measuring and analysing poverty (see for example, World Bank, 1990) and what actually the "World Bank" has done in this field in Uganda. The 1992/3 Integrated Household Survey which can not be used confidently in terms of its measure of consumption is rumoured to have cost the Bank $2million and as yet there has been no serious analysis of it by Bank staff.

6.2 Implications for Ugandans concerned about poverty

6.2.1 "Ownership" of the growth and poverty agenda

In the long-run Ugandans have to decide whether and how to make poverty reduction an integral part of their long-term economic strategy. Should they follow a "Scandinavian" development path prioritising equity and low inequality. Would it be quicker and more appropriate to go for growth and "trickle-down"? Or is there a middle path? Without debate there is not likely to be a poverty reduction strategy which works, for two reasons: it is not in the immediate interests of an elite which has still to develop a strong sense of the national public interest; and without debate and the adoption of a long-term strategy they will face the alternative of regular short-term shifts in policies according to the latest fashion in donor circles.

Ownership of the poverty agenda, long-term planning and programming, and sustainability are not likely unless people, and particularly the elites, are aware of the dimensions of the problem, have considered and discussed the many causes involved, and have themselves developed a programme and organizational structures for monitoring poverty and implementing pro-poor policies. The first thing required is a political debate conducted at all levels of society about priorities in development including poverty and welfare. Acceptable levels of wealth should also be discussed. This debate should be initiated at the highest level and encouraged to take place in the media, by politicians at national and all five district levels, among academics and donors, and generally among the population.

6.2.2 Policies for growth

Macroeconomic policies: The government needs to maintain macro-economic stability if there is to be growth. However, the structural adjustment agenda does not belong to the government or the people of Uganda, and it is not clear how poverty-oriented it actually is. It is negotiated secretly between the World Bank and a small coterie of government technocrats, and is not explained to the people who it is affecting. The government should conduct an ongoing public debate about economic policies with politicians, non-governmental economists and other participants in civil society.

Social sector spending should be targeted to the poorest, and agricultural extension advice and research should be aimed at all levels of farmers (including women). The government should consider developing a parallel domestic extension and research service which could develop domestic technology in conjunction with the people who use it. This is particularly relevant for saving women's time (in grinding, fetching water and fuel, washing, and cooking). Mobile health workers could also save people a lot of time. Service provision is not just a matter of spending; services need planning to fit need and demand, appropriate training, monitoring and adaptation. The content of services is also important, for example the curriculum and the health advice. These are areas where public debate and participation would help to produce more meaningful formal structures and policies. Inventiveness and imagination in producing local solutions should be encouraged and successful ones widely disseminated.

Policy implementation: Problems of implementation involve institutions, organizations, politics, and culture. These extra economic factors should become a focus of attention in terms both of research and programmes. While many of the issues raised here have been, or are being
approached in piecemeal fashion, it is unlikely that major transformations will occur without systematic analysis and imaginative and integrated projects and programmes, many of which should be initiated and supported outside the Government sector.

There are two major problems with policy delivery from the centre: capacity and corruption. These are currently being addressed by the civil service reform (described above) but it is not clear, in the light of the discussion about the interaction between informal cultures and formal structures whether this reform will be sustainable. Capacity can be improved by on-the-job training and the development of rules and cultures in conformity with planned goals. Reducing corruption involves changing the incentive structure: this means exploring the relationship between aid and corrupt practices, monitoring and sanctions, improving accounting practices, providing alternative productive incentives.

_Developing capitalism:_ The development of capitalism depends on creating an effective system of economic management; this means creating and maintaining really competitive markets and ethical business practices. The new entrepreneurial class is very weak and there are strong vested interests in monopoly practices. Effective policies are needed to eliminate the "parasites" and create conditions for rural farmers and small enterprises to raise levels of organisation, technology, and productivity. The changes needed are relatively easy to identify but putting them into effect is more difficult in face of opposition from vested interests and the weakness of the Ugandan state. There is a need to develop a legitimate business class which maintains high ethical standards in its commercial practices and observance of the law and a political and administrative class which does not behave as it did in the past. This involves developing mechanisms of political accountability and professional associations. These exist now but are weak and need more support. Because of still-existing regulations small businesses cannot obey the law and operate profitably. This criminalises the business class and breeds disrespect for the law (Brett, 1992).

The overall impact of state policy and intervention has been negative: many onerous and restrictive taxes and control are still in force because of bureaucratic vested interests or inefficiency. The other side of this is that many businesses have been financed as a result and most businesses manage to evade them. However there are heavy costs which make it difficult to make the transition from informal to formal levels of scale and organisation. A new capitalist class has emerged by appropriating resources from the state and exploiting the monopoly profits derived from irrational controls and scarcity. These are processes that occurred in the development of virtually every advanced capitalist society and are taking place all over Africa (Brett, 1992).

_Cultural adjustment:_ The NRM government "is committed to revolutionary reform of the psyche of Ugandans in order to build a new and viable basis for the nation" (Evans, 1994). Perhaps the most important aspect of this is changing gender attitudes and behaviour. It is impossible to disagree with Ali Mazrui when he says that almost all governments on the African continent have tried to steer clear of the sensitive issue of Africa's sexual division of labour (1992, p358). He argues that only the state is strong enough to make the necessary cultural readjustment on the gender question and only the state can enable the market to benefit from fuller female participation in the economy; "a true free market ought to be an androgynized market" (ibid, p359). However, the road to creating female entrepreneurs is not likely to be through privatisation, but through energetic state action and state support for private action taken by and on behalf of women. The recent appointment of a woman Vice-President is an encouraging move in the right direction and the government must continue to follow-up on the implementation of pro-gender policies. This means integrating gender differences into all development and poverty programmes. Policymakers in all ministries should accumulate information by gender and plan according to women's needs as well as men's. Findings of research and needs assessments on women should be incorporated into ministerial plans and strategies. Some women in the educated class have embarked on advocacy for women's issues through the formation of networking groups and use of the press and other public fora. These developments should be welcomed and encouraged by the government.

The President has provided a strong lead in reducing gender bias and the appointment of a
woman vice-president is just one instance. However, there are still problems of implementation related to the various initiatives that have been taken. Thus, while there is a women's representative on RC committees right up to district level these offices have not effectively succeeded in influencing the decisionmakers because the women on these committees are often ridiculed and overruled by their male counterparts and some have no training (ActionAid Uganda, 1994 p16). The parallel system of women's committees operating at all five levels will provide opportunities for many women to participate in political activity if they can find the time but there is a danger of marginalisation. An alternative or additional proposal might be for there to be 2 women's representatives at each RC level which would make it easier for the women involved to deal with ridicule.

The women's representatives on the NRC are an important source of information about the diversity of women's conditions and this source should be systematically tapped. The preferential admission of girls to university by topping up their scores by 1.5 extra points is an example of positive discrimination which should be followed up with similar preferential policies at all other levels of education. It was suggested to us that the Government should re-introduce a school fees subsidy for girls. The post-graduate Womens' Studies course recently introduced at the University should be regarded as the beginning of a larger programme of research and teaching on Women's Studies. The programme of FIDA(U), Uganda's association of women lawyers should be expanded to cover as many districts as possible. The association strives to take the law to lay people so as to create awareness of rights and obligations of individuals; they offer legal advice and counselling for families. It assists women and children, especially widows and orphans, to attain effective protection under the law. They have been holding legal aid clinics in Kampala and Mbale for women who are unable to afford private firms. They also run legal education programmes and translate the law into local languages. Other women's organisations should be supported and helped, maybe through twinning arrangements with women's groups in the West. There are numerous organisations including the Uganda Women Finance and Credit Trust which was founded by women in banking, business, and law. Trade unions have a women's wing. Safe Motherhood co-ordinates women's NGOs involved in health related programmes; it has trained pregnancy monitors in 8 districts. There is also a Ugandan Association of University Women. The UNDP has financed the Uganda Women's Umbrella project in the Ministry of Women in Development, Youth and Culture to promote gender sensitivity among decisionmakers and policymakers at various levels in government. DANIDA also assists the MWIDYC.

However, on the whole women continue to be the recipients of development programmes not active participants in them. The marginalisation of women may be increased by the enlargement of scale and internationalisation of African economies, and the mechanisation of production. Increases in agricultural productivity depend on improved simple technology. Tractor schemes rarely work in Africa and the government should consider developing an oxen programme (and maybe donkeys). This will require dealing with the problems in Karimoja. The fact that men plough will reduce the hoeing burden on women, but it will increase the load for weeding, harvesting and processing, some of which could be relieved by simultaneously providing access to pesticides and mills. It might be worth considering teaching women in female-headed households to plough (as they are apparently doing in Tigray in Ethiopia): even raising the idea would stimulate discussion. Trying to make women active involves conscientisation including gender campaigns about women's rights. The place to start is the primary school where there should be gender roles guidance and counselling for both teachers and pupils of both sexes. Social mobilisation and networking at local, regional and national should be encouraged. Government should identify and monitor the enforcement of existing laws that favour women and repeal discriminatory laws. They should identify, strengthen and give a high profile to indigenous women's organisations. The land reform should give equal rights to men and women.

Designing appropriate "top-down" organizations: Ugandan formal organizational life is marked by rigid formal rules which delay implementation and can only be got around by applying informal practices. Emergent structures and norms are often designed more to meet the goals of
participants than of the organization. It is important that an understanding of organisational options is developed in Uganda and rules, norms and cultures antithetical to efficiency and effectiveness are displaced. Organisations can make use of networks, hierarchies, markets, or group participation to achieve their goals and the suitability of structures varies according to the goal that is being pursued and the culture of the people involved in the organization. Brett has suggested (1992) that the group method works better for services benefitting from economies of scale to which people feel access should be open, while it does not work so well for income-generating activities. Collective action is much more effective when it is concerned with the provision of capital, training and information than in productive activity. Training in basic business skills and dissemination of collective research is best done collectively. Bureaucracies can mobilise professional and technical services and develop and monitor standards. Networks can be useful for generating trust, and diffusing risks and information. Exploration of emergent organizational practices and beliefs and how they might be adapted into larger structures would be useful. There is scope for some creative and imaginative interaction between new Western organizational theories and participative practices being encouraged particularly by NGOs. Ugandan bureaucratic practices have developed out of organizational designs suitable for the West in the 1950s and 60s and it is not surprising that they have been subverted. Redesign with assistance from participants in relation to organizational goals they have explored thoroughly might lead to better results.

If the RC system is to work certain anomalies will have to be eliminated. First there has been no demarcation of tasks between officials and politicians associated with clear lines of authority and responsibility. Four lines of authority have existed since 1986: the RCs, the District Administration, line Ministries and the District Administrator; the RCs answer to the electorate for the performance of officials who they have no power to recruit, deploy, control and discipline. Decentralisation is expected to give much greater power to elected councils. There is also a need to delineate areas of administrative responsibility and allocate them to particular levels of the system. RCs are responsible for local roads, primary education, health centres and dispensaries, boreholes and springs, petty crime, domestic and land disputes, but Brett (1992) suggests the responsibilities are not allocated properly. He also thinks the number of levels should be cut; RC4s do virtually nothing in the rural areas and it is "hard to make a case for RC2s".

6.2.3 Policies for equity

Following decentralization there should not be unacceptable inequalities between districts. Due to economic inequalities and political instability there are great differences in income-generating capacities between the wealthiest and poorest districts: Mukono recently generated Sh 650m while Kumi only raised Sh 50m. Between 1962 and 1991, due to factional conflicts and ethnic rivalries, the number of districts has increased from 16 to 39. Many of the new districts do not have adequate administrative infrastructures and there are a few marginal administrations which are incapable of providing effective services. The central government should monitor the affairs of the districts and consider making equalisation grants.

It is probably unrealistic to expect the RCs to alter the balance of power between rich and poor in local communities because the higher level councils are composed of the traditional elites and women are virtually excluded because they have no time. There is no distinct working class in villages to provide the basis for a party of the have-nots and political competition takes place between individuals mobilising patron-client networks. The political elite tries to increase the resources coming into the District and ensure that they plus their families get favoured access to what is available. The democratic process cannot give the poor control in these circumstances but should help them make those in power actively promote the interests of the locality and behave with some degree of honesty and competence. There is a need for constructive approaches on the part of government, donors, and NGOs towards ensuring that the decentralisation process delivers on its promise of orienting public
spending towards the interests of the poor. The next PER should explore the means by which local-
level resource scarcity can be mitigated and effective auditing and accountability instituted.

All government policies and programmes should be regularly audited for their effects on
distribution and poverty. Poverty programmes and research should be centralised in terms of
organisational structures, and prioritising.

6.2.4 Policies for political stability

As section 5.4 demonstrates political instability is a major cause of poverty and has partly resulted
from competition between ethnic groups for control of resources concentrated at the centre.
Decentralization of resources and management should reduce this competition and the salience of
ethnic politics, if it is a real devolution. However, as discussed above, the danger with
decentralization is that regional inequity will increase; some form of redistribution from rich to poor
areas must be institutionalized. This is particularly important in the provision of structures, services
and regulation relevant to development. In poor rural areas there is not only an infant industry
problem but also an infant region problem (Brett, 1992). Assistance is needed to create the array of
public and private investments required to retain people and attract them from outside; only the state
can reduce competitive inequalities between poor rural areas and their developed counterparts. For
while political instability is a cause of poverty, poverty, particularly unequally distributed poverty,
can be a cause of political instability.

On occasions there is a conflict between the economic objectives of efficiency and equity and
the political objectives of stability and fairness. For example the World Bank Agriculture report says
"The role of Government in developing strategically placed rural infrastructure cannot be
overemphasised." pxxiii. However, what is strategically placed in terms of economic efficiency may
not be strategically placed in political terms.

One problem related to dealing with corruption is that it has been seen as an important factor
in the maintenance of political stability. However, economic growth and development are not usually
associated with a political structure based on distribution via patron-client relations, and donors will
not continue indefinitely to provide the resources which are currently being diverted from
development investment and social sector spending and channelled down these patron-client networks.
A clear message that corruption does not pay must be given to politicians, the civil service and the
public and corruption must be made not to pay.

6.3 Implications for international financial institutions, donors, and NGOs

6.3.1. Ownership of the growth and poverty agenda

The African crisis is very complex and has affected all strata and sectors of society; its dynamics have
been shaped by inter-locking economic, social, political and cultural factors inter-acting through time.
For various reasons the IMF and the Bank have refused to explore the full dimensions of the crisis,
but instead have tried to tackle it using a simple market-oriented policy framework (Bangura, 1994).
During the 1980s African governments lost effective control of economic policy-making to these
international financial institutions who have tended to make blanket recommendations to all adjusting
countries, rather than helping individual governments to work out a strategy tailormade for the total
circumstances of the particular country.

With regard to poverty assessment and policy recommendations in Uganda the Bank approach
is still very "technical" (compared for example with the approach in Zambia) and this allows the
Government not to take it seriously as a policy matter. The assumptions that structural adjustment (as
practised in Ugandan conditions) will lead to growth will lead to poverty reduction are still
assumptions. Some economists expect that they will; most sociologists and political scientists expect that structural adjustment might lead to growth for some, but will probably lead to more and/or deeper poverty for others. Policies aimed at reducing poverty need to identify which groups of people are poor, vulnerable, getting poorer, and what their circumstances and strategies actually are so that policy levers can be identified. While, at some higher level, the Bank is claiming that poverty reduction is its major goal, this does not seem to be the case in Uganda as is evidenced by “Growing out of Poverty”, the current Country Economic Memorandum, the low profile for poverty in recent Public Expenditure Reviews and in the cash accounting priorities, the difficulty of seeing how Bank loans relate to poverty reduction, and the unavailability of an analysis of Bank-financed projects in terms of their goals, monitoring and evaluation.

Furthermore the elites of Uganda, who control the major resources, have not shown much interest in poverty reduction and there are no powerful voices speaking out at the national level on their behalf (in contrast, say with Victorian Britain), although there is some concern among the media, academic circles and at lower political levels. The “de-politicization” of the question of poverty provided by the Bank approach means that some members of the elite can continue to accumulate resources by appropriating rents from their involvement in politics/administration, diverting government funds (many acquired as aid) and appropriating and controlling land and labour in the rural areas, without this being raised as an issue.

The idea that governments bear some responsibilities towards its citizens should be encouraged to take root in African countries. The first obligation a government has is the maintenance of order within its boundaries, the second to ensure that citizenship rights are protected and exercised. There is a strand of opinion in the aid world that recommends the bypassing of inadequate governments in the provision of essential services, such as health and education which are basic citizenship rights, and the channelling of resources and services through privatization and the NGO sector. Experience throughout the world confirms that the privatization of services such as health and education increases inequality and poverty (measured in terms of access to and quality of these services). Similarly in developing countries the provision of services through NGOs, given their size and the control they have over their agendas, results in a patchy and inadequate provision. The Ugandan government does not have the resources to provide cheap universal basic health and education services but this should be a long-term goal and, in any case, the government should be in charge of the design and regulation of these services.

### 6.3.2 Policies for Growth

**Macroeconomic policies:** The international financial institutions should consider the contradiction (one of a number) between their practice of “negotiating” macroeconomic policy with African governments and their call for “ownership” of poverty reduction programmes.

**Social sectors:** Similarly donors should not allow their need to “disburse” loans or grants to interfere with internal processes of policy development and debate as has happened in the field of education in Uganda, and probably elsewhere. It is better to give or lend no money than to disrupt internally generated policy and project preparation.

**Policy implementation:** Donors are much better at drawing up blueprints than implementing programmes and projects. The latter requires intimate knowledge of a range of structures, relationships, values, beliefs etc and a long-term commitment. Donors should consider the value of personnel based in foreign capitals a long way away who know little about the countries they are advising and “researching”.

**Cultural and political adjustment:** Donors have, in the past, steered clear of getting involved in recommendations that governments should act to try to change the values, beliefs and attitudes of their citizens. Caught between the economist’s commitment to accepting people’s preferences as given and the post-modern acceptance of the notion that it is impossible and unethical to make judgments