


Appleton, S, "'The Rich are just like us only Richer': the Determinants of Poverty In Uganda", CSAE mimeo, 1994b.


Hansen, H B, and M Twaddle, *Developing Uganda*, forthcoming


IIES, RRA Notes 1-19


Seur, H, "The Engagement of Researcher and Local Actors in the Construction of Case Studies
Thompson, M, R Ellis and A Wildavsky, Cultural Theory,. Oxford, Westview, 1990
UNICEF, Uganda National Situation Analysis, Kampala, 1994
World Bank, Growing out of Poverty, 1993a
World Bank, Agriculture, 1993b
World Bank, Social Sectors, 1993c
World Bank, NGO Report, 1994
Appendix 1: The experience of poverty

Vulnerable groups

This Appendix makes use of secondary sources to explore how the different dimensions of poverty affect identified poor and vulnerable groups in Uganda and the coping strategies they adopt to survive and escape from poverty. It relies heavily on two reports that have recently appeared: the UNICEF Situation Analysis for 1994, and the ActionAid Country Strategy Paper 1994-199 and its background papers. The groups are considered under four headings: class poverty, status poverty, contingent poverty and poverty related to particular policies or policy-related activities such as war. (See Fig 1.1) It is important to be aware that an individual may fall into one or more of the categories and that categories may contain people who are not poor according to narrower economic definitions (eg PWAs). One of the reasons for identifying these categories is that they are particularly relevant for identifying the kinds of policy intervention that might be made (eg legislation, public services, fiscal policy, focused projects, emergency aid etc). The groups might also be used to assess the affects of different policies on the poor and to monitor them over time. Some of these groups will be concentrated in particular areas or regions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Contingent</th>
<th>Policy-related</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resource-poor farmers</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Widows</td>
<td>Retrenched</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>landless</td>
<td>Children</td>
<td>Orphans</td>
<td>Demobilized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land poor</td>
<td>Old</td>
<td>PWAs</td>
<td>soldiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>squatters</td>
<td></td>
<td>People with</td>
<td>Refugees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new settlers</td>
<td></td>
<td>disabilities</td>
<td>War-affected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pastoralists</td>
<td></td>
<td>Disaster victims</td>
<td>Displaced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunter-gatherers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labour-scarce</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resource-poor urban dwellers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slum dwellers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Resource-poor farmers are part of the larger class of the peasantry composed of rich, middle and poor peasants. They have limited access to productive resources, their basic social services are inadequate, and they cannot produce enough to feed their families properly throughout the year. Housing conditions are extremely poor. The resources they lack include capital, labour, enough land of reasonable quality, technology, education and skills, health services, transport, and access to credit. They live in villages with rich and middle peasants and are often dependent on them for access to land and cash leading to the possibility of exploitation.

Figure 1.2 is taken from a wealth-ranking done by ActionAid in Mitiyana in Mubende District. ActionAid believes that Kalagi is the more typical village. Mamdani has described life for the very poorest of these groups. "Those individuals who live in mud huts, the majority with grass thatched roofs, a minority with iron sheets crying out for urgent repair or replacement. They sleep on papyrus or on grass at times or on bare ground. Seldom do they have a second change of clothing or night covering. Quite often in the rainy season when temperatures are lower than average, the same piece of cloth that the wife wraps round herself during the day is what the couple uses for a sheet to cover themselves at night. It is people in such situations who most often resort to drinking cheap but strong brew that also serves as a sleeping sedative" (quoted in ActionAid Uganda, 1994).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wealth category</th>
<th>Percent of households</th>
<th>Kalagi</th>
<th>Ttumbu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following descriptions of the wealth categories were provided by the villagers themselves. They also did the ranking.

(1) Daily income from milk or beer; regular incomes from coffee and beer bananas; land 5-30 acres; 2-25 cattle; other business interests - eg commercial woodlots; houses with CIS rooves; sometimes more than one house

(2) Have coffee/beer banana shambas of 1-2 acres; houses with CIS rooves; business interests - eg shops; 1-12 cattle; 4-15 acres of land; send children to school. Some are older men who have accumulated assets; others are hardworking. They can get credit

(3) 2-5 acres of land with some coffee and beer bananas; 1-2 cattle; may have seasonal employment in town; houses with CIS rooves and some grow seasonal crops for income; pay school fees in time; married with children and hardworking

(4) 1-4 acres of land and a few beer bananas; may earn monthly income as labourers; grass thatched houses; sometimes petty traders or masons; some have smallstock; some are old who acquired their wealth long ago; those with children have a problem getting school fees

(5) Grow crops for home consumption and get cash for taxes working as labourers or from small badly tended coffee plots; are tenants on other people’s land or have about 2 acres and borrow land from others to grow more food

(6) Landless; may work as labourers, borrow land from others, or be dependent on others. The group includes widows with grandchildren; weak and sick men; unmarried men; some drink heavily.

Accessibility to agricultural extension by the resource poor is very minimal; in many areas government extension staff do not have the means let alone the morale to reach the peasants in the villages. The few who manage tend to work with either the middle or rich peasants because they have the means of production and can get results and be motivated. In Kabale there are not enough field staff (1 extension staff for 15,000 households) and a lack of transport, and the situation in other areas of Uganda is similar. This problem also affects NGO activity. "The issue of working with the poorest sections of the community is still unresolved. Many agencies have tended to work with the middle and rich peasants rather than the poor ones." Poor peasants are shy, do not turn up for meetings, and have limited access to factors of production. The ActionAid project in Mityana has been operational in the area for more than 10 years and "is still thinking of ways and means of availing its agricultural extension to the poor peasants. It is now identifying the poorest groups and has plans to develop specific interventions for them."
Figure 1.3  A Wealth Ranking conducted in Nabihoso Village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wealth Rank</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>No of Households</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Households with substantial interests outside the village</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Employees or ex-employees with adequate incomes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Young men with families, land and other interests</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Below this level "people go hungry"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wealth Rank</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>No of Households</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Young men dependent on agriculture, but with little or no land and with no other business</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Non-tax payers, mostly old and ill</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Widows and unsupported women</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Disabled without property, dependent on occasional casual work</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 90 100

From Appendix 4 (Goetz et al., p77)

The landless are defined as having no access to land or insecure tenure. They are often rural labourers on large farms or plantations or subsist in small rural towns and market centres through petty trading, crafts, paid or casual employment. "It is difficult to quantify the problem, but recent estimates put the figure of the landless at 2.5 million. Population pressure and the customary inheritance system has resulted in land fragmentation and landlessness in areas such as Kabale; but the problem is widespread and increasing" (ActionAid, 1994 p17). Many people are potentially landless and therefore vulnerable as a result of government land laws, population pressure and internal strife leading to displacement.

The land-poor: Today there is borrowing (or share-cropping) of land by those who cannot afford to buy it. The current legal and institutional framework does not provide for the equitable distribution of land or security of tenure for most cultivators. Tenants on public land (most cultivators) are defined by law as tenants on sufferance. Leasing of public land can only be afforded by the rich and in some places the 1975 Land Reform Decree is being used to gain leases; land prices are rising. Customary land tenure leads to fragmentation. Some rural people may have access to land but not enough to meet subsistence needs.

Squatters on gazetted land (forest and game reserves) have been evicted and in some cases resettled