as to the superiority of some values compared with others, they have tended to avoid the question altogether. The international financial institutions have the added problem that they are not meant to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries they lend to, especially the politics. Given the role that aid is already playing in the political economies of sub-Saharan African countries this is a contradiction that will have to be resolved soon: it might involve a re-writing of the Constitutions of the Bretton Woods organisations, or the creation of a new organisation designed to deal with the problems of the 2000s. In the interim there is no reason why the IFIs should not try to understand and study the political, cultural and social aspects of African economies, even if they do not develop policy advice in relation to them. In fact the promulgation of “multi-party democracy” must be regarded as beyond the remit of these organisations. It is also being recommended in a blanket and unthought-out way with little attention and research (which should be done by political scientists) to appropriate structures of government and democracy which will vary between countries.

Donors might set a better example in their own gender policies and practices.

Finally donors should consider the way in which they work in developing countries. For example, the Ugandan elite has high aspirations in terms of the lifestyle they are seeking and it easy to believe that the Kampala diplomatic and aid community is a major reference group. A more modest life style on the part of resident donor staff might make it easier for them to convince the Ugandan elite that it should be actively concerned about poverty and sacrifice some wealth and wealth-seeking activities to achieve this.

Organizational design: There are exciting changes in the design of organisational structures taking place in both the public and private sectors in modern societies and it would be worth providing Ugandan academics, managers and bureaucrats with opportunities to see how these new structures are working and might be adapted to local situations. Just as statistics departments are collecting data according to what was new and exciting in the early 1970s, so too are bureaucrats trying to live in outdated organisational designs.

With regard to decentralisation the donor community has a responsibility for co-ordinating and supervising the provision of some funds at district level. The donor community also has a role in improving the effectiveness of resource use and influencing its allocation. One aid official said that district leaders seem to be genuinely committed to tackling the problem of poverty but that they do not know what to do about it. There is a role for donors and NGOs to help them to develop plans and policies which address development and social sector issues. He suggested that in the absence of Plans and Development Budgets it is likely that local politicians will encourage expenditure on large capital items such as football stadiums, and council halls.

6.3.3 Policies for equity:

In Uganda the World Bank has not yet shown a real commitment to poverty reduction as compared to its commitment to “growth”. The donor community must maintain its pressure on the IFIs and the government if aid is to make any difference to poverty.

Decentralisation: Donors and NGOs should monitor the situation and ensure that aid interventions are equitably distributed with a focus on positive discrimination in favour of the very poorest districts. They should also be aware of the potential effects on political stability if the North and the East are allowed to lag further and further behind the West and Central Regions.

6.3.4 Policies for political stability

Donors have a responsibility for endorsing the message that corruption does not pay, and for making sure, that so far as donor funds are concerned, this is the case.

The establishment of law and order: With Western aid the NRM government is rebuilding a
"cowed and withered" judiciary, while reforms to diversify and professionalise the army are progressing. Aid is also being provided for rehabilitation of the police service. If the North and East are not to fall further behind the rest of the country in terms of growth and poverty, it is vital that security be established as soon as possible. In particular threats from Kony's followers and from the Karimojong need to be dealt with; this requires both short and long-term action. Western governments should use diplomatic channels to try to control support and arms coming from outside Uganda.

6.3.5 Donor policies and programmes

The responsibilities of donors and NGOs: There is a lot of disillusion in the aid world at the moment, particularly in relation to Africa, and the time is ripe for all people working for multilateral and bilateral donors and NGOs to reflect on the goals, practices, structures and cultures of their institutions, particularly the unintended consequences of what they are doing. One problem is that the incentives provided by the aid industry for its employees tend to be related to such matters as money loaned or reports written rather than poverty reduced. Turnover in particular jobs is often rapid so that people do not have to live with the consequences of their decisions, and evaluation does not feed back into design and implementation of projects. Long-term expertise in a particular country or region of a country is rarely allowed to develop.

Donor practices: Many development policies, programmes and projects are short-term, based mainly on restricted economic analyses, and reflect little awareness and understanding of the diverse and complex social and economic relations involved in the different farming systems and informal sectors of the Ugandan economy. They frequently adopt a top-down simplistic approach which comes to grief when it meets the realities of politics, organizations, emergent norms and cultural beliefs. While lip-service is increasingly paid to participatory and "bottom-up" approaches the organizational structures and cultures of Government and most donors means that, in practice, very few workable projects are designed, implemented and properly evaluated. If accountability is to be meaningful the Government, in conjunction with donors where this is relevant, should be required to publish evaluations of programmes and projects which have been publicly funded (including aid-funded).

These should be used to inform the design of future programmes. At the moment the incentives for Government or donors to perform efficiently are very low.

We came across a number of examples of bad planning on the part of donors and will provide here just three examples. The first relates to the civil service reform. For the foreseeable future the government will not be in a position to fund proper pay for the civil service without external assistance. However, donors' projects tend to assume that the government, through improved pay, will be able to sustain the activities of the projects once donor funding stops. However, if people are not getting enough pay and are losing the "incentives" provided by the project it is unlikely that they will commit all their time and energy to continuing the project activities.

The second example comes from the field of education. The White Paper on Education which was agreed in March 1992 was a Ugandan initiative. The government followed up the White Paper with a list of proposed and prioritised projects but these were overtaken by the concurrent activities of donors driven by their own development timetables (Evans, 1994). Evans suggests that the long-term effects of such behaviour is problematic. "Donor-sponsored projects are like waves on the ocean, influencing appearances greatly in the short term, but not necessarily changing the larger swells on which they may ride". These reside in the beliefs and values of ordinary people and these are influenced by their long-term experiences. He suggests that "effective implementable policy may be that which comes closest to reflecting the values embedded in this underlying community of beliefs." (ibid, p21). Policy effectiveness should be evaluated over decades, not 5 years. "Donors, individually and collectively, indicate a desire to help Uganda strengthen its policy-making capability. Yet, the internal dynamics of the assistance process, driven as it is by timetables and forces within each donor,
often work in ways which undermine or overshadow indigenous attempts to form and implement educational policies." (ibid, p22).

The third example comes from agriculture. When all the elements for a successful outcome are not included in a project or programme resources may be wasted. The first IDA funded project supporting sectoral adjustment, the Agricultural Rehabilitation project which ran from 1983 to 92, involved the physical rehabilitation of export processing facilities in cotton, coffee and tea, and this was successfully done. However, there was no provision for operational reforms with the consequence that not all facilities rehabilitated have been used profitably (World Bank, Agriculture, 1992, pxi).

The major problem with budget support is the difficulty of tracing where the money has actually gone. The major problems with project aid relate to the design of projects, and sometimes a lack of awareness or research related to the real needs and problems of the recipients. It is very hard to get resources to the poorest members of communities. The development of participatory approaches, (described below) should improve things although then donors will have to face the problem of whose agenda the aid programmes is really serving.

Donors have become increasingly aware that their organisational structures are not designed to implement participatory-style projects and are increasingly funding NGOs to undertake these. One problem arising from the increased donor interest in using NGOs to deliver services and projects is the corresponding rise of "briefcase" NGOs.

NGOs practices: The World Bank report on the role of the NGO sector in poverty alleviation concluded that there was not much point in trying to define either an NGO or a CBG (Community-based Group) since they "are extremely diverse in nature, development ideology and self-perception" (NGO report, 1993, pi). They include policy advocates, community mobilizers and direct providers of services. The report suggests that while they have many strengths, they also have technical and managerial weaknesses. They usually work on a small scale and their projects may not be easily replicable or sustainable. "Often they are independent-minded, pursue their own agenda, and are not accountable to government, donors or to beneficiaries" (ibid, ii). There are a number of constraints which affect the efficient operation of NGOs including their organizational and technical capacities, government laws and regulations, and donor procedures. If these constraints were reduced they would be more effective (World Bank NGO Report, 1993, piii).

There is a problem related to competition among NGOs. The ActionAid Uganda document speaks of the threat of "the arrival of other major development NGOs in the same area with practices and policies significantly different from AAUs leading to confusion in community expectations". There is also a level of competition for donor funds, and for international NGOs the funds they raise in their home countries.

There is a need for intermediaries to link bottom-up structures to regional, national and international structures giving access to savings, technology and markets. Current links operate via the elites who dominate the politics and economics of rural areas. Macro and micro development must take place simultaneously and must be linked in rational ways.

Community-based groups (CBGs): Survival in rural Uganda has always depended on private enterprise except for schools, some health services and personal credit. People look to the family, clan, mission or PTA rather than the chief or the ministry official for moral authority and managerial capacity. The State is often seen as a problem maker: collecting taxes, licensing authority, enforcing controls.

Throughout Uganda communal responses to health needs can be found and could be built on; for example "muno mukabi" groups of friends who assist each other in time of need (UNICEF, 1994 p32). In the mountainous region of Kigezi local people have come up with an appropriate means of health transport within their means using local materials: the "engozzi" or basket stretcher for hand carrying patients (ibid, p30). To put them to maximum use they have formed engozzi societies for ownership and service (carrying). Almost everyone in the region belongs to an engozzi society: most commonly non-members pay a hiring fee and members use it free of charge. Spontaneous community
organizations can lack skills and resources and tend to focus on mobilizing people to provide labour. They could be helped to expand their role to identify health needs and prepare plans.

There are numerous other CBGs established locally and operating on a modest scale. They are usually ad hoc, established to meet a particular need, organized informally and with little experience or resources. Examples include credit and savings schemes among women and Hoe groups (women who hire their labour out during the harvest and weeding seasons for cash payment or payment in kind).

However, increasing community participation need not lead to projects which reduce poverty. Rural elites, who tend to try to control the participation process, may be more interested in projects of benefit to themselves. Poor and isolated farmers will need information and "sensitising" before they are able to participate in a meaningful way. Rural elites will also be male and it is important that women are brought into the decision-making and choosing process.

Sustainable development includes the requirement that communities have been empowered to initiate and manage community-based projects aimed at solving their problems and needs. A vital ingredient is local capacity-building involving such things as the training and equipping of community volunteers; sensitising children to the importance of education; establishing a community accounting system; distance education. ActionAid Uganda pays an allowance to community and government volunteers. After decentralisation the regional tax base might provide supplementary funding to support the costs of local development intermediaries after the project has gone. Sustainability involves strict accountability systems into which community must be trained and the discouragement of dependency on outside resources.

Aid co-ordination: With respect to poverty and the distribution of aid resources the limited co-ordination between government, donors and NGOs makes it more likely that poor groups, districts, communities and people will fall through the net. Differing development styles between multilateral donors, different bilateral donors, NGOs, government at central and local levels, and people living in local communities can lead to problems of co-ordination and implementation. A crucial distinction is that between blueprints and processes. Too often discussion of policy stops with the former. It is important that the design of a policy be good enough in its own terms and implementable in the given environment. International NGOs need to co-ordinate and exchange strategies through regular networking and consultations with other NGOs and government departments. However, while lip-service is frequently paid to the need for co-operation and co-ordination the incentive structures facing multi-lateral and bilateral donors and international and national NGOs make it unlikely that this will be easily achieved. Even now there is no proper database in the country about which poverty issues different players are addressing. DENIVA (the Development Network of Indigenous Voluntary Associations) was established in February 1988 as an umbrella organization for local NGOs. It has attracted the interest and support of some donors but NGOs have felt it has no relevance to their needs. "While many of them expressed a need for more co-ordination among NGOs, none thought that DENIVA could adequately fulfil this role, despite it being one of DENIVA's original objectives" (World Bank, NGO Report, 1994). The Ministry of Internal Affairs, which is charged with registering, monitoring and advising NGOs has not co-ordinated activities because of resource constraints and neither has the External Aid Co-ordination Unit in the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning with regard to international aid. Lack of co-operation among development agencies is exacerbated by lack of understanding, trust and respect on the part of government ministries, departments and officials, an inadequate policy framework, red tape, and outdated and inappropriate laws (Nakintu, 1994). One result is that the plentiful experience obtained by NGOs at micro level is not integrated into macroeconomic and social policies that affect the poor.

In addition to integration within projects and programmes there is a need for the closer integration of development policies, processes and agencies. "If external donor support is to be used in a capacity-building way for the benefit of the health sector, as opposed to simply operating a vertical project in isolation, government, donors and districts will need to formulate and implement effective strategies to avoid dependency and fragmentation. This will require planners, funders and
implementers to utilize intersectoral thinking, as well as a perspective that includes the whole health sector. In this approach there is hope for rebalancing some of the demonstrated inequities in health.” (UNICEF, 1994 p41)

One of the problems is culture differences between donors, the government, local government, NGOs and communities. "NGOs involved in PAPSCA and NURP have experienced continuous frustrations at the interface between the divergent institutional cultures which characterise NGOs, the Government of Uganda, and the Bank. Cumbersome procurement and administrative procedures slow NGOs down, as do important delays in the release of funds. (Goetz et al, 1994, p40).

So far we have described an unintegrated system of national and local government and an unintegrated system of donor and NGO aid. One of the major tasks of these systems is the reduction of poverty, but, once we try to put the 2 systems together it becomes hard to see how this is to be achieved in other than a patchy way and with great wastage. Greater integration will require political will on all sides and taking a longer-term view. When one does that it is clear that donors and NGOs should be doing all in their power to help the government at all levels to build structures, relationships, services and programmes which will last and which fit well with the social, cultural and political environments within which they have to work. This means allowing the government to produce its own plans, and prioritise what it wants, even if the plans and priorities are not always totally to donors’ tastes. The alternative, where donors introduce projects quickly, outside the government’s plan, as they recently did in the education field (Evans, 1994), is not likely to lead to ownership in the long run.

One of the jobs of the district authorities is to control and direct NGO presence. Decentralisation puts greater control at district level and NGOs will have to invest time and energy in collaborating more closely with district authorities; sharing information, plans, budgets and taking their views into consideration. A number of NGOs have been working with field-level government workers in an attempt to make them more efficient. For example, CARE has worked with extension agents in Bushenyi which has led to the enhancement of the quality of government extension services. They are about to begin the same kind of work with health workers in Mbale through an ODA-funded district health project (Goetz, p41).

6.4 Future Research

Research into poverty is needed at all levels of Ugandan society. There is a danger that research by professionals is guided by the professional interests (both academic and promotional) of the researcher, rather than the needs of those being researched. The knowledge local people generate may be of benefit to no-one but the author of papers and books (Edwards, 1994). Knowledge also is a source of power and if it is concentrated in the hands of elites is less likely to be used in the service of poverty reduction. Another aspect of this kind of research is that local knowledge is devalued. It is therefore important to pay as much attention to the processes whereby knowledge is generated (and ways in which this might be done which are really beneficial to the participants) and disseminated and to involve all possible levels of Ugandan society.

For example, UNICEF believes it is important to get people to find out things for themselves. There are problems which do not become problems for action until they are pointed out or people become aware of their dimensions. So people may think the schools are fine but do not know what proportion of children in the community are attending. If local people are asked to do a survey to find out how many are at school it is brought to their attention and they may compare it with neighbouring communities and decide something should be done about it. UNICEF acts to guide discussions and information systems at local level. It is a process - to bring the facts out so that they know. The same could apply to expenditure on alcohol. There are RCs that ban the brewing of alcohol but this only means that it flourishes. Awareness of the extent of expenditure and the sacrifice of other expenditures can influence social behaviour via shame mechanisms and local pressure.
Discussion of these issues at seminars in Kampala have a marginal effect while discussion by the people who are doing them is more likely to lead to change.

Poverty monitoring needs to be done in a purposive, integrated and "centralised" (as opposed to marginalised) way. The Ministry of Finance and EPD should take responsibility for setting up and co-ordinating a Poverty Monitoring Group which would involve the Statistics Department, the economics, sociology and politics departments at Makerere, interested Institutes and research centres (MISR, CBR, CEPR, the Women's Department), interested NGOs (eg ActionAid) and donors (eg the World Bank, UNICEF) and any other interested member of civil society. The Bank or another donor should be approached to finance local consultancies if necessary, research costs, dissemination etc. The group should develop an integrated programme of qualitative and quantitative research involving communities, households and individuals.

For monitoring purposes a simple very short household and individual questionnaire should be developed for administration to a sample of households (initially chosen randomly but then used as a panel) and individuals within the community (at monthly intervals to start with) at selected "sentinel sites" - rural and urban communities selected to represent the different farming systems, urban circumstances and cultures of Uganda. These questionnaires should be developed after a community research programme has been implemented. Information should be collected on various aspects of the community in a participatory manner. Topics covered should include economic activities - legal, semi-legal and illegal, links with urban areas, rules relating to access to land, sales, borrowing etc and recent changes, labour markets and other forms of labour exchange, social networks of support, social investment, seasonality, history, local definitions of poverty, a wealth ranking, infrastructure, schools, health services (public and private - including traditional), quality of RC administration, local rules applied that might affect economic activity, local corruption, quality of local judiciary, who are the "big men", patron-client relations, social investment, status-seeking expenditure, extent of alcoholic consumption, incidence of AIDS, malaria etc. This list should be supplemented with suggestions from members of the local community. Thereafter, each month certain community variables should be monitored (eg prices of outputs, inputs, rain, pests, attendance at school, diseases, availability of drugs, land sales, wages, quality of harvest, security problems, theft and murder, etc).

Attempts should be made to incorporate as many NGOs as possible into the research programme. They should be encouraged to work with local RC1s in the data collection process and results should be circulated widely in the area and district as soon as it is available as well as being sent to the centre for dissemination with the other results (also as quickly as possible). The emphasis should be on involving as many local people as possible in the data collection process and getting results out as quickly as possible. This kind of activity is something that NGOs can do more cheaply than anyone else, and if it is regarded as a longer-term capacity building and empowerment process for the communities it might become an accepted part of NGO work.

Once a network like this is established then policymakers and donors who are interested in the effects or possible effects of a certain policy or programmes will be able to use the research group to pursue the question.

The research group can use these "quick and dirty" findings to develop questionnaires and qualitative research in a more rigorous way, to explore the different facets of poverty (at individual, household, and district levels) and its causes. They should inform the activities of the Statistics Department and encourage multi-disciplinary co-operation in research, particularly within the University. Where possible students should be involved in the fieldwork to sensitise the future elite to problems of poverty.

If the political process produces some consensus that Uganda needs a Poverty Reduction Strategy then poverty has to be a major criterion in the development of all policies and programmes (although it need not necessarily always win) and an integrated programme needs to be developed. So, for example, the Government should initiate and contribute largely to the design of the next Poverty Assessment, while the major input should come from local consultants, with assistance from
outside only when necessary. The Poverty Research Group described above should play a major role, together with appropriate people from national and district government and civil society. The aim should be to consult and discuss with as many local people as possible. The next World Bank Public Expenditure Review should have the real impact of public expenditure on poor groups as a major focus. All policies, loans and project aid should be assessed in terms of their projected impact on distribution and poverty. If it is deemed that there is none or it will be detrimental in increasing poverty the case for continuing must be strong and consideration given to possibilities of alleviating the plight of those being made worse off.

Institutionalising poverty awareness is always difficult, as can be shown by the fate of PAPSCA. It is vital that the task be given to a central ministry (MFEP) and to someone high in the hierarchy.

Government, donors and NGOs need to expand their research and their discussions to consider how a number of Uganda’s cultures and related institutions actually work. Particularly relevant are the “grassroots” cultures (which vary between ethnic and other groups), the business culture, the political culture, the civil service culture, and other organisational cultures. The problem of coping strategies which have detrimental effects on growth or longer-term poverty needs to be addressed, while the need to take steps towards the integration of formal institutional structures with surrounding societal structures cannot be stressed enough.