising out of malpractices.
- > The salaries and other expenses of the District Service Commission are paid from the Consolidated Fund.
- > The quorum of three judges for a tribunal to investigate allegations against a district chairperson was charged to one judge and two persons of high moral character due to the limited number of judges.
- The Local Governments amendment No. 2 Act 17 of 2001 catered for omissions made in respect to, among others, quorum and nominations for the administrative units and elections of LG Councils.

However, within the LG Act (as amended), there are a number of weaknesses and discrepancies that arise mainly out of the challenges faced by local governments during the implementation of their functions. Some of the limitations within the Act include, among others, the following:

> The overly comprehensive provisions in the Act regarding arrangements for the political structure as compared to administrative regulations which are in relative terms more weakly developed in several areas. For example, the Act repealed the urban Authority Act of 1964 without any detailed guidance on the operations of urban authorities. Furthermore, prior to the enactment of the Land Act, Urban Councils had statutory leases over land in urban councils. Urban councils thus are facing challenges in the implementation of urban plans since land is individually held and they depended on the good will of a land owner to adhere to the planning proposed by urban councils.

- > The LG Act does not clearly define the operational relationships between the higher and lower local government levels particularly between the Districts and Town Councils. For example, while the LG Act grants urban councils autonomy in respect to finance management and planning, to-date, the MFPED transfers funds for the Town Councils through the respective District Local Governments. However, the financing arrangements whereby the larger proportions of the conditional grants are allocated to the HLGs lead to overlaps in the implementations of mandates (JARD, 2004). For example, for the water sector, protected springs are an activity for LLGs, yet the activities are often implemented by HLGs who do have the funding.
- > The Ministry of Local Government (MOLG) is ideally responsible for monitoring, coordinating and inspection of LG activities. The mission

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of MOLG places a responsibility on the ministry to coordinate relations between central and local governments and to supervise, guide, harmonise, mentor, monitor and advocate for Local governments in Uganda. However, the role of MOLG prescribed under the LG Act is limited to coordinating LGs for purposes of harmonisation and does not specifically cater for coordination across sectors on issues of decentralisation (JARD, 2004).

- Furthermore, there is an absence of a designated body that can appraise the progress and challenges faced by line ministries in their operations with LGs. This is a role that should have been specifically assigned to the MOLG. This is a shortcoming in the LG Act and has resulted in fragmented amendment or enactment of sector legislation that do not reflect the principles of decentralisation (JARD, 2004). The line ministries have individually had to address these challenges and adopt administrative systems on their own, sometimes outside of the area of the decentralisation principles to address these limitations.
- > Under section 33 of the LG Act, a line ministry can delegate its functions, powers and responsibility to a lower local government council. Similarly, a council can delegate its functions, powers and

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responsibility to a lower local government council. Section 64 (2) (e) further empowers the CAO to supervise and coordinate the activities of all delegated services and the officers working in those services. These provisions are, however, restricted to providing for delegation and do not provide guidance on how line ministries could take action in cases where LG departments or staff do not carry out their delegated roles.

This has created a gap and presents a practical challenge for line ministries in ensuring LG staff carry out their delegated roles. For a line ministry to exercise a mechanism of reprimand, there is need guidance. Currently, in practice there is only one effective method of reprimand that is through sanctions, dissolution of Board or replacement of members. The procedures provided under the LG Act section 15 for the removal of councillors, especially for chairpersons, only provides for a procedure via a tribunal which in practice is cumbersome and time consuming and in fact only a method of last resort. Development and inclusion in the Act of alternative, faster and less far reaching dispute resolution procedures like mediation and arbitration is desired. Currently developments that may require further revision of the LG Act include findings of the Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) and the Government's White Paper. The proposal under discussion that may particularly affect LGs include among others:

- The establishment of a regional government by two or more district with service Commissions, Land and Tender Boards at regional level; and functions including responsibilities for tertiary education, roads, health, agriculture, forest, water, sanitation, culture among others which would require amendments of a number of sections in the second schedule of the LG Act.
- > The proposed appointment of the Chief Administrative Officer or any other senior officer by the Public Service Commission.
- Additional functions of the Resident District Commissioner (RDC) to include monitoring the implementation of central and local government service in the district and act as the chairperson of the district security committee.
- A change in the procedures for removing a LG Chairperson with a proposed increase in the number of councillors required to initiate proceedings

In general terms, after seven years of implementation of the LG Act, it is observed that the Act has largely been effective. However, considering the various amendments that already have taken place and various weaknesses observed combined with the on going policy initiatives (White Paper, 2004) a systematic review of the Act to facilitate implementation of decentralisation is recommended.

3.5. Historical Context of Growth and Poverty Reduction in Uganda

Uganda became politically independent from British rule in 1962. Multiparty elections were held in 1962 under the 1962 Uganda Constitution, which provided for co-existence of traditional kingdoms alongside the central government. The King of Buganda Kindgom, Sir Edward Mutesa became the first honorary president of Uganda. Milton Obote was the elected Prime Minister and leader of government business. The 1962 constitution that provided for co-existence between the central government and the traditional kingdoms worked only for a short time. In 1967 Milton Obote, Uganda's Prime Minister at that time, abrogated the 1962 constitution and replaced it with the 1967 constitution that abolished kingdoms and turned Uganda into a republic (Gukiina, 1972; Mamdhani, 1999; Museveni, 1997; Okidi et al, 2004). In 1971, Idi Amin took over the reigns of power through a military coup and declared his regime the "second republic of Uganda". Kingdoms and democracy were thus silenced. Idi Amin ruled by decree from 1971 to 1979 when a combined force of Tanzanian and Ugandan forces pushed him out of power through armed struggle. After Idi Amin, Uganda witnessed quick changes in its leadership. Yusuf Lule's short reign of 68 days followed that of Idi Amin. Godfrey Lukongwa Binaisa that came to power after Lule ruled for only one year before getting replaced by Paulo Muwanga who ruled Uganda as a Chairperson of a ruling military commission. Within a period of about one year, Paulo Muwanga handed over power to Milton Obote after elections in 1980 under the 1967 constitution (Kasozi, 1994; Mamdhani, 1999; Museveni, 1997).

In 1981, Yoweri Museveni who had been vice Chairperson of the military commission took up arms to fight and overthrow Milton Obote's government on account of rigging the 1980 democratic elections. Despite the armed opposition, Milton Obote persisted in power from 1980 to the time Tito Okello Lutwa overthrew him in a military coup in 1985. By that time, there were many fighting groups in Uganda and it became a daunting task for Lutwa to establish peace through out the country. The government of the day approached some of the fighting groups to negotiate for peace. The Nairobi peace talks of that time is an example. The complexity of the political situation at that time rendered such peace initiatives fruitless. Yoweri Museveni stormed to power in January 1986 (Kasozi, 1994; Mamdhani, 1999; Museveni, 1997).

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Since 1986, various armed groups have fought President Yoweri Museveni's government with the aim of overthrowing it. The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) are major groups that have fought Museveni's government. However, since 1986, government has put in place various measures to ensure democratic and constitutional rule. Key ones include the promulgation of the 1995 Uganda constitution, and the enactment of the 1997 Local Government Act. Uganda held presidential and parliamentary elections in 1986 and 2001. However, the 1995 Uganda constitution limits the role of political parties, a matter that has become of great concern to many Ugandans and sections of the international community. This matter and others are being addressed through a constitution review process, which is on going.

Uganda's population at the time of independence was about 7 million people. The population increased from 4.9 million in 1949 to 6.5 million in 1959. It then increased to 9.5 million in 1969 before increasing further to 12.6 million

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in 1980. In 1991 Uganda's population stood at 16.7 million and was about 24.5 million in 2002. According to the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS, 2003) more than 50 percent of the population is below 15 years. Uganda's population growth has broadly kept ahead of the growth of GDP per capita. From 1990 to 2003/04, for example, population growth outstripped the growth of GDP per capita except during the coffee boom period of 1994/95, 1995/96, and in 1998/99. Since the turn of the century, growth of GDP per capita has significantly lagged behind the rate of population growth, which could partly explain the increases in poverty observed since 2000 (Okidi et al, 2004; UBOS, 2003).

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Economic decline characterised the Ugandan economy during the1970s starting from the time Idi Amin took over power in 1971. The phenomenal growth and welfare improvements the country registered in the 1960s was developments and economic political short-lived because of the mismanagement during the 1970s. The 1971 military coup that brought Idi Amin to power marked the beginning of Uganda's economic woes. Uganda suffered economic and political sanctions by the international community following the expulsion from the country of Ugandans of Asian origin, whom Idi Amin had accused of economic exploitation. Due to the political, civil and economic disorder that ensued through the mid 1980s, the economy contracted significantly as a direct result of destruction, disserving, physical and human capital flight, and reduced productivity through disruption and diversion of expenditure (Collier and Reinikka, 2001). GDP declined by 40% from 1971 to 1986, which Collier and Reinikka estimate to have translated into a one percent annual decline in the economy. As the economy shrank, the social welfare indicators worsened. Uganda's economic performance during the early 1980s was not better mainly because of political and social unrest and continued mismanagement of the economy. In 1984, the economy shrank by 4%; in 1985 it grew by only 0.2% and in 1986 by only 1.1%. Annual inflation rate rose to three digits mainly because of Government financing of the fiscal deficit through borrowing from the domestic market (Kappel et al, 2004; Okidi et al, 2004).

Poverty increased during the early 1980s as a consequence of a shrinking economy and political instability. Government approached the IMF and World Bank for assistance. However, no sooner had the government started implementing stabilisation policies than it abandoned them in 1984, partly due to the political demand of fighting the rebels (Okidi et al, 2004).

Uganda embarked on implementation of economic reforms in 1987 with a view to correcting macroeconomic imbalances and removing inefficiencies in

production and distribution of goods and services so as to register high rates of economic growth. Unlike in previous years, government recognized the private sector as a partner in development. The private sector was to lead the process of economic growth while the state ensured macroeconomic stability and legal and institutional frameworks that are supportive of private sector led economic growth. In government's view, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) was to play a lead role in private sector development.

Following the restoration of relative political and economic order in most parts of the country in the second half of the 1980s, coupled with strong leadership commitment to reform, the country attracted substantial donor support for an Economic Recovery Program (ERP) that was launched in May 1987, an initiative that was immediately followed by a sequence of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP). The ERP that was supported by the Economic Recovery Credits (ERC) and Structural Adjustment Credits (SAC) from the International Development Association and the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF) from the International Monetary Fund, plus other multi-lateral and bilateral assistance were primarily aimed at realizing economic rehabilitation, growth, domestic financial stability, and low inflation rates. An important aspect of the reform strategy was trade liberalisation through extensive reduction of nontariff barriers, competitive tendering for government purchasing and a switch from export taxation to import taxation. Significant gains were realised from trade liberalisation, for example, the 1991/92 abolition of coffee export tax together with overall coffee marketing liberalisation increased competition among exporters, resulting in producer prices received by coffee growers as a share of border prices increasing sharply from 30% to more than 80% (Collier and Reinikka, 2001).

Concerns about the likely poverty impact of the reforms prompted the preparation and implementation of the Program for the Alleviation of Poverty and Social Costs Adjustment (PAPSCA), whose focus on poverty was later seen to be narrow. In 1997, Uganda prepared the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), which turned out to be the country's holistic development framework covering economic management, governance and security, increasing the incomes of the poor, and improving delivery of social services.

Another dimension of improving delivery of social services was decentralisation, which was implemented with a view to improving efficiency and quality in the delivery of social services, among other things. The enactment of the Local Government Act in 1997 marked the beginning of

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devolution of political power to local governments, and with it the power to manage the development process including public finance at the local government level. However, the extent to which decentralisation led to improvements in quality of social services and efficiency in management of public resources is still debatable.

As noted already, maintenance of macroeconomic stability has been Uganda's immediate objective, especially from 1993. Working closely with the fiscal authorities, the central bank (Bank of Uganda) ensured that money expanded at a rate commensurate with the demands of the real sector. Excess liquidity would be mopped up by issuance of treasury bills (treasury bills were issued for liquidity management purposes only and not for short-term financing of the national budget) and/or sale of foreign exchange.

To operationalise the PEAP, detailed plans of action and goals for particular sectors are developed in the respective sector development plans, such as the Education Sector Investment Plan, the Health Sector Plan, the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture, the Social Development Sector Strategic Plan, and the Road Sector Development Plan. The implementation of the various sector-wide plans depends on the resources (spending ceilings) provided within the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF), which is a threeyear rolling spending plan that links priority public spending areas to medium-term development goals. Because of budgetary discipline, which is central to MTEF operationalisation, any shortfalls in resources are met with matching within-year budget cuts except for activities under the Poverty Action Fund (PAF) But making within-year adjustments or cuts in the releases of funds disrupts original funding plans because it increases volatility and weakens the budget as the instrument for allocating public resources (Henstridge and Kasekende, 2001). Fortunately there have been minimal severe consequences of such fiscal disciplinary measures, partly because stable macroeconomic conditions have undoubtedly made it easier to forecast revenues and expenditures (World Bank, 2003).

In pursuit of private-sector-led and investment-driven growth, government reversed the investment incentive system that was biased in favour of domestic firms. The investment code of 1991 relaxed numerous constraints and introduced attractive incentives for foreign direct investment. Successful implementation of privatisation of non-performing state enterprises further induced efficiency and boosted the growth of the private sector in industrial, commercial, agricultural, and hotel sectors. By the end of 1999, the government had completed 93 divestitures of enterprises, privatising 62 firms and liquidating the remainder (Collier and Reinikka, 2001). The Uganda

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Investment Authority (UIA) was created to focus on promoting favourable climate for the establishment of private sector businesses, with strong emphasis on FDI and a Medium Term Competitiveness Strategy (MTCS) was produced to enhance overall growth of the private sector. Thus, the role of government and that of the private sector in the economic growth process were well delineated.

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However, despite Uganda's focus on poverty reduction, the country still faces several poverty reduction challenges. On the public sector side, there are challenges to raising additional resources to finance the country's development process on the one hand, and to remove inefficiency in the use of financial resources on the other. There is concern about the size of the fiscal deficit and its implications for other macroeconomic aggregates particularly inflation and interest rates. It is broadly agreed that the fiscal deficit should be reduced to give the private sector space and a favourable environment to develop.

However, reduced public sector spending could adversely affect the quantity and quality of social services delivered by the public sector. Regarding inefficiency in the use of public financial resources, government has taken several measures to reduce corruption, such as putting in place an institutional framework for curbing the vice. However, corruption and inefficiency in the use of public resources at all levels of government is still enormous. For example, in August this year, the Geneva based Global Fund to fight Aids, tuberculosis and malaria suspended all of its five grants worth Ush, 280 billion to Uganda due to serious mismanagement of money.

3.6. Government Decentralisation and Poverty Reduction in Uganda According to Okidi et al (2004), Uganda's recovery and growth strategies have had impressive poverty reduction impact with the headcount index of total income poverty declining from 56% in 1992 corresponding to 9.2 million persons living in absolute poverty to 34% corresponding to 7.2 million persons in 2000 after which it rose to 38% corresponding to 8.9 million persons in 2003. However, Uganda still faces several poverty reduction challenges. On the public sector side, there are challenges to raising additional resources to finance the country's development process on the one hand and to remove inefficiency in the use of financial recourses on the other.

Poverty in Uganda has remained a rural phenomenon and more pronounced among crop farmers. Rural headcount declined from 60% in 1992 to 37% in 2000 before rising to 42% in 2003. The corresponding figures for urban areas are 28%, 10% and 12%. The disproportionate contribution of rural areas to national poverty has remained unchanged at about 96% (Appleton, 2001; Okidi et al 2004; Woodhouse, 2004;).

Between 1997 and 2000, consumption expenditure per adult equivalent for the richest 105 of the population grew by 20% while that of the poorest 10% grew by only 8%. In the 2000/03 period the richest 205 of Ugandans experienced 9% increase in consumption expenditure while the rest of the population reported a decline in consumption expenditure. This translated into the reported increase in poverty and the rise in welfare inequality from a Gini coefficient of 0.4 in 1999/2000 to 0.43 in 2002/2003 (Kappel et al, 2003; Lawson, 2003; Obwoma, 2004; Okidi et al, 2004).

Regional imbalance, especially between the Northern Region and the rest of the country, has persisted with Northern Region being the only region where consumption expenditure declined between 1997 and 2000. Although between 2000 and 2003 the poverty headcount in the Northern Region remained the same while it was rising for the rest of the country. The Northern Region has maintained the highest incidence of poverty of about 66% (Okidi et al, 2004).

The role of government decentralisation in poverty reduction is widely acknowledged, but it is often not well articulated (Kiyaga-Nsubuga, 2004). A central feature of Uganda's decentralisation approach is that local government determine local government priorities and allocate resources in a relatively participatory manner with poverty reduction in mind. Budgeting is done through the budget framework process, which allows local priorities to be linked to the national budget. The process allows local councils to play instrumental role in ensuring that citizen requirements are catered for.

According to Kiyaga-Nsubuga, (2004), the central government regularly monitors poverty trends to determine the extent to which development interventions are producing anticipated outcomes. For example, the percentage of Ugandans living in absolute poverty has reduced from 56% in 1992 to 34% in 2000 and 38% in 2003 due to regional disparities and the war in the northern and eastern Uganda (MFPED, 2003).

Several achievements have been made in service delivery under Decentralisation Framework. For example, the percentage of the rural population with access to safe water increased from 18% in 1991 to 55% by June 2002; while the urban population with access to safe water increased from 54% in 2000 to approximately 635 in 2002 (MWLE, 2003). According to the health infrastructure exercise that was done in 2000, about 57% of the population lived within a 5 kilometre radius of health clinic. However, national averages mark significant district variations. For example, access to a health unit within a 5 kilometre radius is 90% in Kampala district and 10% in Kitgum District (MOH, 2003). Following the abolition of user fees and expansion of rural lower health facilities, Out Patient Department (OPD) attendance has shot up in most health units across the country from 9.3 million in FY 1999/2000 to 17.4 million in FY 2002/2003 (Kiyaga-Nsubuga, 2004). These achievements have been made possible through close collaboration between local government, line ministries and development partners.

Poverty reduction has emerged as the main target of the policies in Uganda with decentralisation emerging as the preferred instrument for bringing about the desired result. However, without effective citizen participation in development process directly or through representation success of this development intervention will be highly questionable. Poverty reduction requires clear understanding of views of the rural poor themselves. In chapter five, the views and positions of the poor presented about what should be the role of government decentralisation in rural poverty reduction in Uganda.

3.5. The Role Of Decentralised Social Service Delivery In Poverty Reduction In Uganda

Access to good reliable public services is critical for the poor in developing countries if they are to rise out of poverty. Safe water and sanitation, good quality basic education and heath services, roads and communication all contribute directly to individual well-being and all improve economic opportunities for low income households (Klein, 2001).

Delivery of social services in Uganda was decentralised in accordance with the 1995 constitutions of Republic of Uganda and the Local Government Act 1997, which specified the roles and responsibilities of different levels of government. The Local Government Act (1997) created and specifies hieratical structure of power from central government down to the village level through which public services can be delivered.

Under government decentralisation, social service delivery is the responsibility of the local government. Under the terms of decentralisation program the districts now deliver most of the services considered high priority for the poor. The PEAP process focused on services that interact directly with the lives of the poor and hence are priority for poverty oriented public spending. These services include primary education, primary health care, water and sanitation, agricultural extension, rural roads and basic legal services.

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Although decentralisation is primarily driven by political motives of power sharing and popular participation, one of its main goals remains to increase efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery with the aim of poverty reduction. According to the JARD (2004), level of service delivery at the local level has tremendously increased over the past ten years as a result of decentralisation combined with increased levels of funding.

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Despite the above observation of increased levels of service delivery, there are not surprisingly considering the magnitude of the decentralisation reform a number of challenges that are specifically related to aspects of decentralisation. In the first place, while the level of services has beyond doubt increased, the attention for the quality of services has always kept pace with increased volume. This is understandable in a situation where basic infrastructure was entirely lacking but now service levels have increased in quantity terms. There is need to shift focus to quality aspect of service delivery. For example, there is need to address issues where classrooms are build but lack furniture or health services are not used due to lack of health staff.

Secondly, the relationship and understanding of roles between various parties, notably between the service users and the service providers on one

hand and between service providers and the LG administration on the other hand needs better understanding and internalisation. According to JARD (2004), the relationships and the accountability mechanisms behind the system of decentralisation are insufficiently understood by the various stakeholders. Service users are not aware of their rights and obligations and often out of ignorance lack information or inequality in relationship do not insist on or even ask for decent services.

There is need to better understand the relationship between service delivery and decentralisation. For example, considering how far service delivery has improved because of increased levels of funding and in how far the process of decentralisation itself with increased participation, local ownership and more direct mechanisms of accountability contribute to better service delivery both in quantity and quality terms.

3.5.1. Primary Education

The role of education in increasing economic productivity and improving the peoples quality of lives through better health and nutrition has been well documented (World Bank, 1993). According to Kasozi-Mulidwa (2004), it has been universally recognised that education is an important area of action to increase the visibility of economic, social and cultural transformation.

Therefore, policies that expand access to good quality of primary education contribute significantly to poverty reduction. The government of Uganda clearly recognises primary education as a priority area in its poverty reduction strategy and its stated object is Universal Primary Education (UPE). Education For All (EFA) is part of the Millennium Development Goal by 2015. Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights enacted in 1948 states that,

Every one has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory (UDHR, 1948).

Under the second schedule, part 2, paragraph 1 of the LG Act, District Councils are responsible for the provision of education services which cover nursery, primary, secondary, trade, special education and technical education. Under part 4 of the second schedule, the lower local government councils are responsible for nursery and primary education. The Education Act provides for the development and regulation of education, the registration and licensing of teachers in public schools and related matters. The Act recognises the District Education Committee (DEC) as appointed under the LG Act. Under section 4 of the Education Act, the committee is responsible for the administration of any educational services transferred to a district or urban authority. Thus the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (MFPED) view UPE as the highest priority within the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) in Uganda. UPE in Uganda is one of the poverty reduction strategies. It is believed that improving the quality of the poor through knowledge, skills, attitude, motivation, health and empowerment ameliorates extreme poverty.

Government of Uganda put in place the policy of UPE in 1997, as well as achieving Functional Adult Literacy (FAL). Before UPE and FAL were implemented, the cost of education constituted a major obstacle to primary school attendance. According to UBOS, (2003), the enrolment in primary schools rose drastically from 2.3 million in 1996 to 5.3 million in 1997. In 2002/3 total enrolments in primary schools is estimated to be 7.5 million pupils.

Survey year	Male	Female	Total	MOES Estimates Census
1997	2,972	2,590	5,562	5,304
1999/00	3,554	3,162	6,716	6,591
2002/2003	3,745	3,794	7,538	7,400

Table 3.1. Changes in Primary School Enrolment (000's of Pupils)

Source: UBOS, 2003.

Vision 2025 for Uganda's development, formulated in 1997, incorporated a commitment to education as a development priority under the government Decentralisation program. The Education Strategy Investment Plan 1997-2003 Framework (ESIP) is the foundation on which this commitment was formulated over medium term. UPE is the government's chief education priority. UPE is therefore central to ESIP and the ESIP framework (1998-2003) covers the first cycle of UPE.

The ESIP aims to provide good quality and cost effective teacher training achieved through among other measures the Teacher Development Management System (TDMS); classroom building achieved through both competition of partially build classrooms and construction of new ones, including improved access design for children with disabilities (CWDs) by 2003, via parallel investments of community and government; and ensuring access to required textbooks on a one-book to one pupil basis by 2003 (MOES, 1998).

A significant proportion of funds under ESIP are released directly to primary schools. The UPE Capitation Grants (CG) caters for recurrent expenditure, including instructional materials (textbooks and chalks) and management costs. The School Facility Grant (SFG) caters for new classrooms and latrines

construction and associated equipment (blackboards, notice boards, furniture, etc) and teachers housing. The Classroom Completion Grant (CCG) is for completion of partially built classrooms. Neither of these funds can be used for school maintenance and the community is responsible for maintenance of completed classrooms (MFPED, 2002).

Information on UPE grand disbursements is published in newspapers and is supposed to be posted on all school notice boards. School Management Committees (SMCs) are supposed to play a crucial role in ensuring that policy guidelines are implement and accountability assured. SMC chairpersons are co-signatories with the head teacher to the school bank account. In addition, SMCs are also supposed to approve school development plans, monitor teacher attendance and represent parents' views (MFPED, 2002).

Under UPE no direct charges are supposed to be levied on parents in rural schools, while in urban schools parents can be charged up to Shs. 10,000 per term per child for utilities. There is currently no clear policy with regards to charging refugee children living the country. In all schools in Uganda, wearing of uniforms by children is supposed to be voluntary and by regulation no child should be turned away from school even if they lack scholastic materials such as exercise books, pens, pencils and so on since the advent of UPE, Uganda government has opposed corporal punishment, encouraging other ways to enforce discipline such as digging and cleaning (ESIP, 1998).

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In the year 2000, a new primary school curriculum was introduced. The new curriculum contains more subjects than the old one and some of these subjects were examined for the first time in 2004. In the new curriculum, agriculture is treated as a subject in its own right. It is implicit in the new curriculum that local languages should be used for teaching in primary one to primary four, especially in rural areas. Currently there is no clear government policy or regulation with regard to promotion of children to higher grades. However, in practice many UPE schools implement a policy of automatic promotion.

The ESIP policy objective facilitates transition to public and private secondary schools and technical schooling by increasing overall post-primary enrolment. Strategies to achieve these include the rationalisation of secondary facilities utilisation and hence facilitating increased enrolment at ordinary level by 2003. The policy also established community polytechnics in each sub County by 2001 and building ten state seed schools per year from 1998 with a focus on disadvantaged areas.

Ideally all children in Uganda should have a primary school accessible within a two kilometre distance and secondary and /or post primary technical school accessible within a five kilometre radius (MFPED, 2000). In addition to the UPE, a national adult literacy program was launched in 1992 by Uganda government in conjunction with NGOs with the objective of reducing the rate of illiteracy from 48% to 24% by 2003.

Quality of education mainly depends on the quality teachers and Pupil-Teacher Ration (PTR), which ideally should be 40:1. Under the current government decentralisation system, the government has partially succeeded in reducing the PTR from 68:1 in 1998/1999 to 55: in 2002/2003. The number of teachers has increased from 118,857 in October 2002 to 122,904 in June 2003 (MFPED, 2004). Provision of instructional materials has resulted in the reduction of Pupil Textbook Ratio from 6:1 in 2000 to 3:1in 2003. School sanitation and hygiene has also improved from 700:1 as estimated in 1997 to 96:1 2000 with 80% of the schools having separate facilities for girls (MFPED, 2004). The government is still faced with the challenge of provision of adequate classroom facilities for UPE pupils. The pupil classroom ration still stands at 79:1.

To improve access, usage and quality of UPE program, the government has introduced double shift teaching in urban areas and multigrade teaching in Kalangala to handle the large class and to effectively utilise teachers in schools with small enrolment respectively. A pilot scheme in Fort Potal, Tororo and Mbale was successfully done between October 2002 and May 2003 involving 119 teachers who were paid incentive allowance equivalent to 25% of their salaries (Kasozi-Mulindwa 2004).

Table 3.2. Showing Pupil, Teacher, Classroom and Textbook Ratios

Indicator/Year	1998/1999	1999/2000	2000/2001	2001/2002	2002/2003
Pupil Teacher Ratio	68.1	58.1	48.1	45.1	45.1
Pupil Classroom Ratio	131.1	118.1	99.1	88.1	79.1
Pupil Textbook Ratio	6.1	6.1	4.1	3.1	3.1

Source: Kasozi-Mulidwa, 2004.

Despite the tremendous achievement the government has made through UPE, a lot needs to be done especially in the area of access, quality and usage. The yardstick for the measurement of the desired performance is the completion rate not the enrolment rate. Despite the enormous achievements UPE, out of the 7.1 million children who enrolled in primary one under universal primary education in 1997, only 409,00 pupils registered for Primary Leaving Certificate (PLE) exams in the year 2003 (MGLSD, 2003). The 1.3 million who have dropped out school have done so without adequate employable skills that subject them to vulnerability in terms of livelihoods. This retention remains a big challenge to the government and education managers.

Research into the experience of communities in the current education provision in Uganda under decentralisation in comparison with the education provision under the centralised government, with case study of Moyo District, hopes to bring to light some of key issues related to the education system in Uganda. In addition to views of the rural poor, the views of key informants and education service providers were also sought and details of this analysis are in chapters five and six.

3.5.2. Primary Health Care Service Delivery

It is common knowledge that poor health reduces the capacity to work, constrains the ability to increase income and adversely affects the quality of life. Investment in health and sanitation has variety of socio-economic benefits, including gains in productivity, learning and life expectancy. Uganda started implementing Health Sector Reforms (HSR) in 1987 in form of decentralisation of the health sector and broadening of health financing by the introduction of user charges and later community pre-payment schemes for the private not for profit and private healthcare provides. According to Ogwal and Tashobya (2004), this was further accompanied by promotion of the autonomy of public hospital, planning and resource allocation and human resource management systems under which was retrenchment, pay reform, transparent remuneration structures and decentralised human resource management.

The National Health Policy (1999) was formulated within the context of the provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda and the Local Government Act which decentralised governance and service delivery. The overall objective of health sector policy is to reduce mortality, address morbidity and fertility and the disparities therein.

In order to achieve the policy objectives, the government undertook among others to provide additional resources for primary health care in the form of Conditional and Equalisation Grants or other similar mechanisms; decentralise operational responsibilities for integrated health promotion, disease prevention, curative and rehabilitative services below the district level and build capacity for improved health care delivery and management (MOH, 2000).

Under the Local Government Act, part 2, section 2 (g), the provision of primary care services is one of the functions and service undertaken by the local governments. The Public Health Act, Cap 281, enacted in 1935 governs public health and provides for issues related to notification and prevention of infectious diseases, epidemics, sanitation, sewers and drainage, foodstuffs and cemeteries. The Act assigns local authorities the responsibility to handle the aforementioned public health issues.

For example, under section 7 of the Public Health Act, local authorities are made responsible for ensuring the prevention or occurrence of and dealing with any out break or prevalence of any infectious, communicable or preventable diseases and to safeguard and promote public health. Local authorities are responsible for the destruction of any building, bedding or any article that has been exposed to infection from an infectious disease.

Although the Public Health Act clearly provides detail on the nature of health services and the institutions responsible for implementation, it predates the LG Act as it was enacted in 1935 and has bias of the colonial

system of decentralisation and management and delivery of services. The Act therefore requires updating and harmonisation with the LG Act in line with the current decentralisation reform.

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The decentralised health system currently is based on the district, as a unit under which are the local government and administrative units. The health care delivery system is designed within the framework of decentralisation with corresponding health unit level for each level of local government or administrative unit. There is multi-layered health care system from health centre grade 1-IV as lower level units and a district hospital. Above these are the regional referral and national referral hospitals. However, the management of primary health care delivery services was the responsibility of the District Medical Officer (DMO), who reports to the ministry of health.

Improving the quality of the human capital of the poor comprise an essential component of Uganda's Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PAEP). In setting out what public actions are called for to enhance the quality of life of the poor, the government of Uganda through the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) seeks to improve the provision of basic services, particularly health care (UBOS, 2003). To this end, the National Health Policy (NHP) and the Health Sector Strategic Plan (HSSP) were developed in consultation with all

stakeholders in the health sector to act as a guide in addressing the state of ill health in the country.

The Health Sector Strategic Plan (HSSP) was launched in August 2000 and covers the financial years 200/2001 to 2004/05. It aims to make a basic minimum package of health services available to the entire population through the rehabilitation and construction of health units, provision of essential drugs, recruitment of new staff and training of unqualified staff. The objective is to improve access so that 80% of the population lives within five kilometre of a health facility by 2005. It is planned that every sub-district serving approximately one hundred people should have a health centre called a Health Centre IV staffed by a doctor with a small theatre for operations such as caesarean section and repair of hernias. The HSSP also aims to ensure the availability of essential drugs, medical supplies and logistics at all levels of health care delivery (HSSP, 200/01-2004/05).

According to UDN report (2004), health indicators in Uganda show a mixed picture. Successes are recorded in reducing the HIV prevalence rate from 6.8% in 1999 to 6.2% in 2000 and reversing the decline in immunisation rates in 1990s. Progress has been made in malaria, TB, guinea worm and measles reduction campaigns. The abolition of user fees in 2001 contributed to a remarkable increase in service utilisation (OPD attendance) from 41% in 1999 to 84% in 2002. On the other hand, infant, child and maternal mortality rates are stagnating, with infant mortality among the poor being 80% higher than among the non-poor. The number of assisted deliveries is declining from 25% in 1999 to 20% in 2002. Service quality is poor due to lack of qualifies staff and shortage of drugs especially in the remote areas. According to UDN Report (2004), only 53% of approved posts are filled with trained health staff.

The poor are proportionately more likely than the non-poor to use the public sector. For example, in 2002, of households in the poorest quintile who consulted a health facility, 44% used a public facility whereas only 19% did so in the top quintile. According to the UDN Report (2004), poor women are less able to access care for the problems associated with childbirth. Uganda's health budget shows an increasing trend since 2001.

The HSSP is currently being financed through a Sector Wide Approach (SWA) with donors encouraged to contribute directly to the GoU budget. The health budget is therefore rising significantly with a 43% increase in 200/2001 compared to 1999/2000 the year before HSSP started and funds available for staff increasing by 385 and drugs 57% (HSSP, 200/01-2004/05).

However, project financing is falling as donors move to support the overall funding for the health sector has remained fairly static at around US\$ 15 per capita from all financing sources. This compared with the estimates of ministry of health, which is US\$ 28 per capita to finance basic package of health care services through the government and NGO units is clearly inadequate to implement HSSP (MFPED, 2002).

According to the Health Sector strategic Plan 200/01-2004/05, in order to improve management, accountability and community participation, the HSSP envisages the establishment of village health committees and a strengthening of the role of Health Unit Management Committees (HUMCs) However, little has been done so far to make Village Health Committees (VHC) a reality while funding for the HUMCs is very limited.

A controversial aspect of health policy has been cost-sharing (patient fees) which was abolished in March 2001 after findings from both Inter-ministerial Review in 1999 and Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) showed that it was not pro-poor. Accordingly, therefore, treatment and drugs are now supposed to be provided free at all health units. In government hospitals, private wings have been established alongside public parts of the hospital, which offer free services. According to MFPED, (2002), in order to deal with

the surge in demand for service that followed the MFPED immediately released district budgets for drugs by 69% in 2001/02. Furthermore, the Ministry of Health (MOH) temporary allowed districts to purchase drugs from any source rather than restricting the purchases to National Medical Stores (NMS).

The next chapter, with empirical case study from Moyo District, captures the nature of primary health care service delivery. It attempts to establish the link between poverty reduction under government Decentralisation in comparison with centralised form government.

3.5.3. Water and Sanitation

The failure to provide safe drinking water and adequate sanitation services to all people is perhaps the greatest failure of the 20th century. More than 1.1 billion people in the world lack access to safe drinking water. More than 2.3 billion people lack access to adequate means of depositing off human wastes and those who suffer most are the poor people. More than 5 million people die of waterborne diseases each year 10 times the number killed in wars around the globe UN Report (2004).

The impact of inadequate water and sanitation services falls primarily on the poor. Badly serviced by the formal sector, the poor make their own and often inadequate arrangements to meet basic survival needs. Many fetch water from distances or end up paying high prices to water vendors for small quantities of water (Bosch et al., 2002). The need for basic water and sanitation services for the poor assumes even greater significance when the linkages with other dimensions of poverty are considered. According to Bosch et al (2002), water and sanitation related sicknesses put severe burdens on health services and keep children out of school. Human waste poses a tremendous social cost through pollution of rivers and groundwater. Despite significant investments in the sector in recent decades made by governments, nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), bilateral and multilateral agencies and private sector, the outlook for access to safe and adequate supplies of water and environmentally sustainable sanitation remains grim.

In Uganda, the national water policy is based on an integrated approach to manage the water resources in ways that are sustainable and most beneficial to the people of Uganda. One of the key policy directives is the improvement of coordination and collaboration among the sector stakeholders to achieve efficient and effective use of financial and human resources in the context of decentralisation (MWLE, 2003).

The water sector is governed by a number of laws and regulations that provide for management of water and sanitation in Uganda. Under the LG Act Part 2 section 3, district councils are responsible for the provision and

maintenance of water supplies in liaison with the ministry responsible for natural resources where applicable. The Water Act Cap 152 and regulations (1995) provide for the use, protection and management of water resources. In addition, the National Water and Sewerage Corporation Act (NWSCA) provides guidance on water supply services and governs the establishment of water and sewerage systems in urban centres and big national institutions throughout the country.

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Over the last ten years the water sector in Uganda has undergone vigorous transformations aimed at rationalising the resources planning, management and development. A comprehensive legislative and policy framework has been developed, guided by three key policies to which the government has been committed; namely, decentralisation, privatisation and divestiture and PEAP. Water and sanitation programs have been aimed at improving quality of life, which is one the pillars of PEAP. Substantial amount of resources have been invested both in the rural and urban sectors including water for production (Kugonza, 2004).

Rural water supply is a major priority under the PEAP. The sector is benefiting from the PUF and bilateral donor fund. In 1998, the government introduced a strategy reform process to ensure that services are produced,

delivered and managed with increased performance and cost effectiveness it was also to decrease the government burden while maintaining the government commitment to equitable and sustainable water and sanitation provision (Un-Habitat, 2002). To provide the necessary backup, the Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment (MWLE) set up local Technical Support Unit (TSU) in different regions of the country.

The Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment has developed the water sector policy and strategy. At the national level, the ministry has the overall responsibility for the management and efficient utilisation of water resources. The National Water Policy was launched in 1999, the government objectives for the sector includes:

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

Rural water coverage increased from 24% in 1991/92 to 55% in 2001/02, while urban coverage increased from 60% to 62% between 2000 and 2001. This performance in the rural sub-sector has been in line with the PEAP target of 65% coverage by 2005 and full coverage by 2015 with effective use and functionality rate of 80 to 90%. Since according to MWL (2002), under current funding levels, it would only achieve 57.9% rural coverage by 2006/07 against 67.3% under the unconstrained investment plan.

Rural water coverage increased from 49.8% at the beginning of FY 2000/01 to 54.9% by the end of FY 2002/03. However, the coverage continues to vary between districts ranging from 25% to 74%. To improve access to safe water and sanitation, government allocations as part of Poverty Action Fund (PAF) increased from approximately Ush 18 billion in 1999/2000 to Ush 54.03 billion in FY 2001/02. Nonetheless, environmental sanitation conditions in the country are still very poor. The national sanitation coverage measured by the presence of acceptable pit latrines is estimated at 50% (UDN Report, 2004).

According to Uganda Debt Network Report (2004), safe water and sanitation coverage shows a slight improvement. In the rural water sub-sector, services coverage was 50% in 1999/00 against a target of 54.7%, 53% in 2000/01

against a target of 52% and 54.8% in 2001/02 against a target of 54% and increased to 58.8% by June 2003.out of the 18,935 boreholes nation wide, about 80% are functional.

A large segment of about 41.2% of the rural population, however still have no access to clean water for drinking and production (UDN, 2004). This has been subject of major contention in terms of lower output than the targets. Secondly, the government policy of involvement of the community in the operation and maintenance of boreholes using the Community Based Maintenance System (CBMS) has faced two constrains of costly borehole spare parts and non-availability of the parts in the rural areas despite the presence of trained hand pump mechanics in almost all Sub-counties in the country. In this context, the way forward is that the ministry of water should procure subsidized spare parts routed through district water departments that can be bought by the communities.

Sanitation in general, household sanitation, continuous hygiene education and other environmental health activities such as vector control, improved housing food handling, etc are part of sanitation improvement strategy, specifically for the rural growth centres. Communal type VIP multiple stance toilet facilities are provided in reserved public places. Despite the big strides made towards this goal in the sector in over the last 10 years, the current national rural water and sanitation coverage remains low at only 52.3% and 51% respectively. Actually, safe water supply by region and district varies widely. According to Un-habitat (2002), the average water use per household is half the minimum recommended amount due to distance to water points. This brings along the gender issue whereby girls and women are assigned the duty of water collection.

However, sanitation and associated environmental household behaviour is very poor in the country with detrimental consequences for health and productivity. According to UNHS (1999/2000), 83% of Ugandan population use a pit latrine and 2% a flush toilet, while 14% do not have access to any toilet facility. The 2001 Poverty Status Report (PRS) however observes that many of the pit latrines may be extremely rudimentary and sites only 51% of the rural households can be said to have access to safe excreta disposal.

The reasons for the poor sanitation have been a general lack of interest and demand for household sanitation (MFPED, 2002). Ensuring access to sanitation has also not received the same priority attention as safe water provision. Coordinated government intervention is further hampered by the fact that the institutional responsibility is spread over three different sectors, namely health, education and water (MFPED, 2003). The roles of each institution have remained unclear and inter-sectorial collaboration basically is non-existent. The non-existent collaboration has hampered performance monitoring due to the existence of conflicting targets in various sector plans (MFPED, 2003).

Other constraints in the sector include low funding, supply driven implementation methodologies, selection of inappropriate technologies, poor coordination of donor support projects, inadequate technical capacities at the local levels and inadequate involvement of the private sector. According to UN-Habitat, (2002). In most cases, there is only one district officer who in some cases may not be qualified water engineer. Managerial and technical deficiencies extend to the private sectors with operators that have little experience in a service that was hitherto a reserve of the central government agencies.

3.5.4. Rural Roads

A country's ability to unleash its economic potential is closely linked to the efficiency of its transport system (Gannon et al, 2002). Transport is an integral part of daily subsistence and economic and social activities. Poor households transport their water, fuel and food and need transport service to

get to market, place of work, schools and health centres. Better transport can facilitate the participation of the poor in social and political process. According to Gannon et al (2002), in countries that lack an effective transportation system, poor people are unable to accumulate human, physical, financial and social to break out of poverty cycle.

Road transport is the most dominant mode of transport in Uganda. It plays a pivotal role in supporting development programs. It carries over 90% of the country's passenger and freight transport and provides the only form of access to most rural communities. The gazetted roads, which form 30% of the road network, carry 80% of the total road traffic volume, while the rural feeder roads are the major means of access to the rural areas (MWHC, 2002).

The government of Uganda has placed road development amongst its highest Ministry of Works, Housing and for investment. The priorities Communications (MWHC) is the government agency mandated to set policies, standards, coordinate and develop the whole County's transport infrastructure. Government's Medium Term Transport Sector Policy (MTTSP) aims at promoting effective and efficient transport services a means of providing support to modernisation of the economy in particular increased agricultural and industrial production, trade tourism, social and administrative services. This is further enhanced in government's strategy for eradication of poverty and economic integration.

The road transport system in Uganda comprises about 10,000 km of classified main roads (trunk, secondary and tertiary), about 25,000km of district (feeder) roads, 2,800 km of urban roads, and 30,000 km of community access roads (MWHC, 2002). The National (Trunk) Road Network carries most of Uganda's traffic and thus forms the most vital infrastructure driving the country's economy.

The national roads include international routes linking Uganda to neighbouring countries and to the sea through Kenya and Tanzania, and internal roads linking large populations, commercial and administration centres. About 2,200 Km out of a total of 10,000 Km of National Roads are bituminised (tarmacked) and the rest are gravel (murram). Government is implementing an on-going program of continuous upgrading of key gravel roads to bitumen standard (MWHC, 2002).

The role of Ministry of Works Housing and Communication with respect to the national roads consists of management of the planning, design, construction, maintenance and monitoring of the road links, bridges, drainage and other structures on the network. This is done through either direct intervention by the ministry's Force-Account Units (now progressively reducing) or increasingly, through the use of private sector contactors and consultants.

In addition to these general roles, the ministry is also responsible for:

- > Supervision of road studies (feasibility studies and detailed designs).
- > Supervision and monitoring the usage and condition of roads.
- Training road sub-sector personnel; evolving of appropriate road policies and programs.
- Mobilisation of resources from development agencies; procurement and upkeep of road construction and maintenance equipment.
- Monitoring of road works through the use of pavement evaluations, geo-technical investigations, material survey and testing.
- > Research into material, technologies and practices and
- > Institutionalising adoption or use of good ones and operation and maintenance of ferry services at selected crossing points.

The District road network, which comprises of approximately 25,000Km of roads that link communities to commercial and socio-economic centres or connect them onto classified road network. District roads are therefore very important for the livelihood of rural communities since they facilitate delivery of farm inputs, marketing of agricultural produce delivery of social and administrative services.

Urban Roads are estimated to be 2,800Kms and comprise roads in Kampala City, the 13 municipal councils and the 50 town councils in the country. Construction and maintenance of district and urban roads are mandated responsibilities of district and urban councils. Community roads are estimated to be 30,000Km. Development and maintenance of community roads is a responsibility of local communities coordinated by L.C 111 and private individuals/organisations.

The key policies and strategic actions of government to enable it to sustainably manage district, urban and community access roads include strengthening the institutions and ensure that roles are clear; improve funding for road works; enhance human resource development and capacity building and improve planning, programming and modalities in the execution of works (JTSR, 2004).

Under the part 2 section 4 of the LG Act, District Councils are responsible for the construction, rehabilitation and maintenance of roads not under the responsibility of the central government. Urban councils are responsible for maintenance of roads as provided under part 3 (1) (z) of the LG Act which are the roads within the urban area. Lower local governments are responsible for the management of community roads. The existing Road Act, Cap 358 is silent on management of roads under a decentralised system. The law was specifically designed to address issues regulating road reserves and was enacted prior to the LG Act.

However, the road infrastructure in Uganda is still underdeveloped in terms of network and state. More than 90% of Uganda's road networks consist of earth and gravel roads and about 25% of rural feeder roads are impassable during rainy seasons. In addition there is a myriad of community roads that are in poor state but yet very important to linking local communities with the market.

Constraints within this sector include institutional deficiencies arising from frequent changes in local government administration and poor coordination with the centre. There is also deviation from planned activities to suit political priorities. Others include inadequate sources of revenue to the local government from the sector, inadequate technical manpower particularly at the sub County level, insufficient training for the officers and the political committees in charge of works and inappropriate technologies for some areas. This study attempted to establish the link between rural road network and poverty reduction and the detailed report is presented in chapter Five.

Good transport policy should take into consideration poverty reduction in all its dimensions while stimulating economic and social development. It should create opportunity for the people living in poverty to access markets for their labour and products. It should also empower people living in poverty to communicate and participate in setting transport interventions and their implementations. Accessible, reliable, affordable and safe transport services make it possible for communities to get to meeting places. A pro-poor approach to transport policy and strategy should comprehensively examine the linkages of poverty and transport and build synergies with related sectors and identify effective public actions.

3.5.5. Agricultural Extension Service

The Ugandan economy is dominated by the agricultural sector, which accounts for 43 % of the countries Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The agricultural sector provides 85 % of the countries export earnings, 80 % of employment and provides most of the raw materials to Uganda's mainly agro based industrial sector which comprise of coffee hulling, cotton ginning, tea processing, sugar production, textile mills, soap industries, edible oil industries, cigarette manufacturing grain milling, meat processing, dairy and lather products manufacturing (MAAIF, 2000).

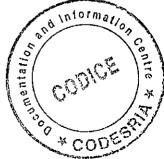
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According to the Ministry of Agriculture Animal Industry and Fisheries (2000), over 85 % of Ugandan population live in the rural areas and they depend mainly on agriculture for their livelihood. The agriculture sector is also the provider of food for self-sufficiency and it is the leading sector of Uganda's economy and it's the engine and holds the key to rural poverty reduction in Uganda.

The delivery of technical messages to farmers has been associated with government agricultural extension programs that has also administered the delivery of various inputs and service programs. Prior to the 1970s Government Agricultural Extension Service (GAES) had greater impact because of the focus on cash crops and the support it had from local and cultural systems through appropriate by laws. The political turmoil in the 1970s and early 1980s led to the collapse of the extension serve system. Efforts to revive the AES since 1986 have made very little impact. Realising the importance of agriculture to the national economy, Uganda government put in place Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) and under PMA, a National Agricultural Advisory Service (NAADS) was put in place to institute a new paradigm which is owned by stake holders to promote efficiency and effectiveness to deliver sustainable market targeted services.

The PMA is a holistic, strategic framework for poverty reduction through mult-sectoral interventions enabling Ugandans to improve their livelihoods in sustainable manner (MAAIF/MFPED, 2000). According to the Ministry of Agriculture Animal Industry and Fisheries (2000), PMA is an outcome focused set of principals upon which sectoral and inter-sectoral policies and investment plans are developed both at the central and local government levels.

Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) is part of Uganda government's broader strategy of poverty eradication plan contained in the PEAP. PMA was developed as a key pillar of the PEAP with the aim to eradicate poverty by improving the natural resources based livelihoods of the rural poor in a sustainable manner (MFPED, 2001). PMA's vision is poverty eradication through a profitable, competitive, sustainable and dynamic agricultural and agro-industrial sector (MAAIF/MFPED, 2000).



In order to realise this vision, multi sectorial interventions that address the different and various constraints that stop the poor from improving their livelihoods are needed. For example, efforts to improve agricultural output or fish catch will not bear fruit if there are no roads and markets for the produce. Alternatively, reducing poverty should entail that people should diversify their income sources, but this too is very difficult if the poor have no access to capital.

The PMA, therefore, aims to ensure that sectoral policies and the efforts of both central ministries and local governments complement each other to provide an enabling environment and the means for people to improve their livelihoods. This may primarily be through farming, fishing, and utilising forest resources or off farm activities. For example, in relation to farmers, PMA specifically envisage that poverty reduction will entail that poor subsistence farmers producing and selling more to the market so that they can earn higher incomes.

The PMA was officially launched in December 2000. An implementation steering committee and a secretariat were established in 2001 to coordinate the efforts of the key stakeholders. There are currently seven priorities implementation areas and these includes:

- > Research and technology Development.
- > National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS).
- > Agricultural Education.
- > Improving Access to Rural Finance.
- ➤ Agro-processing and Marketing.
- > Sustainable Natural Resource Utilisation and Management.
- \triangleright Physical infrastructure.

Under the NAADS, natural resource users such as crop farmers, fisherfolk and forest dwellers are assisted to form groups that identified the types of advisory services they need. These groups then used government funds plus a small contribution of their own which at the moment is 2% of the total cost to contract in services from private sector providers.

Under the part 2, section 5 (a) of the LG Act, local governments are responsible for the provision of crop, animal and fisheries husbandry extension services. The National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) Act 10 of 2001 provides for the establishment of the NAADS and the promotion of market oriented agriculture and advisory services. Agricultural extension is one of the decentralised services under this sector. NAADS Act, section 19 provides for the establishment of District Farmers Fora (DFF) which shall include as member the LG secretary for production. NAADS Act further establishes a National Farmers Forum (NFF) as a body that contributes in the review of local government plans for agricultural development. The procurement system for agricultural extension services, as provided under NAADS, was introduced prior to the development of the Public Procurement and Disposal of Assets Act (PPDAA). But even before the introduction of the later, there were laws governing LG procurement which NAADS program opted not to abide by and the procurement system under NAADS is hence inconsistent with LG procurement guidelines.

Although the NAADS Act is of recent date, it is clearly not harmonised with the decentralisation reform, the LG Act and the LG procurement guidelines. A review of the Act with regard to LG planning guidelines and procurement guidelines, steered by both the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAIF) and MOLG is recommended.

The PMA is currently stressing the importance of empowering the poor to give them greater say in and control over government service delivery, how natural resources are managed and have opinions to improve their livelihoods. The PMA also seeks to reduce poverty through the Non-Sectoral Conditional Grant (NSCG). This is money that Central Government (CG) gives to the Local Government (LG) to assist rural communities to carry out community projects. The projects are intended to enable communities to solve their common problems that had kept their incomes low. As many of the constraints that rural communities face in agriculture lie outside the agricultural sector, the use of the NSCG is not restricted only to agricultural projects.

Modernisation of agriculture ideally is meant to contribute to the increase of incomes of the rural poor by raising their productivity, increasing the share of agricultural production that is marketed and creating on-farm and off-farm employment. The poverty focus of the PMA is based on poor people's perspectives that are contained in various poverty studies in Uganda, especially the Uganda participatory poverty Assessment (UPPAP). PMA is implemented through decentralised planning processes, which identifies the key constraints at the local government level and helps to remove through public service delivery mechanisms.

Although PMA is a national program, it operates only in a few districts in Uganda with only Arua district covered in Northern Uganda. Coupled with that is concentration of the existing National Agricultural Research System (NARS) within the central region around Lake Victoria and within the vicinity of Kampala. Three headquarters of NARO institutes are within a radius of 30 kilometres of Kampala. This is probably due to existing amenities and facilities offered in Kampala city. However, the agriculturalists that need their services live outside the city. Establishment of agricultural research and development centres in key ecological zones will contribute to the decentralisation and improvement of efficiency and effectiveness of agricultural research in all regions of Uganda.

Research in agriculture should not only focus on technology adoption, plating and dissemination, it should take advantage of the indigenous knowledge and technologies in their respective regions and also ensure that research priorities are in line with the needs of the farmers within the given location.

3.6. Summary

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> The above literature provides information about decentralisation and poverty reduction efforts in Uganda. We attempted to critically examine and link government decentralisation and poverty reduction, and social service delivery since the inception the contemporary government decentralisation program in Uganda. The next chapter discusses the study methodology.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH AREA AND METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

The process of knowledge generation based on searching for the truth and its justification with the aim of expanding the existing knowledge and practice of our chosen area of study required methodological tools to guide our study. This chapter therefore deals with the research methodologies used in the study, description of the study area, and methods of data analysis, presentation and discussion.

4.2. The Research Design

This research employed a case study design. According to Yin (1994), a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. Extensive description of the context in which the case is found is thus characteristic of case studies (Gilgun 1994; Patton 1990; Ruckdeschel et al. 1994). This description includes both the context in which the case itself was embedded and the observational context in which the data about the case were gathered. A case study can also be especially useful for examining the process of change, whether developmental or induced by intervention efforts (Fonagy and Maran 1993; Gilgun 1994). Case study can therefore be quite useful in evaluation of research (Patton, 1990; Ruckdeschel et al. 1994). The case study design was thus an indispensable tool for examining the role of government decentralisation in rural poverty reduction in post 1992 Uganda and Moyo District in particular.

Both qualitative and quantitative approaches to data collection were used. A variety of methodological instruments were used to collect the data required for the study to enable cross validation of the data. Data collection methods such as interviews, questionnaires, observation, and focus group discussion were used to collect the primary data required for the study. Triangulation has been considered more appropriate for our study because use of multiple/ collaborative data collection methods was perceived to be more meaningful in clarification and verification of data.

4.3. Study Area

The study covered the entire district. Moyo District was chosen for the following reasons:

- (i) Studies on the role of government decentralisation in poverty reduction in Uganda and Moyo District in particular are scanty, if not none existent and this therefore merited this study. The study expected to generate new knowledge in this field of development studies.
- (ii) Poverty is not only widespread in rural areas, but most poverty is rural (Maxwell and Ashley, 2002). Moyo District's location in the remote area of wartorn North-western Uganda bordering the Sudan merits this study.
- (iii) Moyo District is fairly accessible by road and telephone services are improving with mobile phone companies moving in the area. The availability of these services was more likely to quicken the collection of raw data needed for the study.
- (iv) The researcher also speaks the Madi language, which is spoken by the majority of the people in the district. The knowledge of the Madi language facilitated the collection of the primary data needed for the study.

4.3.1. Location, Topography and Climate

The study was carried out in Moyo District in Uganda. The district is located in the North-western part or West Nile Region (WNR) of Uganda. The Nile River forms its southern and eastern borders and Yumbe District its western border. The districts' topography is characterised by low plains and rolling hills along the Nile River, at about 900 meters above sea level, rising in a series of hills and peaks in the northern and north eastern parts of the district. Mount Otze, which is 1500 meters above sea level, is the highest peak in the district (MDLGDP, 2004).

On average, Moyo receives 1266.8 mm of rainfall annually. It has a distinct dry period that lasts from December to February, while November and March have moderate rainfalls. The rainfall has two peaks periods, with the rainfall of April falling within the second major rainy season. Areas along the Nile receive lesser rain 860 mm than the rest of the district (MDDP, 1998).

On an average, Moyo has annual daytime temperature of 24.5 C, with a high average annual temperature of 25.6 C and a low temperature of 23.7 C. The warmest months are December, January, February, and March. The coldest month is June. The peak temperature coincides with the dry season. The temperatures are warmest 30.0 C along the Nile (MDDP, 1998).

4.3.2. The People and their Culture

The Madi people form the dominant ethnic group in the Moyo District totalling to about 82%. Other ethnic groups are the Lugbara who at the time of the research numbered about 11%, the Kuku numbering about 4% and the other ethnic groups 3% (Akora (1999). The Madi ethnic group is patrilineal society, in which land the main productive asset is passed from father to son. Consequently, men have overwhelming control overland mediated through clan structure.

In Madi tradition, men and women had their allotted places in the immediate and extended family organisation. Men wielded ultimate authority and occupied the highest echelons of influence relative to women who were seen as nurtures and caregivers (Esuruku, 1997). Valuable property consists of livestock and household implements, and men controlled any wealth acquired by agriculture or trade, although communally owned. Things like house, courtyard, and granaries were always spoken of as belonging to the women rather than the husband, although in actual fact they belong to the man (Esuruku, 1997).

For the Madi, cattle and other livestock have traditionally played a key role in social life and economic affairs. The Madi used to keep large herds of cattle, sheep and goats, which represented their savings and prestige and acted as a reserve in times of drought or sickness, for payment of bride price or children's education, ceremonies and rituals, and support in old age. The traditional Madi society is based on the clan, which consists of extended family system. Clan solidarity was traditionally very strong and was upheld through communal digging and harvesting, taking meals together and the celebration of traditional rituals presided over by clan elders (Esuruku, 1997). The traditional Madi justice system was based on the concept of reconciliation rather than simply the punishment of offenders. Despite the existence of modern penal codes and other legal instruments, the Madi still use the mechanisms of their traditional justice system to solve disputes and repair broken relationship (Esuruku, 1997). Although men dominated the justice system, elderly women were also allowed to give their opinion.

4.3.3. Administration

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Administratively the district is divided into two counties: West Moyo and Obongi. The district is further divided into seven Sub-counties, one town council, 24 Parishes, and 162 villages. The district financial resources are derived from the central government transfers (namely unconditional grand, conditional grand and equalisation grand), donor funds, NGOs, and locally collected taxes. Locally collected taxes include graduated tax, market dues, and other minor fees, graduated tax accounts for over 80% of local revenue (MDLGDP, 2004).

4.3.4. Demography

Moyo has a population of 202,291 people. The total number of the refugee community accounts for 31, 000 of the total population in the district. The population report by gender indicates 49.9% were male and 50.1% female. Moyo has an annual growth rate of 8% and a population density of 98 persons per sq. km compared to a national rate of 4% and density of 85 persons per sq. km respectively. According to the 1996/97 household survey, 44.9% of the population were under 14 years, 52.7% between 14 and 64, and only 2.4% above 65 years, with an average of 4 people per household (MDLGDP, 2004).

4.3.5. Gender and Community Organisation

Although women participate in community and district affairs, their position is limited by their heavy workload, low literacy rates (30%) and lower social status vis-à-vis men (UPPAP-PPA Report, 2000). The formal organisation structures within Moyo include local council, clan (elders, councils), churches, development committees, parent-teacher associations, health and committees among others. The informal organisational structures of Moyo District include women's groups, reciprocal farm labour group, savings club, youth clubs, and cultural groups.

4.3.6. Production and Marketing

According to UPPAP-PPA report (2000), a large majority (90%) of the population in Moyo District is involved in agricultural activities, with 86.6% of the population involved in some form of subsistence production. The main crops of the district include sweet potatoes, sorghum, cassava, sesame, groundnuts, finger millet, maize, cowpeas, and beans. Most agricultural production is for households' consumption. Some household production is usually sold, particularly maize, cassava and sesame. Market limitation constitutes the most important setback for expanded commercial production (UPPAP-PPA, 2000). Agricultural productivity is constrained by the limited supply and the high cost of agricultural inputs, including new seeds, and the limited knowledge of agronomic practices extended by the agricultural department. Importantly, there are relatively few constraints on the marketing of fish, livestock and forest products (UPPAP-PPA, 2000). Marketing is primarily a problem for agricultural commodities.

Other economic activities include livestock rearing, which is mainly in a male domain. Livestock rearing is done communally on rotational basis mediated by the clan system. Some families tad their goats, sheep and pigs near their homesteads. Livestock rearing is constrained by the presence of tsetse that transmits nagana to the cattle and the treatment costs are relatively high for the people. Livestock marketing operated through personal contacts between the buyer and seller. Literally agents are sent in the villages to find out who is selling a cow or goat; sometimes the sellers go around looking for a buyer. By the time the research was conducted, a small livestock market was operating at Erepi with funding from Community Action Plan (CAP). Plans were on the way to construct nine livestock markets for each Sub-county in the district.

In Moyo District there are different types of markets operated, owned and managed by different institutions and individuals. The commonly found markets are established in town centres and operated by the town council or tendered out to private individuals. Other people market their merchandise either at home or in their own kiosks along the roadsides. Most markets operate all year round. Moyo District has three big markets, which includes Moyo Town, Lefori and Obongi. These markets provide services within and out of the district. The commodities sold in these markets are essential commodities, foodstuff such as simsim, fish, groundnuts, dried/fresh cassava, beans and so on. Besides the 3 markets, each Sub-county has at least other smaller markets springing up.

4.3.7. Financial Institutions and Services

Both formal and informal financial services exist in Moyo District. The formal financial services are provided by only one bank, Stanbic (formerly UCB) Moyo branch. The main service provided by Stanbic bank includes the deposits of savings and payment services. The bank has its laid down procedures which customers and borrowers have to adhere to. However, the bank has not been able to achieve much of its objectives in terms of tailoring business activities and operations in the district due to a range of reasons. The reasons include lack of knowledge of the banking procedures by the majority of business community and many potential borrowers lack security. Many businessmen and women do not keep business records, which makes it difficult for the bank to assess the loss and profits incurred in the business for which financial assistance is being sought.

The non-formal financial services are provided mainly by NGOs and the government in the form of credit financial programs. These include Entandikwa Credit Scheme (ECS), Poverty Alleviation Plan (PAP), Community Action Plan (CAP) Aktion Afrika Hilfe Micro-Credit Project (AAH/MCP) and Madi Women Development Association (MWDA), which are fairly active. Most of these credit financial programs allow clients to borrow between Ushs 50,000 to 500,000 and were expected to pay back in a period of three to four months with interest of 5 to 15%. Most people relied mainly on the non-formal financial services for credit although access is also restricted. Most credit facilities were accessible to groups and those who have sizeable gardens. For some programs credits were available to only those with skills and training and therefore excludes those without training and poor management skills. The financial institutions also lack adequate publicity among the potential borrowers and their methods and terms of operations are unknown to the rural population, which is more than 98% (Akora, 1999).

Nevertheless, lack of capital for starting business is singled out by the residents of Moyo District as one of the priority problem. Lack of a saving culture, extravagance and wastefulness, among others, are also some of the major poverty problems. Lack of credit to supplement the efforts of farmers to open up more land limits the efforts of the farmers to double their production and reduce poverty.

4.3.8. Transport and Communication

The main means of transport to Moyo District is by road. The district is accessible by two main roads; one is from Gulu and Adjumani Districts crossing the River Nile by ferry at Laropi. The second major road connects Moyo and Yumbe Districts to the west. There are bus services from Moyo to

River N season.

network. This is further aggravated by the hilly terrain of the area. Along the River Nile, the nature of the soil makes the roads impassable in the rainy season. The level of road maintenance is poor; bridges are narrow and sometimes scary to pass. Thus the cost of transport in the district is very high or exorbitant. There are a few privately owned vehicles in the district. Moyo Town is served mainly by a few lorries and pick-ups that ply to Arua via Yumbe, to Adjumani and to Obongi Sub-county.

The district has one airstrip outside Moyo Town at Erepi. Three airlines land at this airstrip. Eagle Air has 3 to 4 flights per week to Moyo, Arua, Kitgum and Entebbe. United Airlines and Missionary Aviation Fellowship (MAF) have similar flight schedules. Telecommunication is possible through radio communication, MTN-Uganda and Celtel-Uganda; however the network does not cover all parts of the district. By the time the research was conducted, Paidha FM, Arua One FM and Radio Parches were the only radio clearly audible in Moyo Town. The two daily newspapers-*The New Vision* and *The Monitor* have limited circulation and impact in the district. Only the elite have access to the newspapers.

Adjumani, Yumbe, Arua and Kampala. Generally the district has a poor road

There are a few bicycle and motorbike transport popularly known as "Bodaboda" in Moyo District. River transport is possible at Laropi, which is the main crossing point on River Nile linking Moyo District to Adjumani district by ferry and canoes. Other crossing points are at Obongi to Chiforo and Upstream to Rhino Camp and at Ndiriri to Ogujabe.

4.3.9. Housing

There were mainly four types of houses in Moyo District. The first category of houses were built out of local materials such as unburned brick walls, poles and grass, and were well ventilated. The second type of houses were built out of burned brick walls, poles and grass and the third categories were permanent houses built of burned bricks, timber and corrugated iron sheets/tiles. The last category of houses were built from stonewalls and corrugated iron sheets/tiles roofs.

Over 98% of the population in Moyo District live in the first category houses, that is, houses were built out of local materials such as unburned brick walls, poles and grass and were well ventilated. Many households have at least two or more huts. One hut is for the parents and the other for the children according to their gender, that is, boys have their own hut and girls have their own hut. The poor households have only one hut, which was at times also used as a kitchen. All family members have access to the huts but women have control over them while men own them. When the family separates women have no access and control over the huts.

4.3.10. Electricity

The source of power in Moyo District is a Uganda Electricity Board (now Umeme) generator, which operates for 4 hours from 7:00pm to 11:00pm. Many of the urban communities do not have access to electricity because they cannot afford the high cost of connecting power to houses, coupled with the cost is the temporary nature of the huts. Many institutions including NGOs and government use generators during the day to run their office equipment such as computers and photocopiers. Some use solar power for lighting and run their equipment.

The government's objective in promoting universal access to adequate, affordable, high quality, safe and environmentally acceptable energy sources have not yet been felt in the district. Rural electrification, which the government has been campaigning for, is a reverie yet to be realised in Moyo District. Use of electricity, gas and paraffin in Moyo District is almost unheard off. The biggest part of the population still uses firewood for cooking.

4.4. Sampling Design

This research employed purposive sampling. This is because a specific knowledge sample is liable to provide reliable information. The researcher with the help of the district sub County chiefs, local council chairpersons from each sub County and 4 research assistants selected from the sample population a total of 200 men and women from all the 8 sub counties in the district who were considered knowledgeable in the area of the study. This was done after a brief interview with them.

Equal number of men and women were selected for the study so as to generate sex-disaggregated data (see table 4.1). The collection and separation of data and statistical information by gender was to enable comparative analysis. However, there is a widespread confusion and misuse of the term "sex-disaggregated data" and "gender-disaggregated data". In our study we remained at counting of men and women according to their biological differences (sex-disaggregated data) with some explanation of social relations and behaviours of men and women on poverty and governance issues.

Later studies could use the data presented in this study to provide Genderdisaggregated data which is necessary for poverty studies because evidence is growing that gender sensitive development strategies contribute significantly to economic growth as well as equity objectives by ensuring that all groups of people living in poverty share in program benefits (DFID, 2002). According to Esuruku (2003), since women and men experience poverty differently, a full understanding of the gender dimension of poverty can significantly contribute to policy and program interventions.

In all 75 structured and 75 none structured questionnaires were used to collect the data needed for the study. Through the structured questionnaires we targeted the rural community. This was because the format of structured questionnaires was very simple; the respondents were given answers from which to pick the appropriate one from among others answers. They were quicker and easier to complete because minimum writing was required.

Through the unstructured questionnaire we targeted the elite urban community who were granted the freedom and spontaneity of expression and the consequent rapport and enhanced validity of responses. A variety of data were collect by using structured and unstructured questionnaires. These included, the respondents profiles age, sex, occupation, educational background, respondents levels of income, respondents understanding of the

key concept used in the study, and the link between decentralisation and poverty reduction.

Key informants were purposively selected and this consisted of 5 government officials, 5 academicians, 2 politicians, and 8 Sub-county chiefs. These where interviewed during and after an exploratory phase. We also conducted 3 focus group discussions (FGDs) sessions consisting of 10 participants in each group, totalling to 30 participants. These were randomly selected from the list of names that was compiled during the study from the 8 sub counties. The names were written on pieces of paper, put in a box and mixed up and 30 of them were randomly selected to participate in the FGDs.

Table 4.1. Distribution of the Respondents from each Category

Categories	Men	Women	Total
Key Informants	10	10	20
Structured Questionnaires	38	37	75
Non Structures Questionnaires	37	38	75
Focus Group Discussions	15	15	30
Total	100	100	200

Source: Field Data, 2004

4.5. Data Collection

The quantitative and qualitative data required for this study were drawn from secondary and primary sources. The study consisted of two main phases: > Exploratory phase.

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 \succ Actual field research.

In the exploratory research phase, our focus was on the study and collection of secondary sources and consultation with key informants. The second phase was the actual field research and the main research instruments used were:

- > Structured and none structured questionnaires.
- \triangleright Direct observation method.
- > Focus group discussions.

4.6. Secondary Sources of Data

The secondary sources of data collected were from government documents and other relevant documents related to the field of study. Categories of data collected included, an overview of government decentralisation in Africa, the history of government decentralisation program in Uganda, the institutional framework for government decentralisation in Uganda, characteristics of government decentralisation in Uganda, the link between decentralisation and poverty reduction, social service delivery under government decentralisation, local participation in resource utilisation for poverty reduction, and local government policies for poverty reduction. We made use of a range of libraries within our reach to collect the data needed for the study and among these were the main library of University of Dar es Salaam, Makerere University, Uganda Martyrs University, Centre for Basic Research, the Decentralisation Secretariat, published and unpublished government and academic and non academic documents on poverty and decentralisation. We also made use of the rich sources of material on the Internet.

4.7. Primary Sources of Data

This research employed a variety of data collection methodologies to collect the primary data needed for analysis. These included interviews, structured questionnaires and none structured questionnaires, observation and focus group discussions. The primary data were drawn from the respondents understanding of government decentralisation policies in Moyo District. The study explored and examined poverty situation in the district before and after the contemporary government decentralisation program, poverty reduction strategies, decentralisation policies and its relation to poverty issues and the relevance of government decentralisation program in rural poverty reduction in Uganda and Moyo District in particular.

4.7.1. Interviews

An interview is the process of systematically talking and listening to people because they have experiences and knowledge in the field studied. It can be used to explore local meanings, understanding, situation, attitudes and opinion about a field of study. Data can be collected through conducting discussions with a targeted population either through structured or unstructured interviews. For this research, unstructured interview was useful for collecting background data in the early stages of the study when we had little knowledge about the area of study.

Unstructured interviews are characterised by a flexibility of approach to questioning. They do not follow a system of pre-determined questions and standardised techniques of recording information (Kothari, 1987). Unstructured interview has the advantage of minimising biases of the interviewer, which might be introduced into the research process through structured questions. The flexibility of unstructured interviews allowed us to modify our line of enquiry, follow up interesting responses and investigate underlying motives in the area of study.

Using an interview guide, we conducted key informant interviews with the chosen government officials, academicians, politicians and Sub-county chiefs. Using unstructured interviews, a wealth of information was gathered for our study. These included the historical evolution of government decentralisation program in Moyo District, the characteristics of government decentralisation,

the relationship between poverty reduction and government decentralisation programs, and the informants opinions of what should be the role of government decentralisation in poverty reduction in Moyo District.

Although a wealth of information was gathered through unstructured interviews with the key informants, we also encountered some difficulties. The unstructured questionnaires were enormously time consuming as key informants had a lot of information to share about our topic. We also took a lot of time to establish relationship, credibility and to earn our informers trust.

4.7.2. Questionnaires

Questionnaires are most frequently concise and pre-planned set of questions designed to yield specific information to meet a particular need for research information about a pertinent topic (Key, 1997). Questionnaires are means of eliciting the feelings, beliefs, experiences, perceptions, or attitudes of some selected study sample (Key, 1997). As data collecting instrument, the questionnaire could be structured or unstructured. In this study, we used both structured and unstructured questionnaires to collect the data needed for the study.

4.7.2.1. Structured Questionnaires

Structured or close-ended questionnaires are formats of questions in which the respondents are given alternative answers to choose from that which corresponds with an answer they believe best represents their opinions (Boynton, 2002). For our purpose, sometimes the respondents were permitted to provide a brief written response, especially if there was a category such as "other" to permit some individuality and clarification in response. Each respondent received the same set of questions phrased in exactly the same way.

Structured questionnaires are quicker and easier to complete because minimum writing is required. There is greater specification of the frame of reference for the subject of study and they provide greater uniformity of responses and objectivity. Close-ended questionnaires are easier to standardise, code and analyse, as the answers are complete. With the structured questionnaires, we targeted the rural community simply because the format of the structured questionnaires was very simple.

Through the structured questionnaires, we collected data from 75 respondents, which composed of 38 women and 37 men in order to gather a gender disaggregated data and opinion. However, the structured questionnaires allowed little flexibility to the respondents with respect to response format. In order to overcome this problem, we allowed frequent space for comments in our questionnaires. The comments made by the respondents provided insightful information that would have otherwise been lost.

4.7.2.2. Unstructured Questionnaires

Unstructured questionnaires allowed respondents to freely discuss and comment on issues, which were raised in the study. They are characterised by a flexibility approach to questioning. They do not follow a system of predetermined questions and standardised techniques of recording information (Kothari, 1987).

This method was chosen because it has the advantage of minimising biases, which may be introduced into the research process through structured questionnaire. Open-ended questionnaire gave room for the respondents to provide a lot of knowledge and were easy to frame, the responses were indepth and respondents gave authentic information.

In the study 37 women and 38 men were selected and we took notes as the interviews progressed. However, the exercise was time consuming. This was

because some of the respondents had a lot of information to deliver; coupled with that, we had to walk long distance to reach the respondents. Sometimes the interviews were postponed to a later date because the respondents were engaged in other duties.

4.7.3. Observation

Observation is a perception with a purpose (Ghosh, 1992). In observation only relevant things are taken into account and, thus, it is essentially selective. It is a process of acquiring knowledge through the use of the sense organs. According to Ghosh (1992), observation has three components, namely, sensation, attention, and perception. Sensation is derived from sense organs, that is, the accuracy of observation depends on the power of the sensory organs like eyes, ears and nose. Attention is related to the ability to concentrate on the subject matter of the study and perception enables the mind to recognise the facts by identifying sensations and drawing upon experience and introspection.

Observation is a social research method that enables the researcher direct access to information on social phenomena. The researcher becomes a firsthand eyewitness of every social action (Vagn-Traore, 2003). The researcher observes different forms of overt phenomena, which manifest themselves generally as behaviour, actions, physical structures and interactions. Observation may be strictly confined to watching and recording actions, but it often includes listening to people as well (Pons ed., 1988). Observation is perception with a purpose; it is flexible and objective, and only relevant things are taken into consideration.

In direct observation the researcher is observing certain sampled situations or people rather than trying to become immersed in the entire context (Trochin, 2002). The researcher plays a role of passive observer and he/she is outside the actions being observed and recorded. It is descriptive and requires no inference making on the part of the researcher (Trochin, 2002). It can serve as a technique for verifying or nullifying information provided in faceto-face encounter.

This method was used to capture poverty situation and poverty reduction realities in Moyo District. The focus was on infrastructure and social service delivery in health, education, water and sanitation. This method was chosen for this study because it is cheap; expensive and complex technology was not required. It also worked well where people were unwilling to be interviewed. We recorded our observations of poverty situations and the state of social service delivery in health, education, infrastructure and agriculture by making notes of what has been observed. As an exploratory and descriptive technique, it required a lot of discipline and concentration in order to come up with quality observation and description. We recorded our observation in two forms, that is, descriptive and narrative forms. In the descriptive form, we systematically recorded reports on events that took place, conversations that occurred, description of the settings and date and time. In the narrative format, we recorded our reflections on events and experiences in the fieldwork. We also kept observation schedule to guide our study so that we did not skip variables we wanted to observe

4.7.5. Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussions are in-depth qualitative interviews with a small number of carefully selected people brought together to discuss host topics in the area of study of the researcher. Unlike one-way flow of information in a one-to-one interview, focus group discussions generate data through the give and take of group discussion. Listening as people share and compare their different points of view provides a wealth of information not just about what they think, but why they think the way they do.

Unlike surveys in which a representative sample of the population is selected to study, a planned sample is chosen for focus group discussions. The

composition of a focus group discussion is usually based on the homogeneity or similarity of the group members. To bring people with common interest or experiences together makes it easier for them to carry on productive discussion.

The questions set were open-ended with the purpose of generating many possible replies. We avoided asking leading questions that might suggest our opinions or the answers that we hoped to receive. Questions were clearly formulated and easily understood and were neutral so that the formulation would not influence the answer. Carefully sequenced with easier, general questions preceded more difficult ones. We placed the questions to be discussed before the group. They then discussed it among themselves talking to each other, asking each other questions about what they had done, heard and generally reacting to each other about government decentralisation and poverty issues in Moyo District.

We had 3 sessions of FGD composing of 10 participants in each group held in Gimara, Metu and Lefori Sub-counties. This small size group encouraged the participants to contribute ideas and listen to each other. The small size of participants was preferred to avoid lack of cohesion and participants breaking up into side conversations or people getting frustrated as they waited for their turn to respond or to get involved.

Prior to the FGDs, the participants were informed. The participants comprised of Sub-county chiefs, local government representatives and the local community. Care was taken to ensure that people who know each other very well and who were in the same chain of command were not recruited into the same session. This is because people are generally more open and less guarded with people they do not know and they do not have to worry about. When being recruited, potential participants received a brief description of what the group would be about, as well as assurances that their participation was entirely voluntary and that their confidentiality would be protected.

Each session of the FGD began with an introduction, which consisted of explaining the purpose of the FGD, laying down some basic ground rules to encourage everyone to participate in the discussion. We also explained the purpose of note taking and recording. We started each discussion with ice breaking, giving participants the chance to introduce themselves to the group. Once introductions were complete, we guided the discussions using an outline of questions to explore various aspects of the research topic. As the groups responded to each question, we sometimes probed for more information and asked follow-up questions to elicit more discussions.

Each FGD session were scheduled to last two hours, with discussion taking 90 minutes. Once all the major questions were discussed, we concluded²⁵by giving a summary of the major points in the discussion and asked the group feedback. We also asked the group if there were any questions about a particular topic that were not asked but should have been discussed.

4.8. Data Processing, Analysis and Presentation

The primary data collected from the study field was coded and then entered in excel data template. The data was then exported to a statistical analysis software-Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) for cleaning and analysis. As part of the data cleaning process, consistency and validity checks were made and frequency runs on all variables were made to check for any existing inconsistencies and outliers. After doing all the necessary data corrections, then data analysis was done following an analysis plan drawn up for the study. Data analysis basically involved univariate analysis on selected variables; gender, participation and governance are cross cutting issue. The qualitative data resulting from open-ended questions, interviews, FGDs, and observations were compiled and incorporated in the analysis. The data results from quantitative and qualitative are presented in form of tables, charts, graphs, quotations, and descriptive and explanatory notes.

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4.9. Measurement of Poverty Reduction

There are three distinct components to the measurement of poverty. First, we have to specify what we mean by the standard of living. Second, we have to delineate a critical level of standard of living below which there is poverty by definition. Thirdly, we need to compress information on the standards of living below the critical level into an index poverty (Kanbur, 1991).

According to the World Bank report (2000/2001), poverty is pronounced as deprivation in well-being. Consequently measuring well-being or welfare is the first step in measuring poverty. It is widely recognised that there are many dimensions of well-being (World Bank, 2000/2001). These dimensions of deprivation rage from material well-being being to physical, security and less tangible aspects such as freedom from choice and social well-being.

In this study we have constructed composite indices of well-fare that covered many dimensions of well being although it was difficult to quantify some non material aspects of well-being and the weights of the different aspects of wellbeing are inevitable rather than arbitrary. Although we could take the monetary measures of welfare because it affects several dimensions of wellbeing, poverty is multidimensional and welfare cannot only be measured in monetary sense.

The monetary measures of welfare are typically observed only at the household rather than individual level. It is very difficult to determine what each individual in the household consumes. Consequently, if households do not share consumption equally among their members, it is likely that monetary measures of well-being may underestimate inequality and welfare.

In this study we assessed whether people are poor or not according to whether their level of welfare falls below the poverty line. Conceptually, poverty line is the level of minimum welfare that people can enjoy without being poor. However, it is very difficult to set such a poverty line in practice and ultimately it involves a large amount of judgement about individuals needs. Part of the problem is that it is impossible to draw a precise line that meaningfully distinguishes between people on either side of the line. For example, if we use "one dollar a day" poverty line, it is untenable to argue that people living on 1\$ a day are significantly better off than those living on 99 cents. More seriously, people are likely to have different judgements about what their basic needs. As countries develop, norms about what is a reasonable standard of living are likely to be raised and in so doing relative poverty lines become more appropriate.

In order to measure whether poverty has reduced or increased in Moyo District, a subjective poverty line which was based on the respondents' perception of their living standards and what they considered as the absolute minimum standard of living below which they regarded themselves poor was used to capture the poverty levels in the district. We thereafter compared the information with poverty levels before the introduction of government decentralisation in the district. Based on the idea that poverty is associated with deprivation of certain social services such as education, health, water supply and sanitation, infrastructure, and local government capacity building, these were further divided into input, access and out put indicators.

4.10. Ethical Considerations

Attention to ethical issues in research is an obligation of every professional and an intrinsic part of research design process. According to Anastas (1999), principles and standards that guide ethical decision making in research, formal and informal consultation with other professionals about any dilemmas that may arise and constant self examination are the best safeguards that researchers can offer to participants that they will be protected and respected in the research process.

Poverty issues are multidimensional and as such they cut across all spheres of human relations, and involve individuals and communities. Since poverty issues are also relational, it was necessary for us to consider certain set of principles and rules that place particular parameters on relationship between the researcher and the respondents.

We obtained the permission of the Moyo District authorities before our field study. During interviews, we got the consent of the respondents and participation was voluntary and informed. We respected the autonomy of the respondents and ensured confidentiality of views expressed during data collection. This kind of relationship with the authorities, respondents, colleagues and communities in Moyo District enhanced the quality of research.

4.11. Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

During our field study to collect the data needed for the study, we encountered transport and communication problems. As noted earlier in the chapter, Moyo is a rural district and is poorly served by means of transport. The available means of transport was very expensive and unreliable. In some cases, we spent a lot of time walking long distances to reach respondents. Although the district is connected to MTN and Celtel-Uganda, certain areas within Moyo are not accessible. Sometimes the district experiences a network failure making communication by telephone impossible. Thus telecommunication too was a big problem and in order to overcome these problems, we sometimes hired motorcycles to reach respondents.

While collecting data through FGDs, the participants sometimes did not keep time. Although the meetings were conducted on Sundays in the afternoon, some men and women claimed they had other household chores to do. Sometimes lack of transport was given as an excuse for late coming. This problem was minimised by starting the discussions later than the time scheduled for it to begin so that all the participants were present.

During the FGDs, some participants occasionally monopolised the discussions with sharing about the their personal and general experiences working in Moyo District before and after the introduction of the contemporary government decentralisation programs. We were also interrupted by heavy rains accompanied by strong winds; this made communication very difficult. Some participants took the period of research as an occasion to present their individual problems. These problems were addressed by reminding the participants about the objectives and the purpose of the study. Sometimes the meetings went beyond the time that was allotted for them to cover the time lost in extraneous issues.

Definition of terms like government decentralisation, local government and poverty reduction to mention but a few were very difficult in the local dialects. We had to use phrases to describe the meanings of the terms used in the study. To avoid the problem of different interpretation by respondents, we had to constantly explain the meanings of the terms as used in the study.

Financial difficulty was yet another problem we encountered in our study. We had to cover the entire Moyo District with limited financial resources. Some of the respondents expected from us financial support since the study was on the role government decentralisation plays in rural poverty reduction. We had to labour to explain that the purpose of the study was largely academic, although the information would be useful to the ministry of local government who will probably learn something from the findings of the study. It would have been more interesting to cover more case studies in terms of districts and regions in order to broaden the scope and have a more comprehensive and comparative study. This was not possible given the limited resources both time and finance. However, the wide range of secondary data and Möyo District case study do suffice in revealing the role of decentralisation in rural poverty reduction in Uganda.

4.11. Summary

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This chapter contains details of data collection instrumentation used in this study and their specifications. It contains the research design, reasons for the choice of the study area, description of sampling techniques and procedures. Details of data processing, analysis plan, and presentation and the limitations of the study have also been examined. The next chapter will explore, analyse, and discuss the data collected from the field.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS 5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the findings of the study. The central focus of the chapter is on the background characteristics of the respondents and the features of decentralisation in Uganda and Moyo District in particular. We examine the general characteristics of poverty situation and also evaluate and contrast the poverty situation in Moyo District before and after the implementation of the contemporary government decentralisation programs.

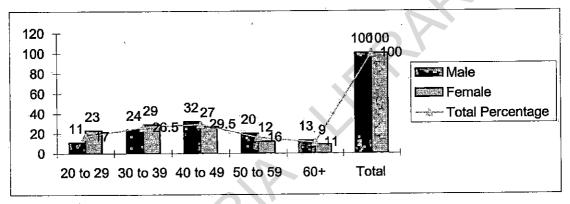
5.2. Demographic and Socio-Economic Background Characteristics of the Respondents

This research involved a total of 200 respondents purposively selected with the help of the district sub County chiefs, local council chairpersons, and research assistants from each of the 8 sub counties in Moyo District. In order to capture the views of both men and women and provide genderdisaggregated data, equal numbers of men and women were selected for the study. The respondents were men and women of different age groups, education backgrounds, occupation, employment and different levels of income to mention.

5.2.1. Distribution by Age

In our study different age groups of people provided information. The graph below shows the distribution of respondents by age and gender in numbers and percentages.

Graph 5.1. Distribution of Respondents by Age and Gender in Numbers and Percentages (N=200)



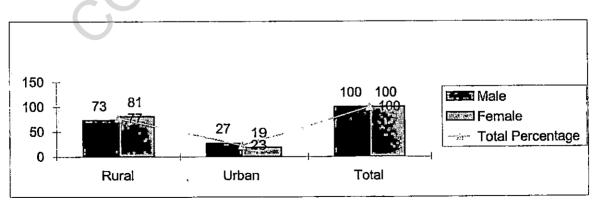
Source: Field Data, 2004

The graph 5.1 above shows that out of 200 respondents, the highest age proportion 29.5% (59) fall between 40 to49 years of which men number 32 compared to women 27. This, however, has not created any significant difference in the views presented by both men and men because both men and women have been equally represented in the general total sample of the study. This is followed by 26.5 % (53) respondents who fall between the age group of 30 and 39. Other categories of age group comprise of those who fall between the age groups of 20 to 29 years of age who numbered to 17% (34), 16% (32) fall within the age group of 50 to 59 and 11% (22) are from age group 60 years of age and above. From the total sample of 200 respondents, 73% (146) of the respondents fall below the age group of 20 to 49 which is the majority of the respondents compared to 27% (34) who fall in the age group of 50 to 60 years and above. This is because the population in Moyo District composed of majority young men and women as per the Population Census Report 2002.

5.2.2. Distribution by Residence

According to the recent UNHS 2002/2003, over 86% of Ugandan population live in the rural areas. In Moyo District over 90 % of the population live in rural areas (MDLGDP, 2004). In our study we examined the distribution of the respondents by residents and gender in numbers and percentages.

Graph 5.2. Distribution of Respondents by Residence and Gender in Numbers and Percentages (N=200)



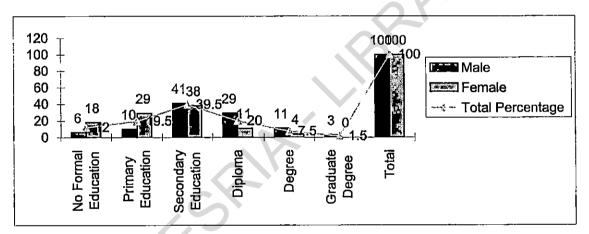
Source: Field Data, 2004

From Graph 5.2 above 77% (154) of the respondents, which form the majority, are from the rural areas. This is due to the fact the majority of the inhabitants of Moyo District are subsistence farmers and thus they live on farms. According to MDHOP (2003-2004), a large majority of 90% of the population in Moyo is involved in agricultural activities with 86% involved in subsistence production. Coupled with the above reason is that majority of the population in Moyo District cannot afford to live in town due to low-income levels and thus they cannot afford food, shelter and other basic social amenities provided in town. From the findings of the study, only 23% (46) of the respondents live in urban areas and majority of them were men. This is because men are engaged in commercial business which seems to exclude women. Cultural practices tend to limit women to household domestic duties like cooking, childcare, and fieldwork.

5.2.3. Distribution by Education

To enable us to capture the poverty situation and the role of government decentralisation in poverty reduction in Moyo District, the educational background of the respondents was required. Education attainment has been identified as one of the essential approaches of combating poverty and indeed it is a core aspect in Uganda's Poverty Eradication Action Plan. This is relevant because societies with low levels of education are less likely to attain and maintain high levels of economic growth. The education echelons of the respondents were captured in the following categories of educational attainment levels; no formal education, primary education, secondary education, diploma, degree and post graduate studies.

Graph 5.3. Distribution of Respondents by Levels of Education and Gender in Numbers and Percentages (N=200)



Source Field Data, 2004

From the graph 5.3 above, 39.5% (79) of the respondents attained secondary school education of which 41 of the respondents were men and 38 were women. This implies that more men attained secondary education as compared to men. This is followed by diploma holders who numbered 20% (40) and it is closely followed by those who attained primary school education who numbered 19.5% (39). Another category of respondents is of those who never had formal education and they numbered 12% (24), and when asked why they never went to school, reasons given raged from indifference to education to cost, orphan-hood to ill health. Those who attained postgraduate education only numbered 1.5% (3).

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> From the presentation and analysis of data above, women were less educated compared to men. The oral interviews conducted from the field reveal that women in the district were less educated compared to men due to patriarchal nature of the societies in the district which preferred to educate men as opposed to women in the midst of scarce resources. This has immense impact on women's ability to create wealth to reduce poverty since they lack the required formal skills.

5.2.4. Distribution by Employment Status

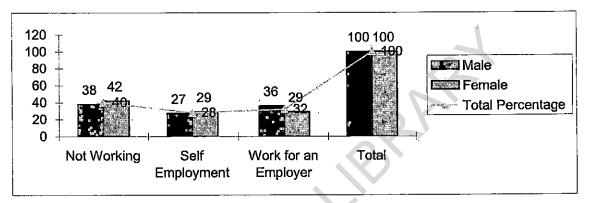
Employment status refers to the position of economically active persons with respect to their positions at their place of work. Our study comprised of those not working, majority of whom were, students and unpaid family workers, self-employed, and those who work for an employer.

From the graph 5.4 bellow, 40% (80) of the respondents were not working of which 38 were men and 42 were women. 32% (65) of the respondents work for

an employer of which 36 were men and 29 were women and 28% (56) were self-employed from which 27 were men and 29 were women. This means that almost half of the respondents were unemployed in Moyo District. There is a high risk that those who are self employed may fall into the later group due to scanty resource base in the district. From the field focus group discussion it was indicated that a number of those who are employed in the district lack the required qualification and those qualified cannot adequately meet the required standard of their job description in the local government. It also emerged from the FGDs that some of those employed could not support themselves fully financially and are dependent other people for survival. This is closely related to UNHS 2002/03 dependency ration of 115.2 %, implying that on average every 100 people who are economically active support 115 people who are outside the economically active rage.

It was interesting to note that women form the highest number of those not working and the lowest number of those working for an employer. From oral interviews, it emerged that few women work for employers because of their position in the household as mothers and they were regarded to be weaker sex and often formally less qualified for formal jobs as compared to men. In Moyo District working for an employer was associated with affluence, a category from which women were excluded because of their disadvantaged position in the household in a male dominated society.

Graph 5.4. Distribution of Respondents by Employment and Gender in Numbers and Percentages (N=200)

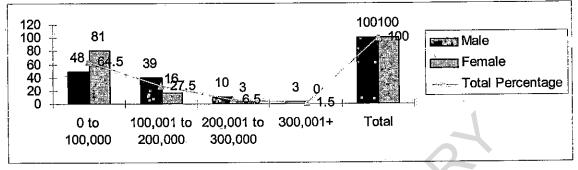


Source: Field Data, 2004

5.2.5. Levels of Income of Respondents

Levels of income and consumption expenditure of household are very important in capturing the levels of poverty in a given society. In our study, we measured the monetary indicators of poverty of the respondents.

Graph 5.5. Distribution of Respondents by Income and Gender in Numbers and Percentages (N=200)



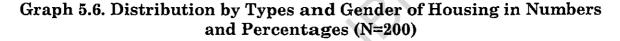
1 US = Ush 1700

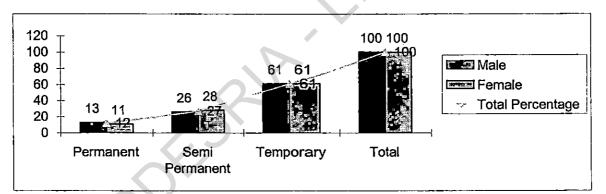
Source: Field Data, 2004

From the graph 5.5 above, 64.5% (129) earn an income ranging from Ushs 0 to Ushs 100,000 per month, which is the lowest category in the graph. This proportion is higher in rural areas than the urban areas and the majority are women who number 81 compared to their male counterparts who numbered 48. This implied that women earn less than men and they were poorer compared to men. In the next category 27.5% (55) of the respondents earn an income ranging from Ushs 101,000 to 200,000. Then 6.5% (13) of the respondents earn between Ushs 200,001 to 300,000 per month and only 1.5% (3) of the respondents earn an income ranging from Ushs 200,001 to 300,000 per month and only 1.5% room the analysis majority of the respondents earn below Ushs 100,000. This indicates the low level of income earning activities and lack of income generating resources in the district.

5.2.6. Types of Housing of Respondents

Housing is a critical indicator of poverty and as such we took it as one of the socio-economic model. The types of material used in the construction of roof, wall and floor of house is a good indicator of how well off household are in terms of housing. Questions related to types of housing units were addressed. In oral interviews we further asked questions related to occupancy tenure, number of rooms, types of roof, wall and floor.





Source: Field Data, 2004

From the graph above 61% (122) of the respondents live in a temporary house, which is made of mad wall and grass-thatched roof. This category of housing were located in rural area where the majority of the residents from the district live. This was followed by 27% (54) of the respondents live in semi permanent house, which is made of cemented, burnt brick wall and wellventilated grass-thatched roof. Only 12% (24) of the respondents live in permanent houses, which are made of burnt brick wall and corrugated iron sheet roof. This category of housing were found in Moyo Town Council and trading centres such as Obongi and Metu. From the field oral interviews almost all respondents occupy their own houses except a few who live[®] in rented houses in Moyo Town and Obongi.

5.3. Characteristics Of Government Decentralisation In Moyo District

Moyo District is governed by a District Council (DC), which is presided over by a (full time) Executive Committee (EC), consisting of the district chairperson, elected by adult suffrage, a speaker and deputy speaker, elected from among the members of the DC, as well as the vice chairperson and secretaries, nominated by the chairperson and approved by the council.

Councils at Sub-county level are constituted by the chairperson, elected by universal suffrage and councillors elected according to their constituencies. In the case of the Sub-county, only the chairperson is full time. The administrative units, namely, the County, Parish and village levels are governed by committees and are mainly to assist in implementation of district programs, mobilisation, communication and generally assist in maintenance of law and order. The characteristics of the decentralised local government are summarised in the table 5.1 below.

Table 5.1 Characteristics of the Decentralised Local Government inUganda

Local Council Level	Area	Political Head	Procedure for Selection of Representatives	Status of LC Level and Administrative Head	Technical Staff
LC5	District	District Council Chairperson	 Chairperson elected by universal adult suffrage One councillor from each Sub-county elected by universal adult suffrage Special councillors representing youth and disabled selected through electoral colleges Women make up 1/3 of council 	Local Government Chief Administrative Officer (CAO)	Full complement
LC4	County	LC4 Chairperson	Council made up of all LC3 executives LC4 executive elected among councillors Chairperson and vice chairperson must give up their posts on the LC3	Administrative Unit Assistant CAO	
LC3	Sub- county	Sub-county Council Chairperson	 Chairperson elected by universal adult suffrage in the Sub-county One councillor elected by adult suffrage in the Parish Women make up 1/3 of council Chairperson appoints executive and seeks approval from council 	Local government Sub- county Chief	Sub- accountant extension and other technical staff
LC2	Parish	Parish Council Chairperson	Selected by LC1 Executive members	Administrative Unit Parish Chief	
LC1	Village	LC1 Chairperson	Directly election by universal suffrage in village	Administrative Unit	

Source: Field data, 2004

The powers of local governments (Districts) are described as:

To deliver services which include primary and secondary education, hospitals, health centres, control of communicable diseases, construction and rehabilitation and maintenance of roads, agricultural extension, district planning, land surveying, land administration, physical planning, forests, wetlands, street children and orphans, community development, trade licenses, licensing of produce buying, district information services and social welfare development (The Republic of Uganda, 1994). The Local governments are thus legally vested with planning and legislative functions by the LGA (1997). The district council, as the supreme organ in local government, has powers to enact district laws as long as they are not inconsistent with the Constitution or any other law made by the national legislature. This power is exercised by the passing of local bills into ordinances. The LGA (1997) permits local governments to budget and make development plans and allows local government to levy, charge and collect fees and taxes, including rates, royalties, stamp duties, personal graduated tax and registration and licensing fees (MOLG, 1998).

Within the new political dispensation, local governments raise and retain all local revenue as provided for by the Act. However, the financial powers supposedly devolved to local government are limited. For example, in Moyo District, local revenue is minimal, as the main source tends to be graduated tax and trade licensing. This suggests that decentralisation in Uganda and Moyo District in particular is in a way a hoax because the centre has denied local authorities real financial power. The central government has retained the major sources of revenue and has only decentralised minimal sources, such as graduated tax and trade licensing which do not derive substantial revenue. Graduated tax in particular is costly in terms of assessment and collection. A performance indicator for Moyo District has been dire as the number of tax defaulters has been on the increase. Added to the above problem, the tax base in the district is also narrow considering that majority of the population depend on agricultural production. The local governments have tended to rely more on central government transfers rather than internally generated revenue, which begs the question of whole notion of decentralisation in rural poverty reduction in Moyo District.

Furthermore, central government still retains major sources of livelihood in terms of natural resources. In the second schedule of the Local Governments Act (1997) the centre retained the following functions: mines minerals and water resources and the environment. It also retained the responsibility for national parks and making policies for forests and game reserves (Muhereza et al. 2001). This further raises the question whether government decentralisation guarantee rural poverty reduction?

In Uganda, district councils are mandated to appoint standing committees (not exceeding five) for the efficient performance of their functions (LGA, 1997:Section 23(1)). Standing committees are constituted by councillors and the chairperson of each committee is elected by simple majority from members of the council who are not members of the executive committee. Standing Committees, also referred to as sectoral committees, are supposed to be key arenas for planning and monitoring where councillors deliberate on budget estimates and reports from relevant sectors.

The council is supposed to prepare comprehensive plans that incorporate of the lower local governments through the technical planning committee constituted by heads of departments and the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO). The planning function is the nerve centre of decentralised local governance and in terms of policy there is a good framework for bottom up identification of priorities and incorporating them in the development plans from village to district level. Village and Parish Councils (PC) (i.e. all adults of 18 years and above residing in the village/Parish) are convened in what is termed as a budget conference and priorities are identified and sent through to the Sub-county (LC3). The Sub-county council then concretises further the priorities so as to enable the Sub-county technical committee come up with a plan. The district budget conference takes place finally to aggregate priorities from all the Sub-counties. As described by one official, the process of planning seems to be all-inclusive. Furthermore, the LG councils are vested with powers to appoint boards and committees for efficient, effective and transparent service delivery. As specified in the Act, DCs appoint a District Service Commission (DSC), District Tender Board (DTB) and Local Government Public Accounts Committee (LGPAC). The DSC is appointed by the district council, on recommendation of the District Executive Committee (DEC). The DSC is mandated to recruit, confirm promote discipline and fire all employees in the services of the district or lower government council. This, henceforth, abolished the hitherto dual personnel systems where there was a level of field staff employed by the DSC and those recruited by the central government through the Public Service Commission (PSC). The latter was what was known as the integrated personnel system where staff was recruited and posted to districts through their line ministries. This may also mean that part of the staff owed their allegiance to their parent ministries and the councils had no control over activities of such staff.

Local Government Tender Boards (LGTBs) are also appointed by district councils, on recommendation of the DEC. The Local government tender boards are supposed to act upon the request by the Local council seeking procurement of goods, services or works. The tender board therefore takes care of the procurement and contractual process which is supposed to be separate from the council to avoid conflict of interest in as far as politicians are concerned. Also, the district council appoints a Local Government Public Accounts Committee (LGPAC), which is supposed to examine financial reports of local governments and submit reports to the minister of local government at the centre.

Actual development takes place at the level of lower local governments (Subcounty). Development projects from the district and donors are operationalised at this level and it is here that we find various avenues for participation. There are numerous committees for different areas of service delivery at local level, such as investment, water user committees, school management, health and environment. Functions of these committees range from management to monitoring as well as mobilisation of community.

5.4. The Characteristics of Poverty in Moyo District

In order to capture the real poverty situation in Moyo District, we examined the characteristics of poverty in the district. To further deepen our understanding of the actual poverty situation, we investigated poverty situations at individual, household and community levels covering the whole district.

5.4.1. Characteristics of Poverty In Moyo District at Individual and Household Levels

Poverty at individual level was characterised in terms of a lack or inability to satisfy basic needs. These was categorised into material and non-material forms of poverty. The material forms of poverty at the individual level ranges from lack of food to being a tax defaulter. The non-material forms of poverty at individual level ranges from laziness to being barren. At household level, poverty was characterised in terms of inability of the family to provide for themselves. These too was categorised into material and non-material forms of poverty. The material forms of poverty at the household level vary from lack of enough farmland to lack of sanitary facilities. The non-material forms of poverty at household vary from female-headed household to ill health. The characteristics of poverty at individual and household levels are summarised in table 5.1 below.

Non Material Level Material Laziness Individual Lacks basic necessities 1 \checkmark ✓ Alcoholic like soap, s salt, food, sugar, clothing, bedding ... ✓ Old age Cannot afford bride prize ✓ Beggar 1 1 Lacks market for goods Insecurity Sickly, Weak and disabled -✓ . Lacks assets ✓ Retrenched Lacks source of income House shared with ✓ Orphaned. 1 Hopelessness livestock √ Jealousy Have ragged house 1 Divorce. [house leaking and ~ Being barren. falling apart] Loss livestock ✓ Dependant Antisocial and Self Isolated Small piece of land for farming Dirty Lacks wet land for Liar Illiterate farming during dry Helpless season (Njokoti) Lost relatives Lacks source of income. Mad Tax defaulter Born to a poor father Lacks sanitary facilities 1 Lack skills and employment. [pit latrine, bathing ✓ Casual worker shelter, rubbish pit]. Non Material Material Level Being a widow Lacks enough farm land Household Female headed household and implements Spends all the household Loss of children resources on school and Being barren medical costs Separation/divorce Unable to send children Helpless to school and for medical Sickly and Disabled Domestic violence care < Large family Travel long distance for Alcoholic household basic services like health. Lack of household plan education and water Alcoholics Poorly fed and dressed Lost relatives Borrowing cooking and Ill health eating utensils from Quarrelsome neighbours. No family plans Lacks livestock Thieves Leaking house Dirty compound Lazy household Lacks basic necessities like salt, salt sugar, food, clothes, beadings etc. Lacks sanitary facilities [pit latrine, bathing

shelter, rubbish pit]

Table: 5.1 Characteristics of Poverty In Moyo District at Individualand Household Level

Source: FGDs, 2004

5.4.2. Characteristics of Poverty In Moyo District at Community Level

Communities in Moyo District categorised poverty into material and nonmaterial forms. Poverty at the community level ranges from lack of schools to lack of or inadequate productive resources such as farmland. The material forms of poverty ranges from lack of or inadequate social service delivery to lack of community organisations/clubs. The non-material forms of poverty at the community levels extent from irresponsible leadership to community marginalisation. These characteristics of poverty at community level are summarised in table 5.3 below.

Table: 5.2 Characteristics of Poverty In Moyo District at Community Level

Level	Material	Non Material
Community	 Lacks school 	✓ Irresponsible leaders
v	 Lacks health services 	✓ Corrupt leadership
	 Poor quality roads 	✓ Lacks employment
	✓ Lacks church	opportunities
	Lacks grinding mills	 Inadequate security systems
	🖌 🖌 Lack rural financial	 Poor living conditions
	schemes	✓ Backward traditional culture
	✓ Lacks food	✓ Delays in administering
	✓ Inadequate	justice
	infrastructure	\checkmark Instability and conflicts
	✓ Lacks market/trading	✓ Ignorance and illiteracy
	centre	\checkmark Community vulnerable to
	✓ Lacks government	diseases
	offices	✓ Bad leadership
	✓ Limited resources	 Community marginalised
	✓ Lacks electricity	✓ Lack of information
	✓ Lacks telephone service	✓ Corrupt community
	✓ Inadequate extension	✓ Anti social behaviour e.g.
	services	stealing, alcoholism
	✓ Lack of women clubs	✓ Insecurity
	✓ Inadequate security	
	service	

Source: FGDs, 2004

5.4.3. Reflections on the Poverty Situation in Moyo District

In Moyo District poverty was understood to mean a lack of means to satisfy basic material and social needs, as well as a feeling of powerlessness. Indicators of poverty described by the local people in Moyo include lack of basic necessities, constraints in agriculture due to natural calamities like draught, floods and hailstorms; inaccessibility of social services like schools, health centres and financial services; environmental hazards such as poor disposal of waste material, poor governance in terms of poor leadership, corruption and bad policies; anti social behaviour like theft and drunkenness; vulnerability and exclusion especially of women and widows. Isolation of Moyo by the central government in terms of unfair distribution of services and inputs also featured and it was related to remoteness and cost barriers. Communities from Obongi County also mentioned that refugee settlement has resulted in land pressure and food shortage in the region.

The major effects of poverty of poverty in the district as discussed in the FGDs and our observation were inability to meet basic needs like food and drugs, increased school dropouts, begging and anti-social behaviour like theft and drug taking. Increased cases of suicide and mad people were also attributed to poverty.

5.5. Centralised Form of Government Verses Decentralised Form of Government in Rural Poverty Reduction

In the third objective of our study we set to compare and contrast the poverty situation in Moyo District before and after the implementation of the contemporary government decentralisation. Below are the findings from the respondents.

5.5.1. Overview of Poverty Situation in Centralised and Decentralised Forms of Governments

Uganda became politically independent from British in 1962. Multi-party elections were held in 1962 under the 1962 Ugandan Constitution, which provided for co-existence of traditional kingdoms alongside the central government. During the 1960s Uganda witnessed high economic growth, declining poverty, and narrowing income inequality. This led to improvements in the social indicators such as infant mortality and literacy rates. The economic decline from 1971 to 1986 led to increased poverty. The economic reforms implemented starting from 1987 produced tremendous pay offs in terms of macroeconomic stability, economic growth and poverty reduction during the 1990s and early years of this decade.

However, unlike in the 1960s when economic growth occurred alongside decreasing inequality, the 1990s witnessed high economic growth alongside widening inequality. Uganda is thus faced with the challenge of ensuring that economic is high and broad enough to ensure pro-poor growth.

From FGDs held in Moyo, communities have not noticed significant changes in poverty levels as expressed by a respondent from Aliba Sub-county:

We were born in poverty and we shall die in poverty. We have lived in both centralised and decentralised forms of governments, but poverty is as it was in the beginning and it shall ever be. They loot us every year inform of tax and give us nothing in return. We are in agony my son.

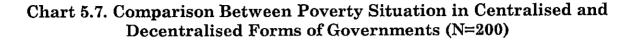
The reaction of the respondent above is a sign that they were not satisfied with quality and quantity of social service delivery both in centralised and decentralised forms of government. It is a sign that both the centralised and decentralised forms of government did not promote pro-poor growth.

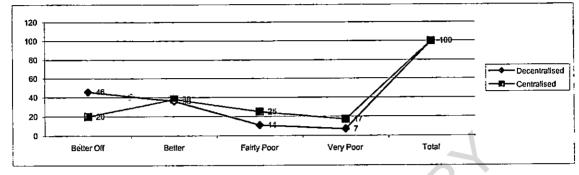
5.5.2. Poverty Situation in Centralised and Decentralised Governments Compared: Experiences of the Respondents from Moyo District

Poverty situation in centralised and decentralised governments were compared from the perspective of the experiences of the respondents from Moyo District. From chart 5.7 below 46% of the respondents asserted that they were better off during the decentralised form of government compared to 20% in the centralised form of government. The respondents in this group maintained that they have made economic, material and social gains in decentralised form of government compared to when they were in centralised form of government.

They further advanced that the decentralised form of government empowers citizens by giving them political, social and economic space, which was not part and parcel of centralised form of government for poverty reduction. Then 38% of the respondents asserted that they were better during the decentralised form of government compared to 36% in the centralised form of government. This was followed by 25% of the respondents claimed that they were better off during the decentralised form of government compared to 11% in the centralised form of government. Only 17% of the respondents stated that they were better off during the decentralised form of government compared to 7% in the centralised form of government.

From the evidence above, it appears that the decentralised form of government seems to empower people living in poverty more than the centralised form of government. From oral interviews we conducted in the district, respondents argued that the decentralised form of government might be ideal for poverty reduction, and empowerment of the rural community if only the devolution of power is accompanied with the necessary resources.





Source: Field Data, 2004

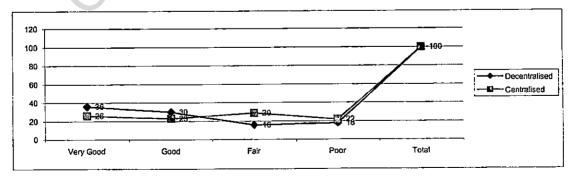
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5.5.3. Social Services in Centralised and Decentralised Governments Compared: Experiences of the Respondents from Moyo District

5.5.3.1. Primary Education

Human development is essential both for improving productivity and ensuring equitable and sustainable poverty free growth. Building human capabilities through investment in education is an enabling framework for rural development.

Chart 5.8. Education Services in Centralised and Decentralised Forms of Governments Compared (N=200)



Source: Field Data, 2004

From the chart 5.8 above, 36% of the respondents claimed that education services under decentralised form of government was very good compared to 26% in the centralised form of government. The respondents maintained that in the decentralised form of government primary education is free and access is to all school-age children regardless of gender is guaranteed. The respondents who hold this view further advanced that in decentralised form of government many schools have been built and the government is working hand in hand with representatives from communities to see to it that proper utilisation and accountability for UPE funds by headteachers. This is followed by 30% of respondents who again claimed that education services in decentralised form of government was good compared to 23% of respondent who were in favour of education services in centralised form of government. 29% respondents agued that education services in centralised form of government was good compared with 16% who were in favour of education services in decentralised form of government.

These categories of respondents argued that the centralised form of government offered quality primary education. They further maintained that primary school pupils in centralised form government had quality education. For example, students at primary four could speak and write the English language and could advance quality arguments due to English literature

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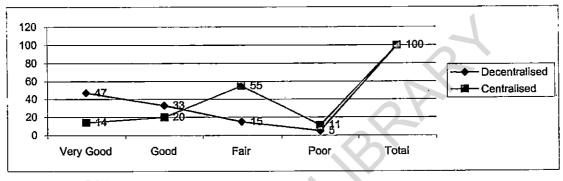
classes unlike UPE graduates under decentralised from of government who cannot write and read. Then 22% of respondents argued that education services in centralised form of government was poor compared with 18% of respondents who were in disfavour of education services in decentralised form of government. These arguments are summarised by a teacher in Lecu Primary School:

I am a teacher for 37 years and I have taught both under the centralised and decentralised forms of government. In centralised form of government, we had few schools, better quality students, teacher student ration was good and government sometimes provided the basic teaching materials and text books in time. In the decentralised form of government, I have witnessed increased access to school as a result of new schools have been built, the number of classroom blocks have increased, classrooms are overcrowded, few textbooks, increased absenteeism. What is common to both forms of governments is that we teachers are lowly paid and as such we cannot afford to send our children to better secondary schools. We teachers live in dilapidated houses and we have no access to health insurance. But we were respected in centralised form of government unlike in the decentralised form of government.

5.5.3.2. Primary Health Care

Good health is very crucial for human well-being and poverty reduction. The PPA1 (2000) and PPA2 (2002), found a strong link between health and poverty. Poor health was often cited as cause, effect and dimension of poverty. Poor people see ill-health as an economic issue, not just as a quality of life issue. In the chart below we compared health services in centralised and decentralised form of governments.

Graph 5.9. Health Care Services in Centralised and Decentralised Forms of Governments Compared (N=200)



Source: Field Data, 2004

From the chart 5.9 above, 55% of respondents argued that health care services in centralised form of government was fair compared with 15% of respondents who were in favour of health services in decentralised form of government. The respondents from this category advanced that medical services in centralised form of government was free and superior quality. For examples, the respondents from focus group discussions argued that occasions of constant lack drugs, lack of personnel and personnel stealing drugs were unheard of, unlike during the decentralised from government which respondents associated with cost sharing, lack of personnel and drug stealing. This was followed by 47% of respondents who claimed that health services in decentralised form of government was very good compared to 14% of respondents in favour of health services in centralised form of government. Interestingly the respondents in this category maintained that in decentralised form of government, the number of health units, personnel, and services have increased to meet the needs of the increasing population.

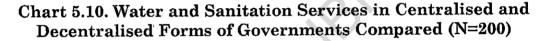
However, from the oral interviews the respondents from this category maintained that quality of health services in decentralised form of government was poor compared to centralised form of government due inadequate funding, poor personnel motivation, and increased demand for health services. This was followed by 33% of respondents were in favour of health care services in centralised form of government compared to 20% of respondents in favour of health care services in centralised form of government. Only 11% of respondents argued that health care services in centralised form of government was poor compared to 5% of respondents who claimed that health care services in decentralised form of government was poor.

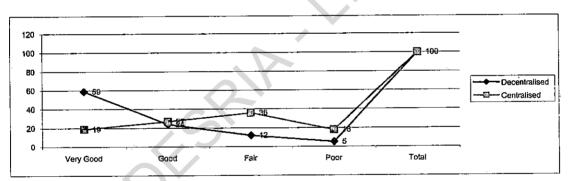
5.5.3.3. Water and Sanitation

Water is critical for human survival, health and sustainable development. Since 1990s, the government has been trying to improve the management

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and delivery of water and sanitation services. Generally, the responsibility falls under the Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment. The National Water and Sewerage Corporation is responsible for the provision of water and sewerage services. Water is classified as safe it is drawn from a tap (piped), boreholes or protected wells and /or springs (UNHS, 2002/2003). It should therefore be noted that though gravity flow scheme water is sometimes piped, it is not categorised as safe water.





Source: Field Data, 2004

From the chart 5.10 above, 59% of the respondents claimed that water and sanitation services in decentralised form of government was very good compared to 19% in favour of water and sanitation services in centralised form of government. The respondents from this category argued that clean water sources in centralised form of government were scarce. Some women in oral interviews argued that they had to travel seven to eleven kilometres sometimes with children to fetch water for their households. This is followed by 36% of respondents who claimed that water and sanitation services in centralised form of government was fair compared with 12% in favour of water and sanitation services in this category. These respondents advanced that queuing at clean water sources during the centralised form of government was minimal compared to decentralised form of form of government. Again 27% of respondents claimed that water and sanitation services in centralised form of government was good compared to 24% in favour of water and sanitation services in decentralised form of government. And 18% of the respondents claimed that water and sanitation services in centralised form of government was poor compared to 5% of respondents who acclaimed that water and sanitation services in decentralised form of government was poor. From our findings, water supply was perceived by respondents more as a communal good, whereas sanitation was handled more as a private good at individual households.

5.5.3.4. Rural Feeder and Community Roads

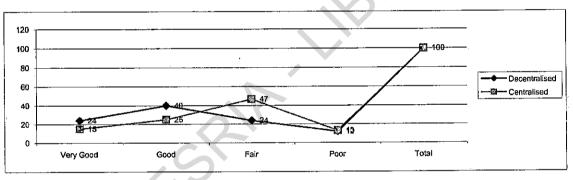
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Transport is integral to most public interventions targeted at meeting the basic needs of poor people (Gannon, 2002). Adequate road transport facilitates poor farmers to transport their cash crops to urban population and send their children to school or make use of preventive health care. Bad

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transport systems keep poor people in rural and urban areas physically isolated and trapped in poverty. Good road network that is well maintained is an important prerequisite to socio-economic development of a country. In our study we examined the state of rural feeder roads in centralised and decentralised forms of governments to enable us to see whether the rural poor enjoyed better transport services in either of the governments.

Chart 5.11. Rural Road Services in Centralised and Decentralised Forms of Governments Compared (N=200)



Source: Field Data, 2004

From the chart 5.11 above, 47% of the respondents claimed that rural roads in centralised forms were fair compared to 24% of respondents in favour of rural roads in decentralised form of government. This was followed by 40% of respondents who claimed that rural roads in decentralised form of government were good compared to 25% of respondents in favour of rural roads in centralised form of government. Again 24% of respondents claimed that rural roads were very good compared to 15% of respondents who were in favour of rural roads in centralised form of government. Only 13% of respondents claimed that rural roads in centralised form of government were poor compared to 12% of respondents who argued that rural roads in decentralised form of government were poor because of poor maintenance and bad weather. Poor maintenance was attributed to delayed remittance of funds, inadequate funding and lack of equipment. Other constraints reported included poor method of work and poor tender system in the district.

5.5.3.5. Agricultural Extension Services

Agricultural extension services are very important for people living in rural areas who mostly depend on agriculture for their livelihood. On-farm demonstration, information dissemination and skill training for the rural farmers will better their productivity and improve their livelihoods. We examined the agricultural extension services in centralised and decentralised forms of government in Moyo District to capture if the services under either of them have been of benefit to the farmers.

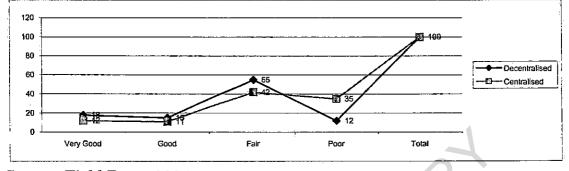


Chart 5.12. Agricultural Extension Services in Centralised and Decentralised Forms of Governments Compared (N=200)

Source: Field Data, 2004

From the chart 5.12 above, 55% of the respondents claimed that agricultural extension services in Moyo District were fair under decentralisation compared to 42% respondents who argued that agricultural extension services were fair in centralised form of government. This was followed by 35% of respondents who claimed that agricultural extension services in centralised form of government were poor compared 12% who claimed that agricultural extension services in decentralised form of government were poor. Respondents numbering to 18% claimed that agricultural extension services in decentralised form of government were very good compared with 12% in favour of agricultural extension services in centralised form of government. Then 15% of the respondents claimed that agricultural extension services in decentralised form of government were good as compared to 6% of respondents in favour of agricultural extension services in centralised form of agricultural extension services in centralised form of government.

5.6. Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the demographic characteristics of the respondents, their dwellings, occupation and educational levels. We also endeavoured to discuss the characteristics of poverty in Moyo District. The other issues discussed included the characteristics of the decentralised local government and we attempted to compare the poverty situation in the centralised and decentralised forms of government specifically focusing on social service delivery. The next chapter focus specifically on social service delivery under the contemporary government decentralisation program in the district.

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CHAPTER SIX

GOVERNMENT DECENTRALISATION AND SOCIAL SERVICE

DELIVERY IN MOYO DISTRICT

6.1. Introduction

Citizens and governments can make services that contribute to human development work better for the poor people. But too often services fail poor people because they fall short of their potential to improve outcomes. They are often inaccessible or prohibitively expensive. But even when accessible, they are often dysfunctional, extremely low in technical quality and unresponsive to the needs of a diverse clientele. In addition, innovation and evaluation to find ways to increase productivity are rare (World Bank, 2004).

The fourth objective of our study attempts to answer the extent to which social service delivery in education, health, water and sanitation, infrastructure, and agricultural extension under the contemporary government decentralisation in Uganda and Moyo District in particular has led to poverty reduction. The findings of the study are discussed below:

6.2. Decentralisation and Social Service Delivery (SSD): Evidence from Moyo District

Social service delivery (SSD) in education, health, water and sanitation, infrastructure and agricultural extension services are very essential for the people living in poverty. Quality services can result in healthy living conditions for the poor and can increase their ability to use social services,

1999 1999 engage in productive activities and access employment activities. We examined whether the decentralised government has delivered the required pro-poor SSD in Uganda and Moyo District in particular.

6.2.1. Primary Education Service Delivery

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In Moyo District communities associate poverty to illiteracy and low education. Education is generally perceived as one of the principal factors that determine one's well-being and status. In the 8 sub counties where the research was conducted, community members highly valued education as a means of rising out of poverty mainly because it can facilitate one to get employment and income to meet one's needs and obligations. Thus when the Universal Primary Education (UPE) was launched in 1997, it increased enrolment of pupils in all existing primary schools. By the time the study was conducted, Moyo had an overall literacy rate of 46.1% of which 62.1% men and 30% of women were literate. This compared to the national literacy rate of 63.5% for male and 44.9% for women. On average only 51.8% of male, and 38.7% of female school age children are enrolled in school, compared to a national average of 89% male and 65% female Scholl age children. With the introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE), school enrolment has significantly increased, with 25,684 pupils registering in 1998 and current (2004), over 43, 002 have registered for the UPE program as summarised in

the below table.

Sub County	Number of	Number of	Total	Percentage
-	Boys	Girls		
Lerori Sub County	1,720	1,480	3200	7.4
Dufile Sub County	2,335	2,405	4740	11
Metu Sub County	3,096	2,708	5804	13.4
Moyo Sub County	8,596	4,277	12,873	29.9
Moyo Town Council	1,503	1,712	3,215	7.4
Aliba Sub County	1,696	1,364	3060	7.1
Gimara Sub County	1,504	1,385	2889	6.7
Itula Sub County	4,090	3,131	7221	16.7
Total	24,540	18,462	43002	100

Table 6.1. Summary of Primary School Enrolment by Gender in Sub	
Counties in Moyo District in 2003	

Source: Field Data, 2004

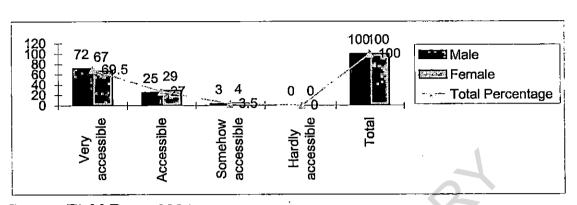
By the time this research was conducted (2004), there were 61 governmentaided primary schools, 6 community primary schools, 3 parent's primary schools and 3 private primary schools in the district. The number of the trained primary teachers in the district was about 644 and 121 were untrained. According to MDLG (2004), the total number of permanent classrooms was 579 and the greatest travel distance primary school on average was 5 kilometres.

In Moyo District, primary schools are located within walking distance. However, during rain season, some are not accessible in some villages when streams are flooded thus preventing access to schools. In some areas, the primary schools stop at primary 5 level. Pupils have to travel far for primary 6 and 7. Thus, because of the above problems, many pupils drop out of school to avoid hardship. There is limited access to secondary and post-secondary institutions because of high cost involved in the form of school fees and scholastic materials among others. Nursery schools are only accessible to urban communities.

In Moyo District, most classroom structures are good, many schools are permanently built and some are still under construction. Although the classrooms are good, they are overcrowded to the extent that sometimes there are over 100 pupils in one room. The majority of pupils, except those in primary 6-7, sit on the floor. As regards the quality of the education provided, according to the UPPA-PPA report (2000), the quality is inadequate. The number of qualified teachers is inadequate and use of untrained teachers is very common in Moyo District. The quality of teaching is poor due to a number of factors. These factors include overcrowding in the classrooms, late payment of teachers' salaries, alcoholism and drunkenness on the part of the teachers, inadequate teaching materials for teachers and lack of inspection of schools. Many more classroom blocks were constructed under the government programs of School Facility Grant (SFG) and Classroom Completion Grant (CCG). However, there was also evidence of shoddy work under the scheme. Schools have also benefited from funds for textbooks and teachers have been trained under TDMS program.

6.2.1.1. Access to School

Since the beginning of Universal Primary Education, the government has officially permitted urban schools to levy a government fixed fee for utilities. However, it clearly emerged from the oral interviews that this policy appears to ignore the plight of the marginal urban poor and some rural communities. Despite the increase and commitment of government funding in primary education, parents and guardians still spend much more in education of their children and this has seriously limits access to school. Although UPE regulations prohibits turning away either from urban or rural schools children who default on the UPE related charges and especially uniforms and scholastic materials, this regulation has not been effectively implemented. Many school children have been turned away and/or left school due to lack of uniform and scholastic materials.



Graph 6.1. Access to Education by Gender in Numbers and Percentages (N=200)

From the graph 6.1 above, 69.5% (139) respondents maintained that school facilities were very accessible and were within their reach. Communities deeply appreciate UPE, mainly because of improved access, equity and physical expansion of school facilities. This was followed by 27% (54) respondents claimed that facilities were accessible and 3.5% (7) respondents maintained that school facilities are somewhat accessible. They argued that during rainy season it becomes difficult to cross rivers that over flood their banks. Other reasons given include among others, long distances, need to work, sickness, pregnancies, lack of interest, harassment at school and orphan-hood. When we visited Chinyi Primary School in Itula Sub-county, most of the teaching staff interviewed reside outside school premises. This is because the school lacks accommodation for teachers and as a result it has

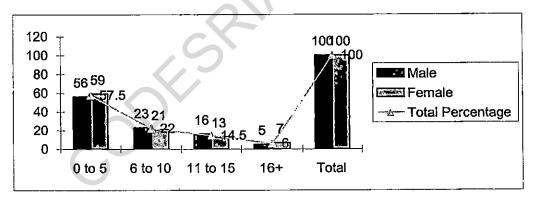
Source: Field Data, 2004

failed to attract qualified teachers. Other schools with similar problems were Palorinya, and Lecu primary schools.

6.2.1.2. Distance to School

Distance to school premises is very important factor in rural areas where transport by bus and other means of transport is impossible. If school facilities are near the rural communities, it will encourage them to attend classes. In this study we examined the distance the pupils cover to go school in Moyo District.

Graph 6.2. Distance to School by Gender in Numbers and Percentages (N=200)



Source: Field Data, 2004

From the graph 6.2 above, 57.5% (115) of the respondents live with the distance of 5 kilometres. 22% (44) live within the distance of 6 to 10 kilometres. Then 14.5% (29) live within the distance of 11 to 15 and 6% (12)

live within 16 and above kilometres. From the community focus group discussions, it has clearly emerged that long distances to school has resulted to late age enrolment and increased school dropout rates. For example, when we visited Panyanga Primary School in Dufile Sub-county, both teachers and pupils stated that they commute to school everyday and often arrive late and exhaustion. Long journey to school decreases performance of both pupils and their teachers, which in turn diminishes concentration ability. The later problem is made worse when the pupils are unable to walk the long distances home for lunch and back for the afternoon lesson. Hunger reduces the concentration ability of the pupils which in turn threatens their performance in school.

6.2.1.3. Quality of Education Provision

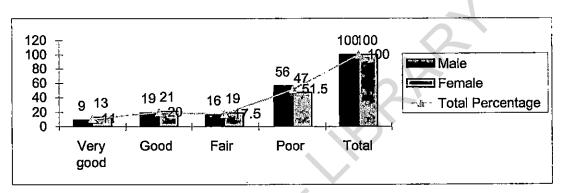
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In this study, quality of education has been measured through performance of pupils in examinations, trained competent teachers and school management committee and availability of adequate school facilities such as classrooms, quality latrines, clean water, staff houses and instructional material to mention.

In Moyo District teacher pupil ratio is 112:1 (MDER, 2004). Instructional materials like textbooks are inadequate. Teachers are ill prepared to teach in

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class and learners do not have the required textbooks for studies. Subjects like science are taught theoretically and students make little or sense out of the subject.



Graph 6.3. Quality of Education by Gender in Numbers and Percentages (N=200)

From the graph 6.3 above 51.5% (103) respondents claimed that the quality of education provided under government decentralisation is poor; deterioration of quality of education was cited in all the 8 sub counties. The communities mentioned that under UPE very few candidates pass Primary Leaving Examinations (PLE) in the first division. Inability to read and write or speak English language was another indicator of poor UPE output frequently cited. UPE quality was also perceived to be declining because of the many signs of poor or low inputs, such as many untrained teachers, inadequate number of trained unmotivated teachers, inadequate textbooks and other teaching aids,

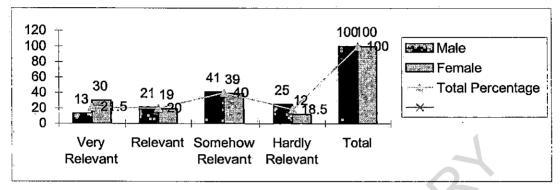
Source: Field Data, 2004

and inadequate classroom blocks. For example, Masaloa Primary School has a total enrolment of 946 pupils, 8 classroom blocks and the pupil classroom ratio is 1:118. Pupils are congested in a classroom making it difficult for teachers to know individual pupils, identify their individual weaknesses so that they can be helped.

However, 20% (40) of the respondents maintained that the quality of education provided was good. They argued that the introduction of UPE has led to more payment of teachers salaries, better pre and in service training opportunities, more recruitment of teachers including teachers for special needs and provision of lunch to teachers and pupils at school. Then 17.5% (35) of the respondents claimed that the quality of education is fair and only 11% (22) of the respondents have positively appreciated the quality of the education provided under the decentralised form of government.

6.2.1.4. Relevance of Universal Primary Education

A relevant education system is one that promotes human development. In FGDs it emerged that primary education is a very relevant tool towards the fight against rural poverty. Educated leaders were perceived to perform better in service provision than the uneducated leader. We examined the question of relevance of UPE in poverty reduction as discussed below.



Graph 6.4. Relevance of Education by Gender in Numbers and Percentage (N=200)

Following from the graph 6.4 above, 40% (80) of the respondents maintained that education system under decentralised form of government was somewhat relevant. Then 21.5% (43) of the respondents maintained that education system under decentralised form of government was very relevant. This was followed by 20% (40) of the respondents maintained that education system under decentralised form of government was relevant. Only 18.5% respondents maintained that education (37)the system under of decentralised form of government was hardly relevant. Those who advanced this opinion claimed that the majority of the UPE graduates cannot write and read and UPE does not impart practical live skills to its graduates. They further noted that there were no differences between UPE graduate and those who have never gone to school; and that UPE does not instil discipline into pupils and, as such, children no longer have respect for parents.

Source: Field Data, 2004

6.2.2. Primary Health Care Service Delivery

It was observed earlier in the chapter that poor people see ill health as an economic issue, not just as a quality of life issue (UPPAP, 2002). The study has found a strong link between health and poverty with poor health cited as a cause, effect and a dimension of poverty. Poor health was most frequently mentioned as cause of poverty because when people are sick they cannot work. A lot of time is spent taking care of the sick, thereby reducing time for productive work. Treatment costs a lot of money often leading to poor people to sell off their properties and asserts such as household utensils, land and animals to access health care, which makes them poorer. AIDS and malaria were often mentioned as crippling people's productive capacities thus increasing dependency ratios.

By the time this study was conducted, The Moyo District had 33 health facilities that are functional. While this number may be adequate now, given that the district has 22 Parishes, the inequitable distribution of health units calls for new units to be constructed in underserved areas. Moyo hospital is the only hospital in the district. The hospital complex and its staff quotas require major rehabilitation. According to the Moyo District Local Government Health sector Plan 2000/2001-2004/2005, the hospital was originally intended to be a 100-bed hospital. However, the hospital now has 238 beds and there is need for additional wards and a causality unit.

Health Facilities	Government	NGOs	Private	Total
Hospital	01	00	00	1
HCIV	01	00	00	1
HCIII	08	03	00	11
HC II	16	04	00	20
Total	26	07	00	33

Table 6.2. Summary of Health Facilities in Moyo District

Source: Field Data, 2004

West Moyo County has 21 functional health facilities, which comprises of 7 grade 3 health facilities and 7 grade 2 hospitals and Moyo Town Council has 1 hospital. Obongi County has 12 functional health facilities, which comprises of 1 grade 4, 4 grade 3 and 7 grade 2 health facilities.

According to the Moyo District Local Government Health Sector Strategic Plan 2000-2005, in 1997, the district had 2 Grade 1 health units, 17 Grade 11 health units including 5 refugees and NGO health units, and 2 under construction, and 1 hospital. Moyo District had a total of 66 health personnel of whom only 15% were qualified, and the rest 85% were unqualified (UPPAP-PPA Report, 2000). The number of people per qualified health worker was 15,000 compared to 2000 people per health worker (both qualified and unqualified). This clearly indicates inadequate health services. Today the district has 33 health facilities that are functional managed by 287 medical personnel (MDHFI, 2003). The health facilities comprise of 20 grade 2 health units, 11 grade 3 health units, 1 grade 4 health unit and 1 hospital.

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Life expectancy in the Moyo District is 38.5 and 43.5 years at birth, for men and women respectively, compared to a national average of 48 years. Infant mortality in Moyo is 143 per 1000 live births; child mortality is 241 per 1000 live births, compared with the national infant child mortality rates of 122 and 203 per 1000 live births respectively. The major causes of mortality within the district are acute respiratory infection 24.65, malaria 25.2%, diarrhoea 7.85 and AIDS 4% of deaths, among others. HIV/AIDS prevalence is 0.03% due to gross under reporting. Sero- positive average is 10% (MDP, 1998). By the time the research was conducted, there were 26 government aided health centres and 7 run by NGOs. There is only 1 hospital in the district and workers positions as per minimum staffing norms have been filled while only 53% of trained health workers positions have been filled as summarised in the below table.

Category	Number	Ratio
Doctors	9	1: 22,212
Nurses	63	1: 3,173
Midwives	22	1: 9,087
Total trained health worker positions by norms	233	1:858
Trained health worker positions filled •	128	1: 1,562
Total health workers by staffing norms ••	287	1:697
Total health worker positions filled	196	1: 1,020

Table 6.3. Health Staff and Population Ratio in Moyo District

Source: MDHSOP 2003-2004.

•Trained health worker excluding Nursing Aids and Nursing Assistance

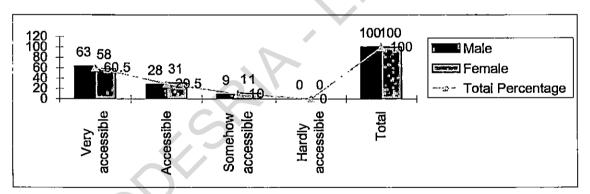
••Health workers excluding support staff (Guards, Cleaners, Cooks, Accountants, Administrators etc)

Despite the existence of bylaws on sanitation, most communities are not practicing the sanitary regulation. The bylaws on pit latrine, rack for drying eating utensils, bath shelter and rubbish pits were not enforced before the August-November 1998 cholera outbreak (UPPAP-PPA Report, 2000). Our observation showed that many households have no pit latrine or share one pit latrine and the available sanitary structures are not maintained. In many rural areas where the source of water is river, water for drinking is not boiled. We also observed that personal hygiene seems not be practiced, that is, dirty clothing, unwashed and uncombed hair seems to be the fashion of the rural community which in actual fact is an indication of poverty.

6.2.2.1. Access to Health Care Services

Access to health services is very crucial for the rural poor. In Moyo District access to health services is still far from the rural poor. For example, it has clearly emerged from the focus group discussions that women lack financial and decision-making powers in the household regarding access to health care services and they have to seek permission from their husbands before seeking health care.

Graph 6.5. Access to Health Care Services by Gender in Numbers and Percentages (N=200)



Source: Field Data, 2004

From the graph 6.5 above, 60.5% (121) of the respondents had access to health services delivery. This is mainly due to abolition of cost sharing for health services in March 2001. Community members and health workers from the 8 sub counties visited reported an increase in utilisation of health care services since abolition of charges. This was followed by respondents who numbered to 29.5% (59) who stated that health care services delivery is accessible. However, 10% (20) of the respondents still think that health care services were somewhat accessible. This category of the respondents argued that they don't have access to the required medicines needed for treatment forcing them to turn to private clinic and herbs. They further argued that although sickness diagnoses by health personnel in health units are free, they often buy medicines prescribed from drug shops.

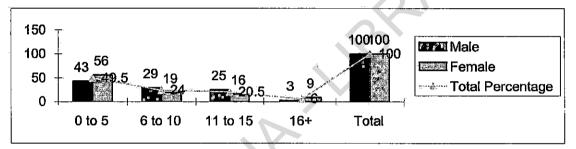
It has emerged from FGDS that the poor are less likely to use preventive services such as prenatal care, postnatal care and childhood vaccinations than the non-poor, even when other factors such as rural residence, level of education and distance to the nearest facility are controlled for. It was alleged that women were directly affected most by such practices. This is perhaps a surprising finding given that these services are free.

We also observed that the formal mechanism for community control of drugs provided for in the decentralisation guidelines does not appear to be effective. Health staff engage in a variety of survival strategies, including charging for drugs informally, providing treatments in their homes, working in private clinics, engaging in waged work outside the health sector and thus limiting accessibility.

6.2.2.2. Distance to Health Care Services

Distance to health units is very crucial for the rural poor. Long distances to health units limits access health services by the rural poor. In our study we examined the distances the rural poor cover in order to get access to health care services.

Graph 6.6. Distance to Health Services by Gender in Numbers and Percentages (N=200)



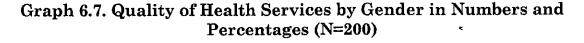
Source: Field Data, 2004

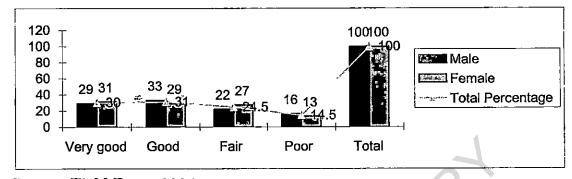
From Graph above 49.5% (99) of the respondents live within the distance of 5 kilometres to health centres. This category of respondents live within the governments definition of accessibility of 5 kilometres. This was followed by 24% (48) respondents who live within 6 to 10 kilometres form health service facilities, 20.5% (41) live within 11 to 15 kilometres and 6% (12) over 16 kilometres. These categories of respondents argued that health services were not accessible to them. This is mainly because of lack of transport and poor rural roads to heal units, which often affect the elderly, pregnant mothers

and children. Transport to health felicities emerged as a major problem during the field focus group discussion. Respondents reported that lack of transport has led to the deaths of many patients. For example, Goopi village in Pamujo Parish is one of the hard to reach areas in Metu Sub-county. The community hardly access adequate health services owing to distance. The nearest health centre is about 8kilometers. This was further exacerbated by shortfall in ambulance services to transport the seriously ill patients to Moyo hospital for higher level of care. Most of the health services visited by us lacked transport and communication services resulting to poor coordination of services within health units.

6.2.2.3. Quality of Health Services

Good quality health services are very essential for poverty reduction. Good health facilities and services positively impact on the health of the poor in terms of good health. Once the rural poor are in good health, they are more likely to work harder to create wealth for poverty reduction. We also examined the quality of health facilities and services in the Moyo District. Issues examined were overall quality of services, responsiveness of staff, availability of drugs and cleanliness of facility.





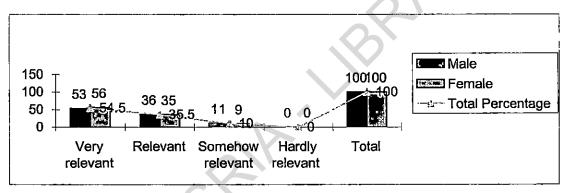
Source: Field Data, 2004

From the above Graph 31% (62) of the respondents argued that quality of health services is good. Respondents numbering to 30% (60) maintained that quality of health services under the contemporary decentralised form of government is very good. Then 24.5% (49) of the respondents stated that the quality of health services under decentralised form of government is fair. Then 14.5% (29) of the respondents argued that quality of health services was poor. The category of the respondents argued that the high demand for health services since the abolition of cost sharing has led to congestion in health units, drugs being used up very fast and an increased workload for health workers. Poor people wait longer than the middle and better off groups. We also observed that the supervision health facilities has dropped. For example, when we visited Metu health centre, it was reported that visits by the district health team has declined; this has implication on the quality of health services in the district.

6.2.2.4. Relevance of Health Services

A good health facilities and services should be relevant to the needs of the recipients. It should provide the services needed by the beneficiaries more adequately. Examination of the relevance of the health services in Moyo District was one of preoccupation in the study.

Graph 6.8. Relevance of Health Services by Gender in Numbers and Percentage (N=200)



Source: Field Data, 2004

From the study, 54.5% (109) of the respondents maintained that health services were very relevant. This is followed by 35.5% (71) of respondents who maintained that health services were relevant. Then 10% (20) asserted that health services were somewhat relevant. This group of respondents emphasised that health services provided by the government were not very relevant because services provided in most cases does not meet the expectation of the service recipient. We also observed that the district lacks the capacity to handle sleeping sickness, which is a serious heath problem.

Furthermore, Moyo hospital and health units lack the required personnel, equipments, and drugs compared to the private health units. Technical efficiency at the point of service delivery has not improved at all levels. Decentralisation has done little to address the lack of initiatives, a factor that has impeded efficient use of resources and overall delivery of high quality services at the health unit levels.

6.2.3. Water and Sanitation Service Delivery

Water, sufficient enough in quantity and quality to meet basic human needs, is a prerequisite for both better health and sustainable development. The link between water, sanitation and poverty is clear and unequivocal (Khosha and Pead, 2003). Currently Moyo District is implementing water and sanitation development activities mainly funded under DEWSG/PAF, UNICEF/GOU country program, EU/EDF Micro Projects Program and Local Government Development Program and Royal Netherlands Embassy and other NGO water and sanitation related activities in the district. Currently there are 526 water points in the district out of which 438 are functional. Safe water coverage in Moyo District stands at 57.1% (DWSDCG Report 2004). The main sources of safe water in the district are underground and spring sources.

Sub GFS Shallow Deep Protected Total County wells **Tapes/Kiosks** springs wells Aliba 19 0 0 4 23 Dufile $\mathbf{34}$ 0 0 12 46 Gimara 13 0 0 18 $\mathbf{5}$ Itula 110 0 0 113 3 Lefori 19 29 0 1 9 Metu 66 29 2 43 140 Moyo 84 0 18 18 120 MTC 11 $\mathbf{22}$ 2 3 38 Total 344 77 49 55 526

Table 6.4. Distribution of Safe Water Sources by Location andTechnology in Moyo District by December 2003

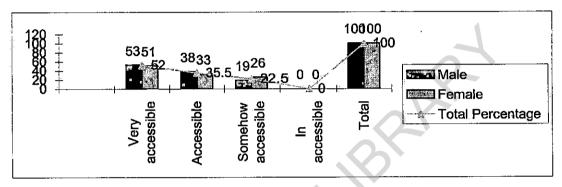
Source: MDWSD Report, 2003

Private household connections have not been considered in the above figures. The overall district safe water coverage stands at 56% as compared to the previous year (2002) Of 54.3%. However, overall average varies from time to time depending on the functionality of facilities that is highly dependent on the operation and maintained by communities.

6.2.3.1. Access to Safe Water Sources

Unsafe water sources leads to water-born diseases and its associated problems. Lack of access to water also affects major activities on which people depend for their livelihoods. Below is the articulations of the respondents about access to safe water sources.

Graph 6.9. Access to Safe Water Sources by Gender in Numbers and Percentage (N=200)



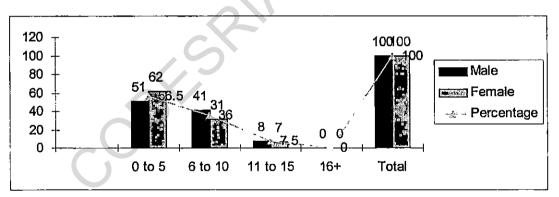
Source: Field Data, 2004

Respondents numbering to 52% (104) maintained that water safe water sources were very accessible and 35.5% (71) upheld that sources of safe water were accessible. The above two categories of the respondents mainly have access to gravity free flow water schemes. Then 22.5% (45) further asserted that safe water sources were somewhat accessible. Majority of these respondents live far from safe water sources. For example, we observed that Waka Parish has low safe water coverage. The community mainly depend on hand dug wells, which dry up during dry season. Households walk long distances during dry season to find alternative sources of water, which are often contaminated because it is often shared with animals. Other areas that have low water coverage include, Lefori and Itula Sub-counties.

6.2.3.2. Distance to Safe Water Sources

Distance to safe water sources is very crucial for poverty reduction. Long distances to clean water sources not only wear out the women and children who bore the burden of water collection, but limits the time that can be given to wealth creation to reduce poverty. The opinions of respondents about distances to safe water sources have evidently been analysed below.

Graph 6.10. Distance to Safe Water Sources by Gender in Numbers and Percentages (N=200)



Source: Field Data, 2004

From the graph 6. 10, 56.5% (113) respondents maintained that safe sources of water fall within a distance of zero to five kilometres. Then 36% (72) respondents maintained that safe sources of water fall within a distance of that safe sources of water fall within a distance of eleven to fifteen kilometres. Water is primarily collected by women and children in Moyo District and carried on their heads. From the focus group discussions respondents argued that they walk long distances to fetch water and where there are boreholes and wells, they spent a lot of time queuing due to few sources of safe water. For example, we observed that community in Moianzo

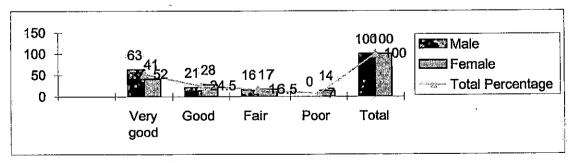
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and Coloa west villages mainly depend on Lea stream and a borehole located over 4kilometres away.

6.2.3.3. Quality Safe Water Sources

Water, sanitation and hygiene are vital components of sustainable development and poverty reduction. In our study we found out the opinions of the respondents about the quality of water in Moyo District.

Graph 6.11. Quality of Safe Water Sources by Gender in Numbers and Percentages (N=200)



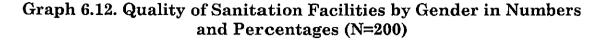
Source: Field Data, 2004

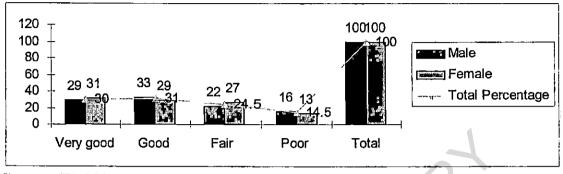
six to ten kilometres. This was followed by 7.5% (15) respondents maintained

From the above graph, 52% (104) respondents maintained that quality of safe water sources was very good. Then 24% (49) respondents maintained that quality of safe water sources was good. About 16.5% (33) respondents maintained that quality of safe water sources was fair. Only 5.5% (14) respondents maintained that quality of safe water sources was poor. They argued that during rainy season, the gravity free flow schemes are contaminated and rampant cases of water borne diseases and sicknesses were reported.

6.2.3.4. Sanitation Facilities

Access to safe water, improved sanitation facilities and practices lead to improved health; water and sanitation have a direct and immediate bearing on quality of life contributing to long term socio-economic development and consequently to poverty reduction. Information was sought from communities about the quality of sanitary facilities. Areas of concentration included the kitchen, garbage disposal, bathroom, toilet and hand washing facility after toilet use.





Source: Field Data, 2004

From the Graph 6.12, 31% (62) of the respondents argued that quality of sanitation facilities are good. They argued that water sources were clean and toilet facilities were adequate. Then 30% (60) of the respondents maintained that quality of sanitation facilities were very good. This was followed by 24.5% (49) of the respondents maintained that the quality of sanitation facilities was fair. They argued that there was minimal government supervision of public health facilities 15.5% (29) of the respondents insisted that quality of sanitation facilities was poor. This category of respondents maintained that there were no government sanitary standards and that public health is left to individual. For example, the communities living alongside River Nile reported that the soil texture along the Nile could not support construction of pit latrines; and the continuous flooding in the area worsens the situation, but the local government is quiet about this pathetic

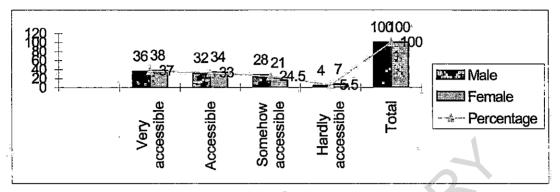
situation. In Moyo District, pits and gardens were the most common methods for garbage disposal in both rural and urban settings.

6.2.4. Feeder/Community Roads

A lot of benefits are linked to good passable roads. These, among others, include access to social services such as health care, education and marketing. Moyo District currently has total length of roads 235.5 km of which 182.6 Km are in maintainable condition and 106.9 Km in non-maintainable condition compared to 161.3 km before decentralisation. The feeder roads comprise of 194.1 Km, trunk road 70.4 and urban road is 26.5 Km.

6.2.4.1. Access to Feeder/ Community Roads

In this study, basic accessibility to roads is understood in terms of passability by motorised and non-motorised vehicles. Access to road plays an important role in movement of goods and services. It enables the rural poor to have access to markets for their agricultural and other economical viable products. It also enables communities to access loans, health services, education and agricultural extension services just to mention a few.



Graph 6.13. Access to Feeder/ Community Roads by Gender in Numbers and Percentages (N=200)

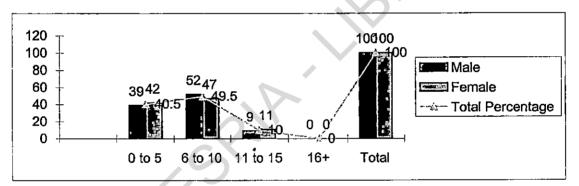
Source: Field Data, 2004

From the study, 37% (74) of the respondents maintained that more community roads have been opened up in decentralised form of government. They however maintained that although new roads have been opened up in the district, it is not accompanied by routine maintenance. Goopi-Arapi road was given as an example. This was followed by 33% (66) respondents who maintained that feeder/community roads were accessible. Then 224.5% (49) claimed that rural roads were somewhat accessible. And 5.5% (11) maintained that rural roads were hardly accessible. This category of respondents maintained that the government concentrates in the maintenance of the urban roads while neglecting rural roads where the majority of population live. We also observed that communities in Pajakiri Parish in Metu Sub-county have poor access to roads because of the mountainous terrain of the area.

6.2.4.2. Distance to Feeder/ Community Roads

Distance to community roads is very important factor that determines the movement of goods and services. If community roads are nearer to the people, movement of goods and services becomes easier and if community roads are far from the rural communities, movement of goods and services becomes difficult. Below is our field study findings from Moyo District.

Graph 6.14. Distance to Feeder/ Community Roads by Gender in Numbers and Percentages (N=200)



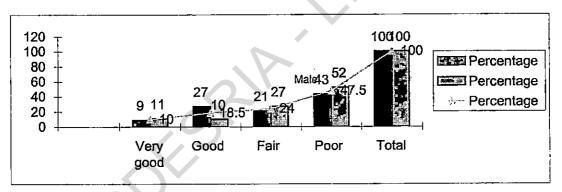
Source: Field Data, 2004

Respondents numbering to 49.5% (99) maintained that distance to roads is from six to ten kilometres. This was followed by 40.5% (81) of the respondents maintained that rural roads were within the distance of five kilometres. 10% (20) of the respondents argued that the nearest feeder/community road is eleven to fifteen kilometres. This actually means that such communities cannot easily acquire other basic social services which tend to be located near road access.

6.2.4.3. Quality of Feeder/ Community Roads

A good quality road facilitates quick movements of goods and services and bad quality roods hamper the movement of goods and services. Lack of allseason roads limits access to markets, non-farm employment, schools and health centres deepens poverty and increases vulnerability.

Graph 6.15. Quality of Feeder/ Community Roads by Gender in Numbers and Percentages (N=200)



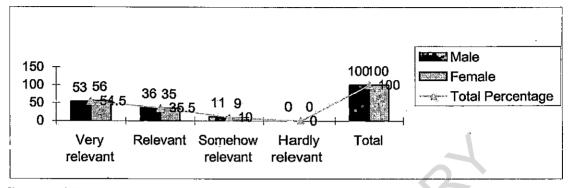
Source: Field Data, 2004

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47.5% (95) of the respondents argued that quality of rural roads are poor. This is due to the fact that the rural roads were impassable especially during the rainy seasons. Roads made of poor quality gravel with large potholes make movement of goods and services very difficult. Coupled with the above reason is the poor quality of drainage that allows water to gash across the roads. 24% (48) of the respondents maintained that quality of rural roads were fair, and 18.5% (37) of the respondents argued that quality of feeder/community roads were good. Only 10% (20) of the respondents maintained that quality of rural roads were very good.

From the oral and focus group discussion, respondents argued that roads are the principal means by which vehicles, cyclists and pedestrians get to the rural areas where the majority of Ugandan population live. The community roads have a role to play as far as poverty reduction is concerned. Roads open up the rural population to market their agricultural produce to urban centres and increasing their incomes. They also argued that routine maintenance of community roads employs the rural population and returns gained from work impact positively on the household income. However, it emerged very strongly from FGDs that road constructors mainly tend to employ men, and this allegedly discriminated against women, and deprived them of some income. Apart from the incomes, the respondents argued that feeder/community roads lead to improvement of health, education, social development and open up employment opportunities to the rural communities.

Graph 6.16. Relevance of Feeder/ Community Roads by Gender in Numbers and Percentage (N=200)



Source: Field Data, 2004

Respondents numbering to 54.5% (109) maintained that rural feeder road were very relevant. This is followed by 35.5% (71) of respondents who maintained that rural feeder road were relevant. Then 10% (20) maintained that rural feeder road were somewhat relevant. This group of respondents maintained that rural feeder road provided by the government were not very relevant because services provided in most cases do not meet the expectation of the service recipient. For example, feeder/community roads were poorly constructed and they were often washed away by rain. Metu-Aya road and Laropi-Dufile were given as examples.

6.2.5. Agricultural Extension Services Delivery

Agricultural extension is the process of bridging the gap between farmers and sources of knowledge or information (Semana, 2002). This means that

information has to be generated at the research centres and universities and then transferred to the farmers by the extension workers. Semana (2002) further argues that extension services involve learning and training. It is hinged on some beliefs such as helping the farmers to help themselves starting from what the farmers already know.

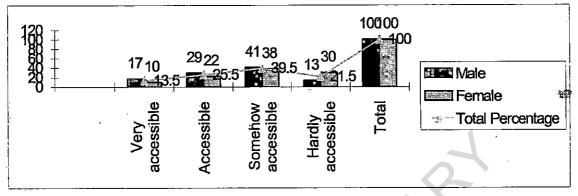
Moyo District provides extension services to communities. The services provided include Agricultural Extension, Fisheries, Veterinary service, Community Development, Co-operatives, Forestry and Entomology. Some NGOs are involved in agricultural extension. For example, AAH is involved in training community-based extension workers; CARE and CAP train in animal traction. According to UPPAP-PPA report (2000), various NGOs were also involved in agricultural support activities and a program co-ordination desk was set up to co-ordinate their activities. These activities included availability and provision of high quality seeds, and animals though artificial insemination, support to extension staff, and training of contact farmers. In 1998 the NGOs and the district spent a total of Ushs 363 million.

However, these services were faced with lots of problems. For example, the number of the staff involved in the extension services was inadequate. Some departments like Community Development and Entomology had two or three extension personnel in the entire district. The entire district had only 20 extension service personnel in the field. Inadequate number of personnel strongly affects service delivery to communities, especially the rural poor who have little knowledge in agricultural and animal husbandry practices. The low level of district resource base is an obstacle to the facilitation of extension services especially in areas of logistics and capacity building.

6.2.5 1. Access to Agricultural Extension Services

In Moyo District, agriculture is predominantly subsistence with segments of population constantly facing declining food production. To such a population, access to agricultural extension services is paramount to enable them to produce the required food needed for subsistence. Lack of extension services was associated with ignorance, poor production and low yields, whereas adequate extension services was associated with increased animal and crop production leading to household food security and increased household income.

Graph 6.17. Access to Extension Services by Gender in Numbers and Percentage (N=200)



Source: Field Data, 2004

From the study 39.5% (79) of the respondents maintained that agricultural extension services were somewhat accessible to them. From the oral field interviews, some respondents argued that they were deprived of agricultural extension services they badly need. Some respondents argued that only communities, which are located at the roadsides, have likelihood of extension service officers reaching them. Then 25.5% (51) of the respondents maintained that agricultural extension services were accessible to them. They however argued that although the services were accessible to them, they have not felt them because the theoretical services without practice has no impact on the farmers. This was followed by 21.5% (43) of the respondents maintained that agricultural extension services were hardly accessible to them. This group of respondents even did not know what constitutes agricultural extension services. Then 13.5% (27) of the respondents argued

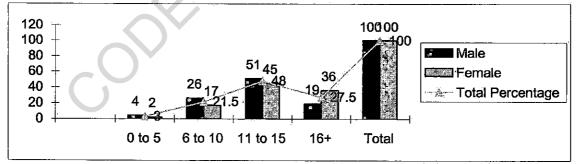
that agricultural extension services were very accessible to them. The majority of this group of respondents live near Moyo demonstration farm institute and they were time to time involved in agricultural education services.

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6.2.5.2. Distance to Agricultural Extension Services

In Moyo District, farmers have to express interest that they need the services of agricultural extension workers. The agricultural extension services offices are located in Moyo Town away from form the farmers. In this study, we set to find out the distances the farmers cover to access the agricultural extension services.

Graph 6.18. Distance to Agricultural Extension Services by Gender in Numbers and Percentage (N=200)

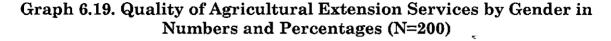


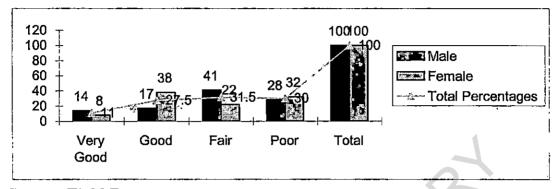
Source: Field Data, 2004

Respondents numbering to 48% (96) agued that distance to agricultural extension services were eleven to fifteen kilometres. This was followed by 27.5% (55) of respondents maintained that agricultural extension services were over sixteen kilometres. Then 21.5% (43) of respondents maintained that agricultural extension services were six to ten kilometres. The respondents from the above categories maintained that they have very little contact with the agricultural extension workers. They expressed frustration in relation to lack of access to advice from extension service official on anifial and crop productivity. About 3% (6) of respondents maintained that agricultural extension services were one to five kilometres.

6.2.5.3. Quality of Agricultural Extension Services

Poor crop yields resulting in insufficient food for the household food needs and income to buy other basic needs featured as a course and consequence of rural poverty. The rural communities perceived lack of knowledge, information, and advice concerning production methods and inputs and conservation as factors contributing to poor yields and consequently poverty. Need for quality extension services by the rural communities were examined in our studies.





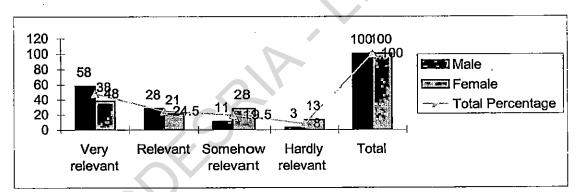
Source: Field Data, 2004

From the graph 6.19, 31.5% (63) respondents maintained that quality of agricultural extension services was fair. This was followed by 30% (60) of respondents maintained that the quality of agricultural extension services was poor. Then 27.5% (55) of respondents maintained that the quality of agricultural extension services was good. Only 11% (22) of respondents maintained that the quality of agricultural extension services was very good. This category of respondents was satisfied with crop and animal husbandry services provided by agricultural extension services. The services enjoyed by the respondents included improved seeds, herbicides, veterinary drugs and artificial insemination.

6.2.5.4. Relevance of Agricultural Extension Services

Agricultural extension and communication is very essential for rural development and food security. Food security is and needs to be overtly and broadly recognised as a public good as well as a social and economic good (Rivera and Qamar, 2003). Agricultural extension can play an important role in agricultural and rural development and in social and economic development overall.

Graph 6.20. Relevance of Agricultural Extension Services by Gender in Numbers and Percentages (N=200)



Source: Field Data, 2004

Respondents numbering to 48% (96) maintained that agricultural extension services were very relevant. Then 24.5% (49) of respondents maintained that agricultural extension services were relevant. Then 19.5% (39) of respondents maintained that agricultural extension services were somewhat relevant. About 8% (16) of respondents maintained that the agricultural extension services were hardly relevant. This category of respondents were glorifying the agricultural extension services in the centralised form of government as expressed by a respondent from Gimara Sub County:

Gone were the old days when we enjoyed veterinary services and our animals were very healthy and multiplied so quickly. We had access to extension services and we were educated about crop growing. In the so-called decentralisation, the corrupt young men ride around on their motorcycles hunting for money other than providing the required service.

6.3. The Strength and Weaknesses of the Contemporary Decentralisation Program in Rural Poverty Reduction

The fifth research question of the study required us to examine the strengths and weaknesses of government decentralisation in rural poverty reduction. The purpose of the question is to enable us build on the strengths of government decentralisation in rural poverty reduction, and see how we could redress the weak areas in order to overcome the looming poverty situation in the Moyo District. The key issues raised in the study findings are discussed below.

6.3.1 The Strengths of Government Decentralisation in Rural Poverty Reduction

Governance refers broadly to the exercise of power through a country's economic, social and political institutions in which institutions represent the organisational rules and routines, formal laws and informal norms that together shape the incentives of public policymakers, overseers and providers of public services (Girishankar, 2002). Problems of poverty and governance are inextricably linked. If power is abused or exercised in weak or improper ways, those with the least power (the poor) are most likely to suffer.

According to Girishankar (2002), weak governance compromises the delivery of services and benefits to those who need them most. The influence of powerful interest groups biases polices, programs and spending away the poor and lack of property rights, police protection and legal services disadvantage the poor and inhibit them from securing their homes and other assets and operating businesses. Thus, poor governance generates and reinforces poverty and subverts efforts to reduce it. Strengthening governance is an essential precondition to improving the lives the poor. In our study we examined the strengths of the decentralised government in delivering the services needed most by the rural poor.

6.3.1.1. Improvement in Managerial Efficiency and Effectiveness

In Moyo District, decentralisation was associated with some improvements in planning and management at local government levels which was mainly the duty of the central government. The local government was believed to be focusing on the local conditions and has a greater potential to deliver services at the local levels and thus improving efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery. This was summarised by a respondent from Idridri Metu Subcounty:

Although very little pace has been made in management, it is better than nothing. These days we see health personnel visiting us at home and our health centres have personnel working. Yes our schools are better in terms of management and complains are lessening. The LCs are also doing their duties very well this is because they know that if they don't perform their duties very well, we shall not elect them to power again.

However, several LG departments within Moyo District were still understaffed. For example, health, accounts, engineering and Works departments have serious manpower constraints.

6.3.1.2. Increased Local Representation and Community Participation

Participation is the process by which stakeholders influence and share control over priority setting, policy making, resource allocations and program implementation (Tikare, et al, 2002). Despite the fact that participatory processes in Uganda and Moyo District in particular have tended to take place at the microeconomic or project level and have become increasingly formalised and sophisticated, it was appreciated by communities as a way forward for poverty reduction with communities at heart. Communities in Moyo District argued that involvement of communities in public sector activities in more direct way ways, including setting priorities and contributing labour and materials has to some extent increased the sustainability of service delivery programs in the district. For example, the rural communities in Metu and Lefori Sub-counties appreciated their involvement in the school management committees. They argued that their involvement has increased available resources, cost effectiveness and user satisfaction.

It has emerged from the community FGD that greater community participation means local leaders are held more accountable for meeting the needs and desires of the communities. This has increased integrity and transparency which communities expect from their elected leaders.

6.3.1.3. Increased Access to Public Goods and Services

Since the beginning of the contemporary government decentralisation program in Uganda, social service delivery programs such as health, education, water and sanitation, agricultural extension and rural feeder roads were handed over to the local government. This has political benefits in increasing autonomy and ownership. The communities in Moyo District positively commentated the contemporary government decentralisation for increasing social service delivery programs in the district. Communities cited increased access to primary schools, health services, water and sanitation to mention.

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6.3.1.4. Better Access to Public Information

Access to public information empowers communities to demand greater accountability from their leaders. Some of the communities interviewed in Moyo District commended the government for publishing in the media the transfers of conditional grants to districts on regular basis. Communities argued that public notices of transfers received in the schools have helped them to monitor developments in schools. For example, a teacher in Nyojo Primary School told us that they always aware about the transfer of the SFGs and the money is effectively used for the intended purpose.

6.3.1.5. Enhanced Partnerships with NGOs to Support Poverty Reduction Efforts

Under the contemporary decentralisation program, the local governments have worked closely with development partners and local NGOs in delivering public goods and service. For example, Lions Aid Norway (LAN) provides a special financial and technical support to the health sector targeting eye clinics. LAN trains health workers in Health Centre 11 to be able to identify eye diseases. SNV provides technical support in areas of general management, financial management, planning and budgeting at both district and sub-county levels. AAH with support from UNHCR provides agricultural extension services to refugees. AAH, jointly with Moyo District implemented conflict mitigation/prevention project. Under the project, parish and subcounty community crisis intervention teams were formed and trained and village banks were established. TPO is a psychosocial service providing organisation. It has open counselling offices in Moyo Town for Moyo Subcounty, Lefori, Metu, Dufele and Gimara Sub-counties. The organisation provides counselling for those affected by armed conflicts, drug abuse, children abused by parents or relatives, and people affected or infected by HIV/AIDS. Other NGOS working in Moyo District and supporting LG activities include CEFORD, ACORD and JRS.

6.3.1.6. Monitoring and Evaluation of Public Sector Performance

In order to determine whether the effectiveness of public service delivery is increasing and progress is made in poverty reduction, it is important to strengthen the monitoring and evaluation process. Communities applauded the participatory monitoring and evaluation of the restocking exercise in the district. Communities in Metu Sub-county also applauded their involvement in monitoring and evaluation of water resources in the Sub-county. However, monitoring and evaluation is centred on compliance with government rule and regulations and tracking inputs and process rather than the end results of policy, program and project efforts. There is little or no information about the performance and effectiveness of actual public service delivery. Good monitoring and evaluation should reach beyond the bureaucratic process to downstream results.

6.3.2. Weaknesses of Government Decentralisation in Rural Poverty Reduction

Governments are judged to be strong or weak by their performances. The dimensions for judging governments include the process by which governments are selected, held accountable, monitored and replaced. Governments are also judged by their capacity to manage resources efficiently and to formulate, implement and enforce sound policies and regulation; and respect for institutions that govern economic and social interactions are some of criteria used for measurement. In our study we examined the weaknesses of the decentralised form of government in responding to rural poverty reduction.

6.3.2.1. Derisory Administrative Competence and Capabilities

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Poor administrative capacity and local competence constrains the role of government decentralisation to spearhead poverty reduction in Moyo District. Respondents saw the district as incapable of planning and implementing programs for improving the lives and livelihoods of the people because of limited staff capacity. Lower Local Councillors and the communities we visited admitted that they lacked the required knowledge and capacity to implement decentralised service programs.

From the FGDs it emerged that LC I lacked the knowledge and capacity to plan, keep records, accountability and to sensitise communities. It was argued that generally the councillors lacked leadership skills to plan for the development of the district. Remote district like Moyo lack a full complement of suitably qualified civil servants. Moyo has failed to attract qualified staff and as such lags behind in service delivery. Decentralisation was seen to have come too early for disadvantaged district like Moyo, which does not have sufficient resources to sustain itself and develop.

It is not surprising that very few local authorities have the capacity to facilitate the development of local initiative or to deliver services. Very few local authorities can mobilise the populace to build schools and health centres, to open roads, to control epidemics, to implement food security measures and above all to guarantee security, law and order. Theoretically, planning at the local level reflects the priority and needs of the majority. Unfortunately however, this is seldom the case because the poor are seen as uniformed as such most of the plans reflect the wishes of the local elite.

Coupled with the mentioned administrative limitations, communities noted that district authorities have a tendency towards centralising power and management procedures at their own levels. This is against the spirit of community participation that ensures the local communities of partaking in decision-making that concerns them. This factor affects the support given by the communities to improve social service delivery, subsequently, it has resulted to decline in efficiency and local acceptability.

6.3.2.2. Weak Legal Guidelines

Legal guidelines are not followed in disbursement of PAF Funds. For example, it has emerged from the focus group discussions that PAF funds are misdirected or embezzled but no action is taken to punish the culprits. For example, the District Tender Board (DTB) is independent of the Central Tender Board (CTB). While this may be acceptable for decentralisation, the process has left room for corruption and manipulation in the award of contracts. Reporting is very weak and corruption threatens social service delivery to the poorest segments of the community. For example, communities reported that the district officials allocate market tenders to councillors and their relatives.

6.3.2.3. Corruption and Mismanagement of Financial Resources Corruption can hurt the poor in many ways. In corrupt governments, social interests and economic priorities play little role in the allocation of public resources. Local people in Moyo District are disgusted and frustrated with the worsening trends of corruption in the local government. In the focus group discussions, it clearly emerged that corruption negatively impacts on service delivery, community security and infrastructure development, exacerbating district and community poverty and making the poor people to suffer. Lack of accountability and transparency were perceived as being part of corruption.

Corruption was reported at all levels of the delivery of government services and programs and in the implementation of government policies. The statement: "When the roof leaks the foundation is affected," sums up the feelings of many local people that corruption at top levels and consequently at the lower levels of government negatively affects he people on the ground.

6.3.2.4. Low Revenue and Resource Base

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In Moyo District the resource and tax base is very low. There are few taxpayers and rate of tax evasion is very high. The communities were concerned that this will lead to community poverty because the district and sub counties lack the capacity to improve infrastructure and service delivery which would improve the quality of life of the local people.

Coupled with the low tax and resource base, it strongly emerged from FGDs that Moyo District is not adequately prepared to translate local government grants into viable projects that can directly benefit the poor. There is lack of active involvement of grassroots people in planning local projects targeting rural communities. The district lacks resources and capabilities to involve communities and as such the local people who themselves have arena to relate with the district authorities are often locked out.

Lack of resources needed for poverty reduction is one of the biggest impediments of local governance in Uganda and Moyo District in particular. This has clearly limited the districts ability to notably improve social services needed most by the rural poor. Lack of resources also limits the extent to which leaders can motivate their staff and retain them in the stiff competition between the public and private sector for educated and efficient

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employees. Local governments lack skilled personnel and there is often a gap in personnel allocation. Coupled with lack of skilled personnel is lack of resources for basic supplies, equipment and physical structures which has made daily operation difficult.

The communities in Moyo District were concerned that if government does not make efforts to redistribute resources in poorer areas, fiscal decentralisation will result in growing disparities. Communities further argued that although there is equalisation fund such fund cannot only be send to Moyo District because its not the only poor district. The distribution of resources should put the rural poor at heart so that they may have access to basic social services. For example, Obongi Sub-county lacks access to adequate safe water for its population and feeder roads are impassable compared to other parts of the district.

6.3.2.5. Complex Centre-Local Relations

The devolution of power to the lower level under the decentralisation policy has created a power vacuum at the central level and as such there is a tendency by the central government to control the periphery. Critics of the decentralisation process in Uganda have argued that the policy was introduced hurriedly, with little preparation of stakeholders, particularly the local population. The policy opaqueness at the local level has made it difficult for the rural population to internalise the contemporary decentralisation program. The local government statute of 1993 was the central government's attempt to remove the confusion of roles at the local level. It presented a decentralised structure of government with sufficient powers for councillors at the local levels to make decisions.

In Uganda local management is further weakened by a system of disjointed services. Every service is split in two, that is, primary and post primary education, hospital and pre-hospital health, local and central roads. For each function there are two parallel services. One service is transferred to local authorities and the other to the central government with little coordination between the two. Paradoxically, in many cases both the human and material resources that are needed to offer the services remain controlled by the central government.

In Moyo, it was discovered that some politicians meddle in the affairs of the district management committee and use their political influence to direct projects to certain areas to gain political popularity. In some instances politicians tended to usurp powers and responsibilities otherwise legally bestowed upon boards and commissions. For example, when Moyo District wanted to erect an FM radio station, there was a lot of political dispute about where the station should be located and as such it has never been fixed by the time the research was conducted.

6.3.2.6. Heavy Tax Burden

Taxation and poverty were linked in local peoples analysis of poverty in decentralised form of government. Poor people expressed concern over the burden graduated tax places on their livelihoods and their household well being, as illustrated below:

A villager goes to market to sell a goat. First s/he has to pay for a movement permit from the local council and another permit from the veterinary department. When s/he gets to market, s/he has to pay market entry fee and finally if s/he actually sells the goat a tax is levied on the sale. Then the cycle starts again. The parson who bought the goat pays a purchase tax and movement permit to take the goat from the market to s/her home (FGD, 2004).

High graduated tax burdens the poor people, especially heads of households, thus exacerbating poverty. This burden was reported to have increased in the decentralised form of government, which lack adequate resources to support its policies. According to the focus group discussion, graduate tax impoverishes the local people. Graduated tax forces people to sell asserts, incur debts, prohibits the purchase of essential basic needs and discourage unitisation of resources. The majority of the respondents looked forward to 2005/2006 financial year when this tax would be suspended, as per the president's promise.

6.3.2.7. Elite Consultation and Participation

The local people saw themselves as stakeholders in their own development and as such they should be consulted by the governing bodies at all levels. Community participation was reported to be an indicator of community wellbeing. However, not all members of community participate in community affairs, particularly in meetings and decision-making. The rural poor men, women and people with disabilities were reported to be excluded from participating in meetings and development projects. This is clearly illustrated by the statement below:

We are the people who do not matter in community development. Our views are valueless and as such we are excluded in meetings and when it comes to voluntary community work, we are required to participate. These young men (referring to LG officials) who claim to know everything have never developed this place and yet pretend to talk on our behalf. The book development is not what we need; we need development in which we are involved (Respondent from lefori Sub-county).

In Moyo District, refugees were excluded by LCs and by their legal status. Other individuals were reported to exclude themselves because they perceive others to judge them negatively. For example, elderly women and uneducated individuals who feel that they are never listened to in meetings. Failure to involve all members of the community in decision-making means a failure to incorporate the needs of all members into planning and implementation for poverty reduction.

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6.4.3. Respondents Views on Role Government Decentralisation in Rural Poverty Reduction

The role of government decentralisation in rural poverty reduction cannot be The communities Movo District identified underestimated. in decentralisation as a prerequisite for rural poverty reduction. Participatory planning for priority setting and resource allocation at the local level, participation decision making increased in \mathbf{at} community level. implementation and monitoring of poverty reduction interventions, communication linkages between lower and higher levels of LC systems, transparency and accountability across sectors were perceived as the role government decentralisation for sustainable poverty reduction in Moyo District. These are further discussed below.

6.4.3.1. Good Governance and More Political Commitment

The local community in Moyo District identified governance as a precondition for poverty reduction. The National Program and Action Plan on Democratic Governance (NPAPDG) in the context of the PEAP in 1997 defined good governance as the efficient, effective, and accountable exercise of political, administrative and managerial authority to achieve society's objectives including the welfare of the whole population, sustainable development and personal freedom. In the field FGDs the communities proposed that government decentralisation should promote human rights, democracy, justice, law and order, and it should be transparent, participatory, corruption free, accountable and responsive to the needs of the communities. Communities demanded that elected government leaders should commit themselves to the common goal of the communities they represent.

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6.4.3.2. Improvement in the Quality, Effectiveness and Efficiency of Service Delivery

Quality social service delivery in education, health, water and sanitation, feeder roads and agricultural is prerequisite for the people living in poverty. To address governance related impediments to service quality efficiency and effectiveness there is need to identify specific shortcomings in the delivery of public services. This is challenging because there are no specific standard measures in Uganda. Nevertheless people living in poverty need quality, effective and efficient service delivery. Below is the perception of communities in Moyo District of quality service delivery: water and sanitation services to the rural poor increased their living costs, lower their income earning potential, damage their well-being and make their life riskier. The communities interviewed in Moyo District commended the government for improvement, in clean water supply. However, they emphasised that government should ensure that equitable and sustainable safe water supply and sanitation facilities should be within easy reach to the majority rural population in the district.

The communities also noted that water and sanitation programs in the district depended heavily on non-governmental organisations such as AAH, some of which have terminated their services to the communities. The communities emphasised that the decentralised governments should carry on with the good services rendered by the NGOs to rural communities. In our study we also note that Gimara and Aliba Sub-counties have inadequate water supplies compared to Moyo, Lefori and Metu sub-sounties.

Agricultural Development: It has undoubtedly emerged from the community FGDs that agriculture plays very important role in rural poverty reduction. Most of the people living in poverty dwell in rural areas and they depend on agriculture for their livelihood. Communities noted that since 1990s prices of cash crops have not increased, yet farmers face a lot of constraints in farm inputs, soil infertility, pests and diseases, lack of skills and knowledge and lack of capital and access to credit.

Communities recommend that the decentralised government's leadership should be empowered to deliver quality agricultural services to the farmers. Lack of access to farm inputs and credit implies inefficient resource use and productivity losses. These constraints should be addressed in the decentralised policy frameworks.

Rural Roads: Access to roads in rural areas appears to have improved in recent years in Moyo District. Communities appreciated the opening of new feeder roads such as Itia-Gango road in Gimara Sub-county, Aya in Metu Sub-county and Waka in Itula Sub-county. It has, however, strongly emerged from the FGDs that the majority of feeder roads are in poor condition despite adequate funds provided for maintenance of district roads. For example, communities complained of deteriorating road surfaces on Oyajo –Palorinya, Adroa-Iboa, Laropi –Dufile and Gbari –Arapi roads despite adequate funding. The communities recommended that a pro-poor national transport policy must explicitly tackle gender inequality in transport. It also emerged from the FGDs that transport needs of poor women are more acute than those of poor men simply because of the gender division of labour in the household which directly reinforces the gender inequality in economic status.

6.4.3.3. Filling Policy Gaps to Enhance Effective Development and Poverty Reduction

Good government policies are very important in determining the desired poverty reduction strategy. According to Ames, at al (2002), structural fiscal reforms in budget and treasury management, public administration, governance, transparency and accountability can benefit the poor through inducing more efficient and better targeted use of public resources. With regards to the composition of public expenditure, policymakers need to assess not only the appropriateness of a proposed poverty reduction spending program but also planned non-discriminatory and discretionary nonpriority spending.

In FDGs discussants emphasised that programs that are pro-poor such as health, education, infrastructure, agriculture should take priority other than spending in senseless wars in neighbouring countries. Cutting across the policy agenda is the need to empower women by removing barriers to their fuller participation in the development process.

6.4.3.4. Enabling Effective Collaboration with NGOs, Private Sector and the Local Communities

The private sector and NGOs can make a valuable contribution to service delivery. According to Scott-Herridge (2002), sometime international donors encourage and support the contribution of private sector and NGOs as a way forward for poverty reduction as they have lost faith in central governments that seems corrupt and undemocratic in practice. Donors sometimes turned to NGOs as a way of delivering pro-poor policies and bypassing inefficient central governments. It has emerged from FGDs that a move towards partnership between the decentralised government, private sector, and NGOs may provide a sustainable pro-poor poverty reduction. Partnerships with NGOs such as ACORD, CEFORD, UNICIEF, ADEO, SNV, AAH, TPO and OCKENDEN were appreciated by communities in the district and they urged that such cooperation should continue.

6.4.3.5. More Involvement of the People Living in Poverty in Policy Formulation for Poverty Reduction

Decentralisation should not focus on resource robbery, heavy taxation, and unnecessary control of power by young and inexperienced arrogant elite and institutionalising corruption especially in education, health and road sectors. Decentralisation should involve able boded people like me in resource mobilisation, planning and implementation for poverty reduction in reality but in wards and in books. Words and written books cannot reduce poverty but we human being can with commitment of scarce resources. (Respondent, Pajakiri Parish).

Until recently, most participatory work in Uganda was conducted at project level and had a limited scope. Involvement of the poor people in policy formulation enables them to monitor public services and give feedback to the government on which it can act. It enables the poor people to express their demands in a constructive way. As expressed by the respondent from Pajakiri, involvement of poor in policy formulation creates ownership and involves the poor in management of the propoor programs.

6.5. Summary

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This chapter attempted to address the issue of SSD in Moyo District. We also examined the strengths and weaknesses of the contemporary decentralisation program in rural poverty reduction in Uganda. Lastly we looked at the views of the respondents on the central issue, which the study attempts to address, that is, role of government decentralisation in rural poverty reduction in Uganda and Moyo District specifically. The next chapter provides the summary and collusion to the study.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS 7.1. Introduction

This chapter provides the summary, conclusion, and policy recommendations to decision makers, and attempts to contribute to the theoretical debates on decentralisation and poverty reduction. The chapter also suggests areas for further studies in government decentralisation and rural poverty reduction in Uganda.

7.2. Summary of the Key Findings

The main objective of this study is to explore and examine the role of government decentralisation in poverty reduction in Moyo District. In our findings, the link between decentralisation and poverty reduction is not so direct in Uganda and Moyo District in particular. Although power and responsibilities have been devolved to Local Government (LG), they continue to suffer from a variety of constraints, including limited financial and personnel capacity. Lack of accountability, lack of meaningful participation of the population in local development planning, limited knowledge at the LG level regarding how best to undertake meaningful poverty reduction activities and more importantly, the problem of resource mobilisation and severe human capacity limitation still remain a challenge to poverty

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reduction through decentralisation in Uganda in general and Moyo District in particular.

The second objective of the study is to find out the characteristics of poverty in Uganda and Moyo District in particular. In the study, respondents described poverty at individual, household and community levels, and poverty was portrayed in material and nonmaterial forms. Poverty at individual level was characterised in terms of a lack or inability to satisfy basic needs. The material forms of poverty at the individual level ranges from lack of food to being a tax defaulter. The non-material forms of poverty at individual level extent from laziness to being barren. At household level, poverty was characterised in terms of inability of the family to provide for themselves. These too was categorised into material and non-material forms of poverty. The material forms of poverty at the household level vary from lack of enough farmland to lack of sanitary facilities. The non-material forms of poverty at household vary from female-headed household to ill health.

Poverty at the community level ranges from lack of schools to lack of or inadequate productive resources such as farmland. The material forms of poverty ranges from lack of or inadequate social service delivery to lack of community organisations/clubs. The non-material forms of poverty at the community levels extent from irresponsible leadership to community marginalisation.

The third objective of the study was to identify the general characteristics of government decentralisation in Uganda and Moyo District in particular. The Moyo District is governed by a District Council (DC) which is presided over by a (full time) executive committee. The committee consists of the district chairperson, elected by adult suffrage, a speaker and deputy speaker, elected from among the members of the DC, as well as the vice chairperson and secretaries, nominated by the chairperson and approved by the council.

Councils at Sub-county level are constituted by the chairperson, elected by universal suffrage and councillors elected according to their constituencies. In the case of the Sub-county, only the chairperson is full time. The administrative units namely, the County, Parish and Village levels are governed by committees and are mainly to assist in implementation of district programs, mobilisation, communication and generally assist in maintenance of law and order.

The fourth objective of the study was to compare and contrast the poverty situation in Moyo District before and after the implementation of the contemporary government decentralisation programs. The findings of the study indicate that rural poverty under the decentralised government has not lessened much as compared with the centralised form of government. For example, respondents maintained that they have seen any significant change in poverty levels since the introduction of the contemporary decentralisation program.

The fifth objective of the study was to find out the extent to which social service delivery in education, health, water and sanitation, infrastructure and agricultural extension under government decentralisation has led to poverty reduction in Moyo District. From the study it clearly emerged that, the involvement of the LG is very necessary for basic services in education, health, water and sanitation, agriculture and rural roads to work for the poor. The study reveals that, there is a slight improvement in social services delivery in some parts of the district. For example, in Obongi and Moyo Counties, respondents reported some kind of improvement in volume and quantity of SSD. Metu Sub-county boasts of substantial gravity free flow water coverage in the region. However, the quality of social services in the district is as a whole is still very poor. From our observation, Itula, Lefori, and Dufile Sub-counties still have poor physical infrastructure, such as schools, and health centres.

7.2. Concluding Remarks

Although government decentralisation in Uganda is primarily driven by a political motive of power and popular participation, one of its main goals is to increase efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery with the aim of poverty reduction. From the findings of the study, the level of service delivery has slightly increased under the contemporary government decentralisation and an increased level of SSD has a strong bearing on poverty reduction. However, despite the increase in the level of SSD in the district, some regions the district hardly have access to SSD. For example, Obongi County has poor development of SSD both in quantity and quality as compared to Moyo County. Therefore, there is need to amalgamate the increase in service volume with the quality of services and SSD should be evenly distributed to areas where they are needed most. For example, there is need to address issues of building classrooms without desks and teaching materials, or health centres without health facilities and staff in the district.

Although a lot has been achieved by Uganda's ambitious contemporary decentralisation program, such as setting and institutionalising local government structures, a number of constraints still remain to be addressed. From the study it is apparent that the role of government decentralisation in rural poverty reduction is a work in progress whose final outcome is yet to come. Government decentralisation is still remote from the daily realities of the poor people's lives. In Moyo District, communities are still very poor under the contemporary government decentralisation. It is clear that SSD has not met required expectations of rural poor. For Example, in Pajakiri Parish, there is no single fully furnished classroom and health centre blocks. From our observation, Eremi health centre was ill equipped to even handle malaria classes that was rampant in the area. Government decentralisation by itself is a not sufficient condition for poverty reduction; it is a silver lining among the clouds in Uganda and Moyo District in particular.

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As already mentioned above, government decentralisation is not in itself a goal of rural poverty reduction, but a means of improving public sector efficiency. Government decentralisation can be powerful for achieving rural development goals if only it responds to the needs of the local communities by assigning control rights to people who have the information, and incentives to make decisions best suited to those needs, and those who have the responsibility for the political, and economic consequences of their decisions. Rural poverty reduction requires involvement of the rural poor in the process participatory planning, monitoring and evaluations of pro-poor development process. This process must start with marginalised rural communities. Poverty reduction programs should be accompanied by wealth creation, which should involve the rural poor. Since poverty reduction operates under a culture of control, monitoring and bureaucratic procedures, wealth creation will provide enabling environment for responsive, competitive and sustainable use of available resources in the disposal of the rural poor for poverty elimination. It is critical that the contemporary decentralisation program should establish partnership with rural poor, private organisations and the public to create wealth needed by the rural communities in Uganda.

Lack of financial and human resources at the local level is an acute problem in Moyo District. This limits the ability of the local leaders to implement policies and programs and it reduces the independence of local governments with their leaders from continuing to be beholden to the central government. Resources in Moyo District also seem to be concentrated in the urban areas already relatively well off, while shortage of resources for poverty reduction cause lethargy and dependence on the centre in the rural areas. Poverty reduction action must be derived from the poor people's own aspirations, available resources and synergies in order for it to make impact in their lives. It is worth stressing that government decentralisation is a process whose success hinges on political, social and economic factors. As of now, it is difficult to understand the intricacies of the combination of central control and local autonomy in Uganda's decentralisation process. However, the tenets of the process of decentralisation are in place. This includes welldefined political structures and how they relate and can be accountable to the communities and the central government. Local communities can now influence directly the policies that affect their lives. Successful decentralisation process takes time and demands resources to build local institutions that must be responsive to the local needs and poverty reduction.

The study confirms that the expectations of government decentralisation in rural poverty reduction in Uganda may be achievable with commitment and resources to do so. However, it would be a little too much to expect high levels of poverty reduction in Uganda and Moyo District in particular in such a short period of time. There is yet a lot to learn and no doubt many mistakes have been made. However, the capacity and confidence of local government is growing in terms of skills and experience and the central government and donors are gradually directing more resources to it. Cutting across the decentralisation policy agenda is the need to enforce empowerment of women by removing barriers to their fuller participation in sustainable and equitable wealth creation for rural poverty reduction in Uganda and Moyo District in particular.

7.3. Rethinking Government Decentralisation for Poverty Reduction In Uganda

Government decentralisation has become a key issue in redevelopment policy in the third world countries (Crook, 2003; Johnson 2002; Olowo, 2003; Ribot, 2002;Smoke, 2003,World Bank, 2004). In theory. government decentralisation is perceived to have positive impact on poverty in many developing countries, Uganda inclusive (Deninger et al, 2003; Kappel, et al 2003; Lawson et al 2003, Obwna et al 2004; Okidi, et al, 2004; Onyach-Olaa, 2003; Pender et al, 2004). It is believed to amplify the voices of the poor to policy and decision makers, improve their access to social service delivery and reduce vulnerability.

An effective devolution of powers offers the opportunity to set up democratic institutions in which the poor can actively participate, decide and lobby for their interests. It can improve knowledge and increase competition that can lead to a better matching of local needs and policies. The improvements ideally should bring about efficiency gains, in particular in the area of social service delivery in terms of access, quality, relevance and targeting. Government decentralisation is believed to enhance the capacity of the citizenry to monitor the local officials and politicians to bring about transparency, reduce corruption, and overall to improve local governance and consequently lead to poverty reduction.

While, in theory, government decentralisation is a powerful tool to initiate improvements in instruments and policies for the poor, the reality looks less promising in Uganda and Moyo District in particular. Based on the evidence from the study, government decentralisation in Uganda and Moyo District in particular has not fulfilled its basic functions and as such there is risk that decentralisation may increase poverty rather than reduce it if this problem is not addressed. The ambiguous evidence suggests that the link between decentralisation and poverty reduction is not straightforward and the outcome is largely influenced by policies and resources.

We submit that poverty reduction is not a political process. The political and institutional hullabaloos of empowerment, participation, rights based development, and of government decentralisation needs to be given human face. The questions that still haunt us are: What approaches of development can we use in order to lift out those trapped in poverty? Why are so many millions of Ugandans unable to climb out of poverty despite the poverty reduction promises offered by the decentralised governments? In an attempt to answer the above questions, we submit that, government decentralisation reforms should consider real involvement of the poor rather than the representatives of the poor in poverty reduction efforts. We strongly believe that the poor are the experts in poverty issues and debates and they hold the key to rural poverty reduction efforts. They know what best fits their own situation and what should be done to reduce the prevailing rural poverty. Government decentralisation and other collaborating institutions should form partnerships with those trapped in poverty and build on the efforts of poor in their struggle to make poverty history.

7.4. Policy Recommendations

A leading rationale for decentralisation is that it can generate financial resources, efficiency and quality gains by devolving resources and decisionmaking powers to local governments for social service delivery Ebel and Yilmez, 2003; Smoke, 2003; UNCDF, 2002). Financially, this is attractive to the central government because part of the burden of financing services can be shifted to the local governments and private providers. The efficiency argument is that education, health, infrastructure and agricultural extension services will be maximised by allowing local governments to take decisions on the allocation of scarce resources since they have a better sense of local priorities. This ideally may inculcate ownership of resources and make the local governments more accountable in resource allocation decisions. Decentralisation advocates (Blair, 2000; Manor, 1999; Tedler, 2000) further argue that the quality of service provision could also be enhanced since local governments will be more sensitive to variations in local requirements and open to feedback³ from users of services.

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Proponents of decentralisation further argue that local government is best placed to provide services that reflect local needs and priorities and that greater proximity between local government and service users will encourage responsiveness. In practice, this requires sufficient local capacity and accountability of local government to both service users and the central government. Decentralisation also has equity, access and quality implications. Tackling poverty efficiently requires access to governance and basic services, growth in income, support and strategies that focus on empowerment of the poor and the disadvantaged. Poverty reduction also requires long-term commitment, additional resource mobilisation and capital formation, and creation of income and employment opportunities at the local government level.

However, the ideals mentioned above did not feature distinctly in our study of Moyo District. Although government decentralisation is perceived to be a

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good administrative gismo, it is not a panacea for solving the looming poverty in the district. In the Moyo District, the administrative performances are still weak and bureaucratic. We also observed that the majority of the staff were not very competent in their areas of work. We observed deepening regional inequalities in provision of SSD and gender insensitive resource allocation in the district. Respondents strongly believed that the level of poverty in the district is disquieting and the quantity of SSD is still very low and pathetic.

Basing ourselves on the finding of the study, we therefore make the following recommendations:

Health: Moyo District local government administration is faced with serious challenges in improving the health and well-being of the rural poor. The study revelled that health facilities in the district are in a bad state in terms deliverables. Respondents further of infrastructure. personnel and complained of several health problems ranging from sleeping sickness to scabies. Basing ourselves on the nature of the study findings, we therefore, recommend that rural health service delivery should receive massive investment and a renewed commitment and vision to generate a fundamental change in the lives of the rural poor. There is need to expand health education and sensitisation to rural communities. However, it is necessary that the method of sensitisation and information dissemination should take into account local customs and norms to enable the campaign to succeed. Moyo District should build its capacity to handle sleeping sickness, nagana and river blindness cases which has over beleaguered the available resources. The district should devise a way of controlling the movement of refugees and their animals from the Sudan to Uganda and vice-versa. It should provide the resources needed for community education and sensitisation about river flies and tsetse fly vectors control in Metu and Lefori Sub-counties.

Education: Education has been regarded in all societies and throughout human history both as an end in itself and as a means for the individual and society to growth (IHRIP, 2000). Communities in Moyo District regarded education as a gismo for poverty reduction. Although UPE has eased the financial burden of primary education, meeting the real costs of education is still a strain for poor families and vulnerable groups like orphans. Given the importance attributed to education as a route out of poverty, government should perhaps consider giving further assistance to support the education of most vulnerable in rural communities. For example, orphans and refugee children in the district should be given the priority to benefit from the UPE program. Water and Sanitation: Poor access to clean water and sanitation requires attention from the decentralised local government. Rural communities have many development demands and they are tired of voluntary services. The decentralised local government needs to work in partnership with nongovernmental organisations to provide and monitor rural service delivery programs. For example, Moyo District and its development partners should provide the needed water facilities to Gimara, Aliba, Itula, and Lerofi Subcounties which are heavily settled due to overwhelming refugee community, and yet have low water coverage.

In order to improve hygiene, there is need to re-orient health education to improve hygiene practices. Local people reported only receiving water and sanitation education in times of epidemics such as cholera. It will be necessary not only to provide clean water sources within easy reach of communities but also to educate local communities on the risk factors and on protecting water sources. We observed and recommend that, the people who live along the River Nile zones need massive health and environmental sanitation. This is because the poor soil texture along the Nile is not suitable to construction of pit-latrines, and as such, human and animal waste disposal has posed a health hazard in the region. Diseases that affect stomach and intestine were common in the region. We further recommend that the local government should build animal slaughterhouses to enable easy inspection by veterinary personnel. As of now, animals are slaughtered anyhow and anywhere, and animal wastes are left at the places where meat is sold.

Agricultural Extension Services: Agricultural extension services should be made available to the rural poor regardless of their location. Training, advice and information concerning improved methods, control of pests and diseases, advice on inputs and their availability, market issues and soil conservation issues should be made available to the rural communities. Field extension advisory services are well suited to decentralise their services, but comprehensive extension system requires a range of extension support services and programs such as strategy formulation, training, monitoring and evaluation, and specialised technical support that is lacking in the district. We recommend that the ill equipped veterinary and entomology departments should be revitalised so as to respond more appropriately to the needs of the local communities.

Infrastructure Development: The development of rural infrastructure is key to rural social and economic life. The rural population in Moyo tends to define poverty in terms of access to infrastructures, most often roads, education and health centres rather than just social services. We recommend that the district should invest heavily in the desperately needed infrastructure so as to foster enhancement of effective of social service delivery and consequently human development.

Participatory Decision Making: Shifting more decision-making power closer to poor communities by devolving authority to local government can help promote poverty reduction as long as the new responsibilities are accompanied by resources and capacity building. For example, Moyo District Local Government Administration (MDLGA) needs to restructure it administrative units in order to attract highly qualified personnel who have the technical skills needed to provide good quality social service delivery to the community.

The foundation of poverty reduction is self-organisation of the poor at the community level. Such self-organisation is the best antidote to powerlessness, a central source of poverty. Organised, the poor can influence local government and help hold it accountable. They can form coalitions with other social forces and build broader organisations to influence regional and national policy-making. Communities often start with small self-help groups, then combine these into larger area-based institutions to exert influence with local government or the private sector. The most successful community organisations tend to be broad-based including both poor and non-poor and tend to use participatory methods to encourage people's active involvement. One of their greatest accomplishments is to increase people's access to knowledge, skills and technology is often the biggest priority cited by community members.

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What the poor need most is not resources for safety nets, but resources to build their own organisational capacity. Ensuring resources for such capacity building should be one of the main targets of decentralisation. Civil society organisations, arising outside poor communities, can play an important role in delivering essential goods and services but are less successful in directly representing the poor. Such organisations can play a valuable role by engaging in policy advocacy on behalf of the poor and influencing national policy-making. Community based organisations may be effective in directly representing the poor, but have difficulty in wielding influence outside their localities until they build broader organisations.

Curbing Corruption and Improving Pro-poor Policies: Delivering propoor patterns of growth and poverty reduction requires an absence of

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corruption, high levels of quality capacity in policy formulation and implantation, and a political elite which sees its interests as aligned with those of the poor. From oral interviews we conducted in Obongi County, respondents strongly blamed poor quality SSD on the corrupt leadership in the district. We recommend that pro-poor growth requires absence of corruption and that the sectoral pattern of growth should be biased in favour of the poor. In Uganda, the majority of the poor population live in the rural areas and they are engaged in subsistence agricultural. Therefore, growth in rural areas has a strong link with agriculture which if enhanced can be way out to rural poverty.

Accountability in the use of public funds is crucial to poverty reduction efforts. The poor pay a high price for corruption. Programs that target resources for poverty reduction are less likely to be bankrupted by the administrative costs of identifying and reaching the poor than by the diversion of a big part of the resources into other hands. If corruption were cleaned up at the same time that the poor organised themselves, many national poverty programs would undoubtedly ratchet up their performance in directing resources to the people who need them. Many problems of targeting are, at bottom, problems of unaccountable, unresponsive governance institutions.

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If poverty reduction programs are to succeed, local government must be strengthened and held accountable both to the central government for the funds allocated to it and to its constituents on how to uses them. Central government has to continue its involvement, monitoring how local government exercises its new authority and disburses funds and helping prevent the capture of power by local elites. In the long run building stronger and more accountable local government is the only way to make decentralisation pro-poor. However, this requires time, resources and capacity building. For the poor, the lasting benefits will outweigh the immediate costs. The current fad, however, is to opt for quick-disbursing mechanisms, even though they are unlikely to be sustainable. Opening up local government to popular participation and building partnerships with civil society organisations can foster greater transparency and accountability.

Instituting Monitoring and Evaluation Systems: Introducing pro-poor monitoring and evaluation systems that tie financing to performance can also enhance accountability. Complaints about lack of local capacity often mask other problems, such as an inadequate incentive structure to motivate poverty reduction efforts by local government. Capacity building should be sufficiently addressed in the decentralisation framework. Given the high illiteracy levels at the local government levels, appropriate, simple but effective skills training is relevant for the local government. Engineering decentralisation policy process, through expert advice, is necessary for injecting new and comparative knowledge to policy process.

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Engendering the Decentralised Local Government Programs: Government decentralisation in Uganda provides equal opportunities for both men and women to participation and benefit from development programs. Although sustainable development necessitates that both men and women benefit from economic, social, political and civil development, women are yet to benefit from development efforts. For example, in Moyo District, we observed that men overshadow women in local government development activities ranging from planning to implementation of community projects.

We therefore, suggest that poverty reduction strategies under the local government should take active measures to improve women's command of resources and political voice. There is increasing need to integrate gender into all government organisational frameworks and at policy level. Gender mainstreaming efforts in development alone are not sufficient. Gender issues should cut across all local government activities in order to give it coherence. Political Will and Commitment: Commitment of the central government and the local government politicians and technocrats to establish transparent and participative governance may definitely empower the government decentralisation program in Uganda. Pro-poor government decentralisation requires that authorities at the central level are able and willing to carry out reforms. This implies that the local government should be given substantial, stable and reliable resources; that investment in local human resources are made; that the national government follows coherent policies; and the support from donors countries is substantial and coherent.

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> A good information flow between local governments and the population enables citizens to participate in decision-making. It, thus, favours the empowerment of the poor, efficiency achievements and improvement in governance. Civil society organisations, which is formed by the poor themselves, may balance and check that decentralisation policy out comes are pro-poor.

> **Power and Resource Delegation:** The process of government decentralisation in Uganda experience some form of central government interference. The central government tends to legitimise its interference in local policies by pointing to the local governments lack of capacity. There is

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unwillingness on the part of the central government to delegate power effectively. For example, there has been a tendency to re-centralise the position of the CAO. We suggest that the devolution of power can generate "learning by doing" process that can help the local governments to build up their capacities through practice. Moyo District, which is characterised by large inequalities, low literacy rates and a poorly developed political and civil society, needs a massive and appropriate support to build up its human and financial resources. Dependence on central government transfers reduces the powers and legitimacy of local governments in implementing pro-poor policies.

7.5. Areas for Further Studies

From our study "The Role of Government Decentralisation in Rural Poverty Reduction in Uganda: A Case of Moyo District", a number of research themes emerged that needs to be investigated. We have singled out three areas, which we think needs further research, and these include Good governance, Local government resources and revenue, and Service delivery.

Good Governance is increasingly acknowledged to be critical for unleashing national energies for poverty reduction. The local communities would like to see that their leaders are prepared to implement policies and development programs in close consultation with them. The interaction between good governance and poverty reduction needs further exploration in Uganda and Moyo District in particular.

We suggest participatory research approach in order to capture the real poverty and governance issues in the district. Participatory approach to research that involves the people living in poverty may help them to put forward their own poverty realities and particular expertise to influence policy and practice. It can evoke key issues based on the real experiences of people living in poverty and the role of governance in addressing key poverty issues. Participatory research should attempt to answer the following questions:

- The question "Who" which includes the problem of poverty itself, and difference of power even within groups of people living in poverty.
- "How" includes whether the research involves people living in poverty only as suppliers of information, or whether they have greater control in the process and results of the research.
- The question "What" includes whether participatory research is just about allowing the voice of people living in poverty to be heard in unfiltered way. Participatory research should attempt to combine different forms of knowledge in a way which tries to create a more

- Does increased social service delivery lead to poverty reduction?
- Does improvement in access and quality of social service delivery give more satisfaction to people living in poverty?

Survey research and focus group discussion are recommended to capture the real issues related to social service delivery under the local government.

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Appendix A

Research Questionnaire

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT DECENTRALISATION IN RURAL POVERTY REDUCTION IN POST 1992 UGANDA A Case Study of Moyo District

Dear Respondent,

I am a student from University of Dar es Salaam. I am carrying out research entitled *The Role of Government Decentralisation in Rural Poverty Reduction in Post 1992 Uganda. A Case Study of Moyo District.* This study is for academic purpose only and the information obtained will be treated with confidentiality.

Since 1990s, Uganda government started implementing its ambitious decentralisation programmes. The process of decentralisation is at the heart Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), which sets out the strategy through which the Government of Uganda (GoU) aims to eradicate absolute Poverty by 2017.

This study attempts to examine the role of government decentralisation in rural poverty reduction in Uganda and Moyo District in Particular. We shall also identify the general characteristics of poverty situation in the district. The study will also attempt to identify the general characteristics of government decentralisation in Uganda and Moyo District in particular and compare and contrast the poverty situation in Moyo District before and after the implementation of the contemporary government decentralisation programmes.

The study endeavours to find out how social service delivery such as in education, health, water and sanitation, infrastructure and agricultural extension was conducted before the contemporary government decentralisation and whether social service delivery under present-day government decentralisation has led to poverty reduction in Moyo District in terms of improvement in literacy rates and health status, clean water provision, better infrastructure and agricultural services.

The study will also examine the strength and weakness of the contemporary government decentralisation in poverty reduction in Moyo District. The study will thereafter proposed what still needs to be done by the contemporary government decentralisation programmes to reduce poverty in Moyo District in particular.

I thank you for participation in this important exercise.

Section A: Location County/Municipality______ Sub County/Division/Town Council______ Parish/Ward______

Village/LC1	
Residence	2 Pri
1. Urban	1. Rural

Section B: Respondents Socio-economic and Demographic Characteristics

01. Name of the 1	respondent (optional)	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
02. Gender			_
1. Male	19	2. Female	

03. Age

1. 20-29	2. 30-39
3. 40-49	4. 50-59
5. 60+	

04. Education

1. Never went to school	2. Primary education
3. Secondary education	4. Diploma
5. Degree	6. Postgraduate degree

05. Occupation

1. Student	2. Un paid family work
3. Self employed	4. Work for an employer

06. Employment

1. Not employed	2. Self employed
3. Work for an employer	4. Other (specify)

07. Income per month

1. 0>100,000	2. 100,000>200,000
3. 200,001>300,000	4. 300,001+

08. Type of Housing

1. Permanent	2. Semi permanent
3. Temporary	4. Other (Specify)

09. Type of roof

1. Thatched	2. Iron sheet	

10. Type of wall

1. Stone	2. Mud
3. Bricks	4. Stones

11. Type of floor

1. Cement	2. Earth

12. House lighting

1. Electricity	2. Solar energy
3. Paraffin	4. Other (Specify)

13. Cooking fuel

1. Electricity	2. Paraffin
3. Charcoal	4. Wood

14. House occupancy

1. Owner	2.	Rental

Section C: Poverty Situation in Centralised and Decentralised Forms Government Compared

01. What is your poverty situation in centralised and decentralised forms of government? [Tick $\sqrt{3}$]

Form of Government	Better Off	Better	Fair Poor	Very Poor
Centralised				
Decentralised				

02. List the factors for prosperity in centralised form of government



03. List the factors for prosperity in decentralised form of government

04. List the factors for poverty in centralised form of government



05. List factors for poverty in decentralised form of government



06. Social service delivery under the centralised and decentralised forms of government compared. [1 = Centralised Gov't and 2 = Decentralised Gov't]

Service Delivery	Very Good	Good	Fair	Poor
Primary Education				
Primary Health	/			
Water and Sanitation				
Feeder/Community Roads				
Agricultural Extension				

07. What were factors affecting the performance of primary schools in the centralised form of government?



08. What were the factor boosting the performance of primary schools in the centralised form of government?



09. What are factors $_{\tau}$ affecting the performance of primary schools in the decentralised form of government?

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10. What are the factor boosting the performance of primary schools in the decentralised form of government?



11. What were factors affecting the performance of the primary health in the centralised form of government?



12. What were the factor boosting the performance of primary health in the centralised form of government?



13. What are factors affecting the performance of the primary health in the decentralised form of government?



14. What are the factor boosting the performance of primary health in the decentralised form of government?



15. What were factors affecting the performance of water and sanitation in the centralised form of government?



16. What were the factor boosting the performance of water and sanitation in the centralised form of government?



17. What are factors affecting the performance of water and sanitation in the decentralised form of government?



18. What are the factor boosting the performance of water and sanitation in the decentralised form of government?



19. What were factors affecting the performance of feeder/community roads in the centralised form of government?



20. What were the factor boosting the performance of feeder/community roads in the centralised form of government?

	
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21. What are factors affecting the performance of feeder/community roads in the decentralised form of government?



22. What are the factor boosting the performance of feeder/community roads in the decentralised form of government?



23. What were factors affecting the performance of agricultural extension services in the centralised form of government?



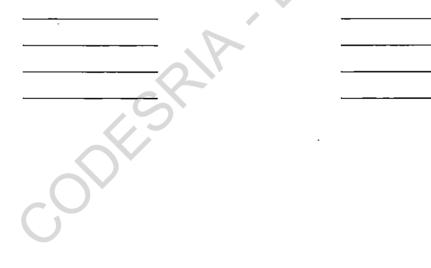
24. What were the factor boosting the performance of agricultural extension services in the centralised form of government?



25. What are factors affecting the performance of agricultural extension services in the decentralised form of government?



26. What are the factor boosting the performance of agricultural extension services in the decentralised form of government?



Section D: Social Service Delivery in Decentralised Form of Government

01. Primary Education

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Access		Quality		Distance		Relevance	
1.	Very accessible	1.	Very Good	1.	0>5	1.	Very relevant
2.	Accessible	2.	Good	2.	6>10	2.	Relevant
3.	Somehow	3.	Fair	3.	11>15	3.	Somewhat Relevant
	Accessible	4.	Poor	4.	16+	4.	Hardly Relevant
4.	Hardly Accessible						1
	·					8	

02. Primary Health Care Provision

Acces	Access		Quality		Distance		ance
1.	Very accessible	1.	Very Good	1.	0>5	1.	Very relevant
2.	Accessible	2.	Good	2.	6>10	2.	Relevant
3.	Somehow	3.	Fair	3.	11>15	3.	Somewhat Relevant
	Accessible	4.	Poor	4.	16+	4.	Hardly Relevant
4.	Hardly Accessible	6	2,				

03. Water and Sanitation

Access	Access		Quality		Distance		ance
1.	Very accessible	1.	Very Good	1.	0>5	1.	Very relevant
2.	Accessible	2.	Good	2.	6>10	2.	Relevant
3.	Somehow	3.	Fair	3.	11>15	3.	Somewhat Relevant
	Accessible	4.	Poor	4.	16+	4.	Hardly Relevant
4.	Hardly Accessible						

04. Feeder/Community Roads

Access	Quality	Distance	Relevance
1. Very accessible	1. Very Good	1. 0>5	1. Very relevant
2. Accessible	2. Good	2. 6>10	2. Relevant
3. Somehow	3. Fair	3. 11>15	3. Somewhat Relevant
Accessible	4. Poor	4. 16+	4. Hardly Relevant
4. Hardly Accessibl	e		
	z.		

05. Agricultural Extension Services

Acces	Access		Quality		Distance		ance
1.	Very accessible	1.	Very Good	1.	0>5	1.	Very relevant
2.	Accessible	2.	Good	2.	6>10	2.	Relevant
3.	Somehow	3.	Fair	3.	11>15	3.	Somewhat Relevant
	Accessible	4.	Poor	4.	16+	4.	Hardly Relevant
4.	Hardly Accessible						
			1				

06. Other social service delivery provision

Access	Quality	Distance	Relevance
1. Very accessible	1. Very Good	1. 0>5	1. Very relevant
2. Accessible	2. Good	2. 6>10	2. Relevant
3. Somehow	3. Fair	3. 11>15	3. Somewhat Relevant
Accessible	4. Poor	4. 16+	4. Hardly Relevant
4. Hardly Accessibl	e		
		-	

Appendix B

Research Questionnaire For Key Informants

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT DECENTRALISATION IN RURAL POVERTY REDUCTION IN POST 1992 UGANDA A Case Study of Moyo District

01. What are the characteristics of government decentralisation in Moyo District?

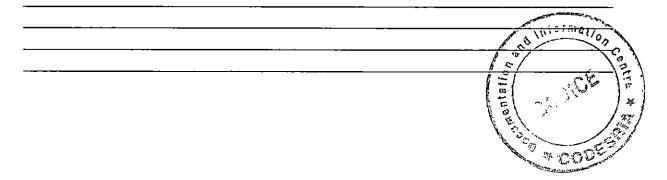
02. What are the characteristics of poverty in Moyo District?

03. What is the role of government decentralisation in rural poverty reduction?

A]. Individual level

B]. Household level

C]. Community level



D]. District level

04. What are the resources available to reduce poverty in Moyo District? 05. How are these resources be used to reduce rural poverty? . 06. Who controls and makes decisions about public resources under decentralisation? 07. Do the rural poor have equal access, control, decision-making, implementation and control of resources to reduce poverty? If yes why and if no why not? 08. What are the well-being indicators in Moyo District? _____

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09. Since the introduction of the contemporary government decentralisation program in Moyo District, can you say that poverty levels have reduced? If yes why and if no why not?

10. Which areas of public services have registered improvement since the introduction of government decentralisation in the district and why? -11. Which areas of public services have not registered improvement since the introduction of government decentralisation in the district and why? 12. Compared with centralised form of government would you prefer government decentralisation for rural poverty reduction? If yes why and if no why not? \sim 13. Compared with centralised form of government would you prefer government decentralisation for social service delivery? If yes why and if no why not?

14. What implementation problems have encountered since the introduction of government decentralisation in the district?

15. In your own opinion how best should government decentralisation be used to reduce poverty in Moyo District? 16. In your own opinion what is the performance of government decentralisation in promotion of a). Geographical equity? . b). Transparency Accountability? ╲ c). Public service delivery? d). Self-reliance? e). Effective resource utilisation?

f). Easy access	to decision points?
g). Responsive	ness?
h). Law and or	der?
i). Security?	<u> </u>
j). Information	

k). Human rights?

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i). Democracy? m). Promotion of the civil society? n). Collaboration with NGOs? Other	<u> </u>	
I). Democracy?		
m). Promotion of the civil society?		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
n). Collaboration with NGOs?	l). Democracy?	
n). Collaboration with NGOs?	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
n). Collaboration with NGOs?		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
n). Collaboration with NGOs?		
Other	m). Promotion of the civil society?	
Other		2
Other		
Other		
	n). Collaboration with NGOs?	(A)
	Other	

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Thank You Very Much

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Appendix C

Research Questionnaire For Focus Group Discussions

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT DECENTRALISATION IN RURAL POVERTY REDUCTION IN POST 1992 UGANDA A Case Study of Moyo District

1. What are the general characteristics of government decentralisation in Uganda and Moyo District in particular?

Probing Questions

- ✓ What is government decentralisation?
- ✓ What are the key elements of a decentralised government in Moyo District?
- 2. What are the characteristics of poverty in Uganda and Moyo District in particular?

Probing Questions

- ✓ What do you think are the characteristics of poverty at individual level in Moyo District?
- ✓ What do you think are the characteristics of poverty at household level in Moyo District?
- ✓ What do you think are the characteristics of poverty at community level in Moyo District?
- 3. What was the poverty situation in Moyo District before and after the implementation of the contemporary government decentralisation program?

Probing Questions

- ✓ Comment on the poverty situation in Moyo District before and after the implementation of the contemporary government decentralisation program?
- ✓ What was the poverty situation in Moyo District during the centralised government?
- ✓ What is the poverty situation in Moyo District during this contemporary decentralised government?

4. What was the social service delivery before and after the implementation of the current government decentralisation program in Moyo District?

Probing Questions

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- ✓ Comment on the social service delivery before and after the implementation of the current government decentralisation program in Moyo District
- ✓ What was the nature of social service delivery during the centralised form of government in Uganda and Moyo District in particular?
- ✓ What is the nature of social service delivery during the contemporary decentralised form of government in Uganda and Moyo District in particular?
- 5. What are the strengths and weaknesses of government decentralisation in poverty reduction in Moyo District?

Probing Questions

- ✓ Comment on the strengths and weaknesses of government decentralisation in poverty reduction in Uganda in general and Moyo District in particular
- ✓ With concrete evidences what are the strengths of the contemporary decentralised government in poverty reduction in Moyo District in particular?
- ✓ With concrete evidences what are the weaknesses of the contemporary decentralised government in poverty reduction in Moyo District in particular?
- 6. What still needs to be done by the contemporary government decentralisation program to reduce poverty in Moyo District?

Probing Questions

- ✓ Mention what you think still needs to be done by the contemporary government decentralisation program to reduce poverty in Uganda and Moyo District in particular?
- ✓ What do you think should be the role of the contemporary decentralised government in rural poverty reduction in Uganda and Moyo District in Particular?