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Working Paper

**Gendered district poverty profiles and poverty monitoring
Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts,
Uganda**

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DIIS Working Paper 2004: I

Gendered district poverty profiles and poverty monitoring Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts, Uganda

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Abstract

The overall objective of the Danida supported Agricultural Sector Programme Support (ASPS) in Uganda is to improve the conditions for the poorest part of the population and contribute to reduce gender-based inequalities in Uganda in general and in the pilot focus districts in particular. Late in 2000, Danida asked Department of Agricultural Economics, Makerere University, Kampala, and Centre for Development Research, Copenhagen, to form an external task group with the purpose of monitoring the gender and poverty impact of the ASPS.

The present Working Paper presents a slightly revised version of one of the reports that have been the response to this task.¹ The Paper presents gendered district poverty profiles for the five ASPS pilot districts, i.e. Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts, as well as the methodology for developing these profiles. It depicts and compares the situation of the 'better-off', the 'less poor' and the 'poorest' households in the five districts according to a number of dimensions, which local people themselves have identified as important when describing poverty and well-being in their communities. In addition, the report analyses the aspect of equality and inequality in gender relations within the household. Based on women's own perceptions of female well-being, three levels of equality in gender relations are distinguished and related to household poverty. These profiles are the district baselines against which the gender and poverty impact of the ASPS can be monitored in the future.

¹ ASPS gender and poverty impact monitoring has resulted in four reports and a booklet:

- Department of Agricultural Economics, Makerere University, Kampala (DAE-MUK) and Centre for Development Research, Copenhagen (CDR). *Gendered district poverty profiles and monitoring of ASPS outcomes, Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts, Uganda*. Copenhagen and Kampala. 2002.
- Department of Agricultural Economics, Makerere University (DAE-MUK) and Centre for Development Research (CDR): *Gender and Poverty Impact Monitoring for the Agricultural Sector Programme Support (ASPS), Uganda : Socio-economic and Policy Context Report*. Copenhagen and Kampala. 2002.
- Department of Agricultural Economics, Makerere University (DAE-MUK) and Centre for Development Research (CDR): *Gender and Poverty Impact Monitoring for the Agricultural Sector Programme Support (ASPS); Uganda: ASPS Component Impact Processes*. Copenhagen and Kampala. 2003.
- Department of Agricultural Economics, Makerere University (DAE-MUK) and Centre for Development Research (CDR): *Gender and Poverty Impact Monitoring for the Agricultural Sector Programme Support (ASPS); Uganda: Final Report Phase 1; 2000-2003*. Copenhagen and Kampala. 2003.
- Department of Agricultural Economics, Makerere University (DAE-MUK) and Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS): *Monitoring Poverty and Gender Equality – a complex challenge*. Kampala. 2003.

Finally, the report makes a very preliminary attempt at analysing the outcomes, including both the households reached and the resulting behavioural changes achieved through the various interventions supported by the ASPS components. This is related both to poverty levels, gender relations and differences between districts.

The Paper concludes by outlining how the analysis should be undertaken when the exercise of developing gendered district poverty profiles is repeated three to four years later as part of ASPS impact monitoring.

1. Introduction

Late 2000, Danida asked Department of Agricultural Economics, Makerere University, Kampala (DAE-MUK), and Department of Development Research, Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS) (formerly Centre for Development Research (CDR)), Copenhagen, to form an external task group with the purpose of monitoring the gender and poverty impact of the Agricultural Sector Programme Support (ASPS) in Uganda.

The present report formed part of the response to this task.² The report presents gendered district poverty profiles for the five ASPS pilot districts, i.e. Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts, as well as the methodology for developing these profiles. It depicts and compares the situation of the ‘better-off’, the ‘less poor’ and the ‘poorest’ households in the five districts according to a number of dimensions which local people themselves have identified as important when describing poverty and well-being in their communities. In addition, the report analyses the aspect of equality and inequality in gender relations within the household. Based on women’s own perceptions of female well-being, three levels of equality in gender relations are distinguished and related to household poverty. These profiles are the district baselines against which the gender and poverty impact of the ASPS can be monitored in the future. However, as we believe that the gendered district poverty profile and the methodology through which they were developed and are expected to be used may be of more general interest, the purpose of this report is to make the profiles and the methodology available to a wider audience.³

1.1 Gendered district poverty profiles in the context of on-going poverty monitoring in Uganda

In many ways, Uganda can be characterized as ‘data-rich’ with respect to poverty related data. Poverty estimates based on consumption data exist from the Uganda National Household Surveys (UNHS) conducted by Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) since the early 1990s.

² ASPS gender and poverty impact monitoring outputs included four reports:

- Department of Agricultural Economics, Makerere University, Kampala (DAE-MUK) and Centre for Development Research, Copenhagen (CDR). *Gendered district poverty profiles and monitoring of ASPS outcomes, Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts, Uganda*. Copenhagen and Kampala. 2002.
- Department of Agricultural Economics, Makerere University (DAE-MUK) and Centre for Development Research (CDR): *Gender and Poverty Impact Monitoring for the Agricultural Sector Programme Support (ASPS), Uganda : Socio-economic and Policy Context Report*. Copenhagen and Kampala. 2002.
- Department of Agricultural Economics, Makerere University (DAE-MUK) and Centre for Development Research (CDR): *Gender and Poverty Impact Monitoring for the Agricultural Sector Programme Support (ASPS); Uganda: ASPS Component Impact Processes*. Copenhagen and Kampala. 2003.
- Department of Agricultural Economics, Makerere University (DAE-MUK) and Centre for Development Research (CDR): *Gender and Poverty Impact Monitoring for the Agricultural Sector Programme Support (ASPS); Uganda: Final Report Phase I; 2000-2003*. Copenhagen and Kampala. 2003.

³ A more condensed and ‘popular’ version is available (Heldgaard and Ravnborg, 2003)

Moreover, Uganda has a Participatory Poverty Assessment project (UPPAP), which conducted comprehensive participatory poverty assessments in nine districts in 1998/1999, published in 2000. Uganda's Poverty Monitoring Network (PMN) coordinated by the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (MFPED), brings together various stakeholders including government institutions, ministries, development partners and a number of bilateral donor organizations.

The Poverty Monitoring Network has been working on a national Poverty Monitoring and Evaluation Strategy (PMS) , but it also recognizes the lack of adequate information as the main reason an ideal list of poverty monitoring indicators is hard to generate.

It is worth noting that the poverty monitoring indicators suggested in the proposed Poverty Monitoring and Evaluation Strategy are largely of a broad nature. Some of these as highlighted in Annex 1 of the Poverty Monitoring and Evaluation Strategy document include the traditional GDP growth rate and savings to GDP ratio but also the proportion of women and People With Disabilities (PWD) in strategic decision-making roles. However they do not adequately address the intra household dimensions of poverty. The present study clearly complements government effort to construct gendered poverty measures that can be monitored over time albeit starting from only five out of 56 districts.

This study adds value to existing efforts to measure poverty by constructing a quantitative poverty measure based on people's own perceptions that are by and large qualitative in nature. The poverty indices presented here may be viewed as bridging the gap between the UPPAP efforts and UBOS traditional poverty measures. Whereas existing poverty monitoring efforts largely dwell on single poverty indicators and their analysis, the current effort goes a step further to combine a number of statistically selected poverty indicators into a poverty index. It must be appreciated that poverty is a final manifestation of a combination of a number of aspects (indicators), which individually are unable to project a complete picture of reality. Indeed the Plan for Modernization of Agriculture (PMA) recognizes poverty as a complex, multi-dimensional phenomenon in which the influencing factors are inter-linked and often inter-dependent.

The gendered district poverty profiles presented in this report are believed to fill important gaps in the conventional approach to poverty measuring and monitoring

First, the profiles provide comparable district-level poverty estimates for the five ASPs pilot districts, whereas e.g. the latest UNHS only provides consumption-based poverty estimates for three of the five districts (Kabarole, Masaka and Tororo).

Second, it is not possible to use the existing poverty profiles – whether being based on consumption data (UNHS) or local people's own testimonies (UPPAP) – to analyse the reach or

outcome and impacts of specific interventions like the ASPS. This, therefore, requires more tailor-made instruments.

Third, the validity of consumption data is highly questionable, given the fact that they are based on respondents' recalls on household expenditures and/or quantities consumed on all food items ranging from salt to matoke (cooking banana, plantain) and beer and cigarettes during the last week; on non-durable goods and frequently purchased services like paraffin, charcoal and firewood as well as transportation and medical expenditures during the last month; semi-durable and durable goods and services like clothing, furniture and education during the last year; and non-consumption expenditure like taxes and remittances during the last year. Beyond doubt, there will be many instances where respondents are either not able or willing – if not for other reasons then out of questionnaire fatigue as UNHS questionnaire take several hours (up to six) to complete – to provide valid recalls. On top of that comes the seasonal specificity of many of these recalls, making the consumption estimates very dependent upon the timing of the interview. The questions upon which the gendered poverty profiles presented in this report are based are mostly simple, categorical questions⁴ and the questionnaire interviews upon which the profiles are based took on average an hour or less to conduct. Thus, the indicators upon which the gendered poverty profiles are based would serve as good candidates for poverty indicators upon which to monitor poverty as called for by the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development in their process of finalizing a poverty monitoring strategy to assess the effectiveness of PEAP implementation.

Fourth, as pointed out by McGee (2000:7), estimating poverty on the basis of consumption data rests on a number of highly questionable assumptions, e.g.

- that consumption increases as a result of increased net income and not as a result of selling assets or contracting debts;
- that increased consumption of all the goods and services inquired about is poverty-reducing, even, for example, alcohol and tobacco, or medication to treat illness or burial expenditures; and
- that increased consumption by one member of the household (which raises overall household consumption) translates into increased well-being or decreased poverty for all members.

If these assumptions are not true, consumption cannot stand alone as a poverty measure. The gendered poverty profiles presented in this report makes no such assumptions, but seeks to measure poverty as described by local informants.

This leads to the fifth and last gap, which the present gendered poverty profiles contribute to fill, namely the need to combine qualitative and quantitative approaches to measure poverty. Through systematic sampling of communities and informants from whom poverty perceptions

⁴ Questions that can be responded by 'yes/no', 'more than/less than', 'type of material', 'type of response to a given situation', etc.

are solicited and careful analysis of the poverty descriptions obtained, the methodology employed for developing the present gendered poverty profiles allows qualitative and essentially location-specific poverty perceptions to be turned into a quantitative and absolute poverty index. This combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches and finding ways of making comparisons of poverty between different locations but based on local understandings of poverty rather than externally defined poverty measures has for long represented a challenge in poverty analysis and monitoring both in Uganda and elsewhere.

The Plan for Modernization of Agriculture (PMA), finally, emphasizes consultation and participation of poor farmers in order to design, implement and monitor the most appropriate and feasible public sector interventions. The present study is in line with this recommendation. It has relied heavily on stakeholder consultations to obtain the necessary information. The PMA also notes that poverty is not a uniform condition affecting all groups of people and locations in the same way. PMA recognizes that some poverty indicators are specific to a given situation such as social or physical isolation, ethnicity and low social capital among others. This study used a methodology that adequately captures some of these features.

PMA notes that in Uganda, women lag behind men in terms of education and income earnings, that women have limited economic opportunities due to their societal roles and responsibilities, that intra-household benefit sharing from the sale of produce often does not favour women. The present research recognizes these gender aspects of poverty and that women's well-being is not synonymous with household well-being. Thus, it uses a methodology that specifically targets issues of women's well-being and which allows a deeper understanding not only of household well-being but also of women's well-being.

In consonance with the PMA, we have finally recognized that external factors, influence poverty. The Context Study conducted alongside the present study provides a rich understanding of the influence of external factors on poverty (cf. footnote 1).

2. Methodology

The methodology for developing gendered district poverty profiles based on local perceptions of well-being was initially developed at the International Centre for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT) and is described in detail in Ravnborg (1999). In the following, a brief description is made of how the methodology was applied in the districts of Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo, supplemented with references to more technical appendices.

This methodology section is important for documentation and full understanding of why and how particular data were collected, and how poverty and gender indicators and indices were derived. It is also required for comparison with other poverty monitoring strategies and for

possible replications elsewhere. However, those readers who are mostly interested in the substantial results as related to the five ASPS pilot districts and the ASPS and its components may initially prefer to go straight to section 3 on Household poverty and gender relations in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts, Uganda, anno 2001. If needed, they may then eventually refer back to the methodology section.

2.1 Identifying local indicators of household and female well-being

2.1.1 Undertaking well-being rankings of households and women in selected sites

At heart of the methodology is the inquiry into local perceptions of poverty (and well-being, its antithesis) through well-being rankings.

Well-being rankings of households and women were undertaken in six communities in each of the five districts, giving a total of thirty communities. The communities were selected using a maximum variation sampling strategy to ensure that as different well-being perceptions as possible would be identified. The community sampling factors were i) agro-ecological zone; ii) population density; iii) ethnicity; iv) health and education facilities; and v) accessibility, i.e. factors that were supposed to condition differences in the perceptions of well-being.

In each community, three to four informants were asked to rank households and another three to four informants were asked to rank women. These informants were also selected so that as different informants as possible would undertake the rankings. The informant sampling factors were i) age; ii) occupation; iii) ethnicity; iv) well-being level (reported on the basis of how the informants were ranked by other informants); v) sex (only for informants for household rankings); and vi) marital status (only for informants for female rankings).

The well-being rankings of households and of women were conducted using the card-sorting method. For each community (LC1), the names of all heads of households were entered onto one set of cards and the names of their wives were entered onto another set of cards. In turns, each of the selected informants were then asked to arrange the cards in heaps according to the perceived well-being of the households and women, respectively. Following the card sorting, the informants were then asked to describe each of the heaps in terms of their well-being. These descriptions of the different well-being levels as well as the rank of each household and woman, respectively were recorded.

The results from the ranking were subsequently analysed. The first step was to ensure that a reasonable level of agreement existed between the three to four rankings of the households/women within each of the communities.⁵ In one community, no pair-wise

⁵ This was done using the Spearman rank order correlation test, available in SPSS.

correlation was found between the rankings of any two of the three informants concerning household well-being. In another three communities for the household well-being rankings and four communities for the female well-being rankings, one of the rankings did not correlate with any of the remaining two rankings conducted in these communities. After ensuring that in neither case, the lack of correlation was due to differences in the perceptions of well-being, but rather due to lack of knowledge about the exact well-being of the households and women, respectively, these rankings were excluded from the further analysis. This leaves a total of 85 valid rankings of households and 87 valid rankings of women out of the total 91 rankings undertaken of respectively household and female well-being.

2.1.2 Translating well-being descriptions into well-being indicators of household and female well-being

The descriptions of the well-being of households and women, respectively, were translated into indicators of well-being by isolating all single statements contained in each description and recording the usage of these statements/indicators. A total of 781 indicators for household well-being and 815 indicators for female well-being were entered into separate matrices, indicating the informant using the indicator, the community where used, and whether it was used to indicate highest, middle or lowest level of well-being. The indicators were grouped according to theme, e.g. land, labour, marital relations, health, etc. Similar indicators were then combined into new indicators. This reduced the numbers of indicators to 352 and 385 for household and female well-being, respectively. The usage of these indicators was analysed with respect to the number of communities in which each indicator is used and the number of times each indicator is used to indicate highest, middle and lowest level of well-being for households and women, respectively. The tables 2.1 and 2.2 lists the most frequently used indicators of household and female well-being, respectively.

Table 2.1 Most frequently used indicators of household well-being

Number of communities where used and number of times used to indicate highest, middle and lowest well-being level

Indicator name	Indicator description	Number of communities where used (N=29 communities)	Number of times used to indicate:		
			highest level of well-being	middle level of well-being	lowest level of well-being
i2892	They depend on agriculture for their income	27	34	42	20
i3209	They work for other people to get income	26	0	19	30
i3333	They do not have enough land	26	4	16	43
i3121	Their houses are made of mud and grass-thatched	25	3	30	44
i2743	They have jobs and/or are professionals e.g. teachers government employees etc.	24	41	14	3
i3176	Have brick-walled houses	24	28	10	1
i401	Some are old	23	0	9	41
i2117	They do not have enough food	23	1	14	27

Indicator name	Indicator description	Number of communities where used (N=29 communities)	Number of times used to indicate:		
			highest level of well-being	middle level of well-being	lowest level of well-being
i3105	Have houses made of bricks and iron roofed	23	46	10	3
i3336	They have big pieces of land e.g. >5 acres	23	42	6	1
i3701	Some are widows	23	3	9	39
i2890	They have non agricultural sources of income	22	31	4	0
i3179	Their houses are weak leaking either roofs or walls	22	0	6	34
i3308	They have less than 5 acres of land	22	22	30	12
i2105	They do not have enough food	21	1	11	22
i3334	They do not have any land	21	0	9	27
i3532	Some have sheep and goats	21	17	21	8
i929	Children only go to UPE schools	20	3	20	22
i2051	They feed well	20	32	16	6
i2914	They are able to look after themselves e.g. manage their homes, pay taxes	20	22	11	0
i3177	They have iron roofed houses	20	16	15	8
i934	Some of their children are educated up to secondary school or even higher	19	24	10	1
i1631	They dress well	19	28	6	1
i2314	They are not healthy e.g. suffer from malaria T.B. HIV/AIDS	19	1	6	21
i2728	Some are farmers	19	10	16	4
i2891	They do not have non-agricultural sources of income	19	0	4	23
i3332	They have land	19	9	13	10
i3529	Some have cattle but less than 5	19	21	23	3
i2118	They have enough food	17	19	6	3
i2804	They get little income	17	0	20	8
3178	Have houses made of mud	17	6	15	6
i402	Most are youths	16	0	13	9
i2052	They do not feed well	16	6	11	22
i2895	They have small shops	16	23	8	0
i2915	They are not able to look after themselves e.g. pay taxes, dowry	16	0	4	16
i3210	They can afford to hire labour	16	19	4	0
i4519	They have sanitary facilities at their homes like latrines and bathrooms	16	22	9	0
i1206	Some grow cassava	15	11	6	7
i1313	They have many children	15	5	7	14
i1632	They do not dress well	15	1	13	17
i4520	They do not have sanitary facilities at their homes like latrines, cleanliness	15	2	6	13
i1208	Some grow maize	14	8	12	3
i2894	They get income from brewing beer/alcohol and/or from having bars	14	7	11	4
i3118	Some have houses made of mud and iron-roofed	14	5	17	5

Indicator name	Indicator description	Number of communities where used (N=29 communities)	Number of times used to indicate:		
			highest level of well-being	middle level of well-being	lowest level of well-being
i3522	Some do not have any animals	14	1	4	12
i3530	Some have pigs	14	9	7	5
i4802	Some are weak	14	0	4	20

Table 2.2 Most frequently used indicators of female well-being

Number of communities where used and number of times used to indicate highest, middle and lowest well-being level

Indicator name	Indicator description	Number of communities where used (N=30 communities)	Number of times used to indicate:		
			highest well-being level	middle well-being level	lowest well-being level
i2770	Sell crops to earn income	28	30	27	17
i3606	Some are widows	28	6	13	40
i1307	Have many children and/or orphans to take care of	27	2	15	35
i3036	The houses are iron-roofed	26	40	29	6
i3073	They have mud-walled houses	26	12	34	38
i1650	They dress shabbily/poorly	25	1	9	32
i3071	They have weak houses	25	4	19	35
i3072	They have brick-walled houses	25	42	16	3
i5566	Women have businesses or shops	24	34	11	2
i1021	Can afford to educate their children	23	25	11	1
i2769	These earn income irregularly e.g. earn little income	23	1	18	20
i3227	They have little land, e.g. 1 acre or less or small plots	23	4	15	31
i3525	Husbands and wives co-operate	23	27	9	2
i1644	Women and/or children dress well	22	41	8	3
i2767	Husbands have well paying jobs e.g. teachers, government employees, taxi drivers, builders	22	29	15	3
i3415	Some have cattle	22	30	11	1
i5561	Women sell part of the crops e.g. food and/or cash crops	22	13	20	12
i1020	Cannot afford to educate their children	21	0	18	21
i2311	They are sickly e.g. constant fevers, T.B, AIDS, mental problems	21	1	5	19
i2772	They earn from businesses e.g. shops, bars and butcheries	21	17	15	3
i3113	They (husband and/or wife) work for other people for income	21	0	10	28
i3731	Husbands support their wives in all ways e.g. buy clothes, livestock etc.	21	28	9	2
i3070	They have strong houses	20	23	18	1

Indicator name	Indicator description	Number of communities where used (N=30 communities)	Number of times used to indicate:		
			highest well-being level	middle well-being level	lowest well-being level
i1236	They farm less and get little output	19	0	9	19
i2114	They have enough food	19	20	8	5
i2768	They have money/regular income	19	24	5	1
i3067	Well planned/well-built houses	19	25	5	1
i3228	Have much land e.g. 5 acres or more, either by ownership, buying more, hire more	19	20	7	2
i3729	Husbands do not support their families e.g. buy food, medical care, school fees	18	0	8	18
i1004	The children can only attend UPE schools	17	2	9	16
i2043	They feed well e.g. meat, milk, sugar, rice	17	24	12	6
i3416	They own small stocks e.g. goats, sheep, pigs	17	18	17	12
i3808	The husbands are drunkards	17	0	7	22
i5119	Women carry all the responsibilities of the home	17	2	10	16
i403	Old aged couple	16	1	2	15
i1421	Some women are hardworking	16	12	10	4
i4817	Get support from their children	16	13	8	4
i5305	Some women are farmers	16	11	10	3
i5562	Women brew and/or sell alcohol	16	15	14	4
i1648	They put on one cloth year after year	15	0	5	14
i2044	They feed poorly	15	0	2	16
i3109	Some women dig for other people to get food and income	15	1	8	16
i3112	They can afford to hire labour	15	17	2	1
i3527	Husbands take the income/money of their wives	15	3	7	14
i3732	Husbands do not give any support to wives	15	0	11	12

2.1.3 Extrapolation analysis

The purpose of the extrapolation analysis was to assess the extent to which the indicators of household and female well-being, respectively, could be considered to be valid for all types of communities (according to the community sampling factors) and for all types of informants (according to the informant sampling factors). Thus, the extrapolation analysis was conducted to assess whether particular household and female well-being indicators were more likely to be used either in communities with specific characteristics or by informants with specific characteristics by group-wise correlating variables representing the use/non-use of thematically related indicators with sets of variables representing the community characteristics and the informant characteristics, respectively, using the non-linear canonical correlation procedure available in SPSS.

Overall, the result from these analyses is that no major patterns of correlation exist between the use/non-use of specific sets of indicators and neither community nor informant characteristics and thus that the indicators can be extrapolated as valid for all types of communities and informants. The most notable exception from this overall conclusion is the use of indicators relating to the use of animal draught power and to crop-specific indicators, like growing coffee, cotton, etc., both of which seem to correlate with agro-ecological zone and ethnicity. However, for the purpose of construction a set of indicators of household poverty, it was not considered necessary to distinguish between the crops grown or sold but rather between different scales of farming as well as the whether the household produces sufficiently to allow for sales. With respect to the use of animal draught power, this is also a crop and thus agro-ecologically dependent technique, since the utility of ox-ploughing obviously is less – if not negative – in more hilly areas and in areas where coffee and plantain/banana cultivation predominates. Thus, this set of indicators was left out of the final set of household poverty indicators.

2.2 Undertaking the questionnaire survey

2.2.1 Sample selection for questionnaire survey

In order to ensure a 95% probability sample with a 5% confidence interval,⁶ the required sample size was determined to be 384 households (Krejcie and Morgan, 1970; here quoted from Bernard, 1994). Thus, it was decided to sample 400 households in each of the five districts.⁷

The households for the questionnaire survey were sampled through a two-step sampling procedure. First a number of LC1s were selected and second, a number of households were selected at random within each of the selected LC1s. In order to ensure a geographical spread of the sample, one LC1 was selected from each sub-county within each of the five survey districts. In the selection of LC1s, it was attempted to ensure the inclusion in the sample of LC1 where either i) well-being rankings had been conducted⁸, ii) HASP was operating, or iii) where UBOS had conducted their National Household Survey. A total of 93 LC1s were included in the sample, i.e. 14 in Kabarole, 19 Tororo and 20 in Masaka, Rakai and Pallisa districts. In each of the selected LC1s, a list of all households in the LC1 was obtained from LC1 officials. This list was used as the sampling frame for the random selection of 20 households⁹ from each sample LC1,

⁶ That is, to be 95% confident that the true proportion say of the poorest households in the district lies within 5% of our sample estimate.

⁷ For three of our five survey districts, namely Kabarole, Masaka and Tororo, UBOS had developed district-level poverty estimates based on district samples of a bit more than 300 households.

⁸ This consideration was made in order to enable the validation of the household poverty index against the rankings initially made by the well-being ranking informants. In six LC1s in Kabarole, 40 households were randomly selected. Well-being rankings had been conducted in six LC1s in each district, making a total of 30 LC1s. However, only 27 of these LC1s were actually included in the questionnaire sample.

⁹ In six LC1s in Kabarole, 40 households were randomly selected.

using a list of random digits, and thereby arriving at the desired total sample size of 400 households per district.

2.2.2 Undertaking the questionnaire survey

The questionnaire was developed so that it would provide information on the most frequently used indicators on household and female well-being as well as on the reach and outcome of ASPS supported interventions.

The actual interviewing for the questionnaire survey was undertaken by enumerators from the districts, who were trained by the MUK research assistants in the use of the questionnaire instrument in a two-day workshop. In each district, 10 male and 10 female enumerators were selected and requested to work in pairs as the questionnaire contains both a general household section and a section specifically directed towards the woman in the household. After the workshop, each enumerator was asked to undertake five to ten questionnaires so as to receive feedback from the MUK research assistants before finalizing the entire set of questionnaires assigned to them. On average, each pair of enumerators conducted approximately 40 questionnaires. The data from the questionnaires was entered into a database in SPSS by the MUK research assistants.

2.3 Developing a measure of household poverty

2.3.1 Household poverty indicators

Guided by the list of most frequently used indicators of household well-being (Table 2.1) showing the extent to which the individual indicators were used to indicate highest, middle or lowest level of well-being a set of 13 household poverty indicators¹⁰ was developed and computed for the five district samples of households (=1998 households). The set of household poverty indicators is described in table 2.3. As can be seen from table 2.3, three levels are considered for most indicators, while for other indicators only two levels are distinguished. This reflects how the informants used the indicators during the well-being rankings. Some indicators were used as gradients, e.g. housing quality to distinguish between good houses, regular houses and poor houses, while others were used to indicate the presence or absence of a specific feature such as severe health problems. Depending on the characteristics of the household as they are revealed through the questionnaire survey, each household receives a score for each indicator. As an example, if a household owns between 10 and 20 acres of land, this household receives a score of '33' on the indicator ILAND, whereas a household which owns less than an acre of land receives a score of '100' on this indicator.

¹⁰ The number of 13 household poverty indicators was not predetermined in any way, but was the number of indicators deemed necessary to adequately reflect the most frequently mentioned aspects of household poverty.

Table 2.3 Household poverty indicators*Scoring system for indicators constituting the household poverty index*

Indicator	Score	Description
ILAND	33	Own (including leasehold, customary tenure and freehold) more than five acres of land
	67	Own (including leasehold, customary tenure and freehold) between one and five acres of land
	100	Do not own land or own less than one acre
INONAG	33	Somebody have “high entry cost” non-agricultural sources of income, like being professionals, having shops or businesses (trading, transport, etc.)
	67	Somebody have non-agricultural sources of income like tailoring, building, crafts-making, brewing beer, making and selling bricks, charcoal etc. or preparing and selling food
	100	Nobody are engaged in non-agricultural sources of income
ILABOUR	33	Nobody from the household work for others as casual labourers
	67	Somebody from the household work for others as casual labourers, but either only three months or less per year or more than three months per year but not more than once a week
	100	Somebody from the household work for others as casual labourers more than three months per year or less than three months per year but almost every day
IANIMAL	33	Somebody in the household has cattle or oxen, possibly together with other animals
	67	Nobody in the household has cattle, but they have other animals (goats, sheep, pigs, chicken, turkeys or rabbits)
	100	Nobody in the household have any animals
IHIRE	33	Hire labourers for at least two of the following tasks: land clearing, ploughing, planting, weeding and harvesting
	67	Do not hire labourers or hire labourers for one task only
IFOOD	33	Have not experienced a period of food shortage within the last year
	67	Have experienced a period of food shortage within the last year which lasted less than two months or which lasted longer but the only recourse that was taken were eating less meat, using farm products rather than buying so much or buying food
	100	Have experienced a period of food shortage within the last year which lasted two months or more
IFEED	33	Bought sugar when they last ran out of sugar, eat meat at least once a month and fry food at least once a week
	67	Either did not buy sugar when they last ran out of sugar, or eat meat less than a month or fry food only occasionally (but not all three conditions at once)
	100	Went without sugar last they ran out of sugar or rarely buy sugar, eat meat less than once a month and fry food occasionally
IHOUSING	33	Have houses with brick or plastered walls and iron or tile roofs
	67	Have houses which might have iron roof, plastered walls or walls of bricks or unburned bricks but not both conditions at once

Indicator	Score	Description
	100	Have houses with walls made of old tins or banana or other leaves and grass-thatched roofs or roofs made of banana or other leaves, old tins or polythene, or have houses that are in need of major repairs
IHEALTH	67	Nobody in the household suffer from T.B., HIV/AIDS, anaemia or chest related diseases or are disabled
	100	Somebody in the household suffer from T.B., HIV/AIDS, anaemia or chest related diseases or are disabled
ISCHOOL	33	Have or have had children at secondary school or higher or have children between 6 and 12 years in private or other schools at the same time as not having any children between 6 and 12 years who are not in school
	67	Have not (had) children in secondary school, and do only have children between 6 and 12 years in UPE school while not having any children between 6 and 12 years who are not in school
	100	Have children between 6 and 12 years who are not in school
IDRESS	33	Woman owns shoes and both the woman and the children got new clothes about three months ago or more recently
	67	Woman either does not own shoes or last got new clothes half a year or more ago or the children last got new clothes half a year ago or more or the woman does not own shoes and last got new clothes more than a year ago but children last got new clothes three months ago or less
	100	Woman does not own shoes and both the woman and the children last got new clothes more than a year ago
IMARITAL	67	Household head is male or a married woman
	100	Household head is a widow or a single or divorced woman
IAGE	67	Either the household head or the wife is below 55 years of age
	100	Both the household head and the wife are 55 years or above

Table 2.4 shows the distribution of the households according to the scores possible for each indicator, as well as the number of households for whom a score has not been assigned. Two reasons exist for not assigning a score to a household: i) either information was missing on one or more of the variables used to compute the score; or ii) the indicator was not applicable to the household, e.g. in the case of the “children’s schooling” indicator for the households who do not have children between 6 and 12 years of age.

Table 2.4 Distribution of households^a according to their scores on the household poverty indicators^b

Number of households by score, by household poverty indicator (variable names in brackets)

Household poverty indicator	Score			Number of households who have not been assigned a score (not applicable or lack of information)
	33	67	100	
Land ownership (ILAND)	430	1160	401	7
Non-agricultural sources of income (INONAG)	585	634	754	25
Day-labouring (ILABOUR)	1091	430	448	29
Animal ownership (IANIMAL)	629	971	361	37
Hiring agricultural labourers (IHIRE)	602	1387	-	9
Food security (IFOOD)	731	393	753	121
Quality of diet (IFEED)	303	1240	344	111
Housing quality (IHOUSING)	422	1266	310	0
Health status (IHEALTH)	-	1442	465	91
Children's schooling (ISCHOOL)	461	779	234	524
Dressing (IDRESS)	274	1294	336	94
Marital status (IMARITAL)	-	1616	381	1
Age (IAGE)	-	1654	182	162

^a Fifty-nine percent of the households had scores assigned on all of these 13 poverty indicators and an additional 30% of the households had scores assigned on 12 of the 13 indicators. The lowest number of indicators according to which any household had valid scores was seven, and only 0.2% (=4) of the households had scores assigned only on seven of the 13 indicators.

^b Table 2.3 provides the meaning of the scores for each of the household poverty indicators

2.3.2 Household poverty index

Based on these household poverty indicators, a household's poverty index was computed as the average of the scores that the household has received on each of these 13 indicators. The values of this index range from 41.5 indicating the lowest level of poverty in the sample to 91.75 indicating the highest level of poverty in the sample, with a mean of 66.2.

2.3.3 Examining the internal and external logic of the household poverty index

In order to examine how each of the 13 poverty indicators contribute to overall household poverty index, and thereby check the 'internal logic' of the household poverty index, figure 2.1 shows the average poverty index values for each of the options on the 13 household poverty indicators. For the 430 households who had been assigned the score of '33' according to the land ownership indicator (ILAND), the average household poverty index was 59.4. The figure shows that the indicators on age, marital status and to a lesser extent health status primarily serve as indicators of highest level of poverty (the deviation from the global mean is larger for the

households receiving a score of ‘100’ than that for the households receiving a score of ‘67’) while the indicator on hiring labourers serves as an indicator of low level of poverty. The remaining indicators serve to differentiate between all three levels of poverty. Thus, it can be concluded that the indicators contribute as they were intended to, i.e. that the household poverty index has internal logic.

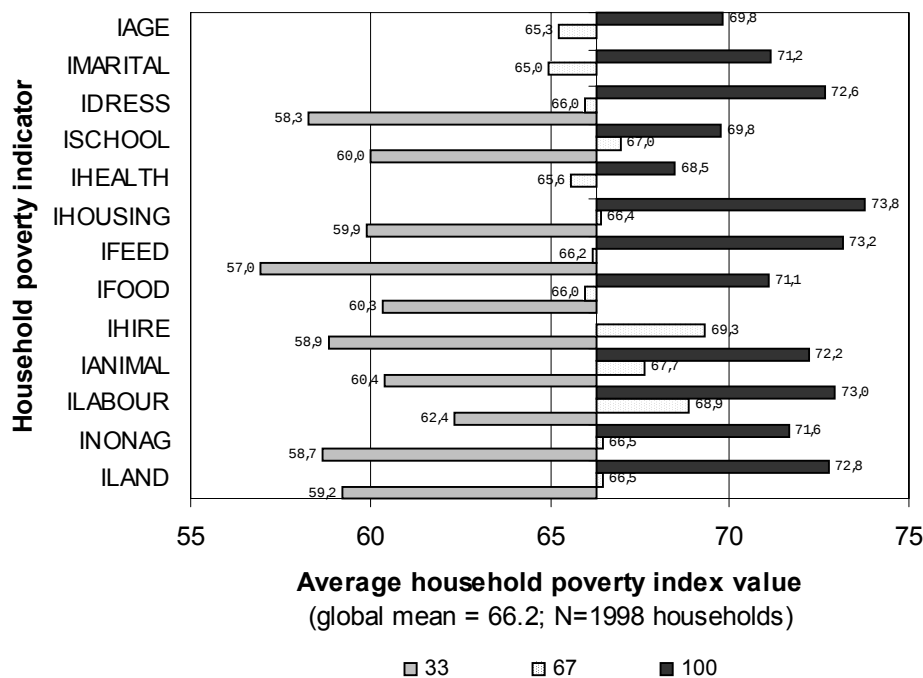


Figure 2.1 Average household poverty index value by options (score) on the 13 household poverty indicators

Before accepting the household poverty index, it is, however, also necessary to examine its ‘external logic’, i.e. the extent to which it captures the differences in well-being stated in the well-being rankings. Ideally, it should be possible to check the external logic of the household poverty index by examining the extent to which it correlates with the well-being scores calculated at the basis of the well-being rankings for the households about whom information exist both from the well-being rankings and from the questionnaire survey. In our case, such information exists for 506 households. However, since these are distributed among 27 different communities and the correlation analysis between the household poverty index and the ranking-based well-being score has to be conducted at the community level, this means that in some communities the number of households is too small or that the distribution of households among the ranking-based well-being categories is too skewed to undertake any meaningful test of significance. As an alternative, the variation in the household poverty index is examined as a function of the ranking-based well-being categories. Hence the examination of the external logic has to be undertaken as combination of statistical analysis of correlation between the household poverty index and the ranking-based well-being score (see table 2.5).

Overall, the conclusion from the examination of the external logic of the household poverty index is that it reflects the well-being rankings and thus the perceptions of well-being expressed by the informant interviewed. Only in four communities, the pattern of association between the household poverty index and the ranking-based well-being score and categories is different from what would be expected and thus calls for a closer examination of the descriptions of well-being made in these four communities (please see below) in order to find out whether important aspects have been missed out or misinterpreted in the process of constructing the household poverty indicators and the index. Since this does not seem to be the case, we can conclude that household poverty index reflects the well-being rankings.

2.3.4 Defining household poverty categories

After confirming the validity of the household poverty index, limits should be identified to enable the distinction between three levels of poverty. Table 2.5 – and particularly the values of the 25 and 75 percentiles for the ranking-based well-being categories – and an examination of the combination of indicator scores giving rise to index-values in the presumed border areas between the poverty categories provide guidance for this task. Based on this guidance, the category of households characterized as ‘better-off’ contains households having an index value below 61.6, the category of ‘less poor’ households consists of household having an index value between 61.6 and 71.99, while the category of ‘poorest’ household consists of household having an index value of 72 or higher.

Table 2.5 Comparison between the constructed household well-being index and the ranking-based well-being categories

Number of households included both in the well-being rankings and in the questionnaire sample by ranking-based well-being categories and the 25 and 75 percentiles for the household well-being index by ranking-based well-being categories

LC1	Number of households included both in the well-being rankings and in the questionnaire sample by well-being level as determined in the well-being rankings			Household well-being index – 25 and 75 percentiles by well-being level as determined in the well-being rankings		
	highest	middle	lowest	highest	middle	lowest
116**	8	22	10	55.5-61.5	59.0-75.3	80.0-87.3
125 ¹	6	8	6	57.8-75.1	64.9-68.9	67.5-80.9
130**	0	14	5	-	69.4-75.6	72.2-83.5
202**	8	7	3	53.9-64.9	61.3-77.0	69.5-75.9
203**	4	7	8	50.3-64.7	53.9-66.9	66.8-77.8
210**	6	11	3	49.9-64.9	64.2-74.5	69.6-80.7
211**	7	6	7	53.9-59.1	57.9-67.6	69.7-78.0
212*	5	8	6	62.4-69.4	58.5-69.0	74.4-82.3
215 ¹	10	8	2	50.8-59.0	54.6-63.3	55.7-68.9
301**	2	8	10	56.5-57.8	66.9-75.0	71.4-77.6
306 ¹	0	9	11	-	56.5-72.0	64.2-69.4
307 ¹	1	4	15	-	59.7-74.6	61.6-74.5
310 ¹	4	16	0	50.6-70.7	59.7-66.9	-
314 ²	4	9	7	61.6-77.8	56.5-71.9	56.5-72.4
321 ¹	1	7	12	-	51.3-72.0	64.9-74.5
406**	4	12	4	53.1-59.1	55.0-69.4	75.0-84.8
407*	4	12	4	51.3-63.5	56.5-66.8	64.3-69.4
412 ²	5	5	1	60.0-74.3	52.6-68.4	-
413*	3	5	7	55.6-64.0	57.7-65.4	64.0-79.4
415 ¹	2	7	4	55.6-61.2	61.7-77.2	70.3-74.0
420 ²	4	5	2	66.4-77.4	69.4-75.9	69.6-72.4
503 ²	4	10	6	64.8-77.0	67.4-85.1	66.1-81.1
505 ¹	3	8	9	48.7-72.5	69.4-78.6	66.8-82.9
506 ¹	2	17	1	61.7-65.5	64.0-72.0	-
507**	4	9	7	46.7-59.6	53.3-65.1	64.2-77.1
509 ¹	0	1	1	-	-	-
513**	4	12	4	50.0-76.5	61.6-75.2	75.5-85.9

* Significant correlation between ranking-based score and indicator-based household well-being index at 0.05 level (2-tailed) (Spearman's rank order correlation test).

** Significant correlation between the ranking-based well-being score and the indicator-based household well-being index at 0.01 level (2-tailed) (Spearman's rank order correlation test).

¹ Although positively correlated, there is no significant correlation between the ranking-based well-being score and the indicator-based household well-being index. This is partly due to a small number of observations (e.g. households), partly due to an uneven distribution of the households along the ranking-based well-being score.

² Due to negative correlation (though not significant) between ranking-based well-being score and indicator-based household well-being index, the well-being descriptions were carefully examined to ensure that the aspects mentioned are covered by the indicators constituting the household well-being index.

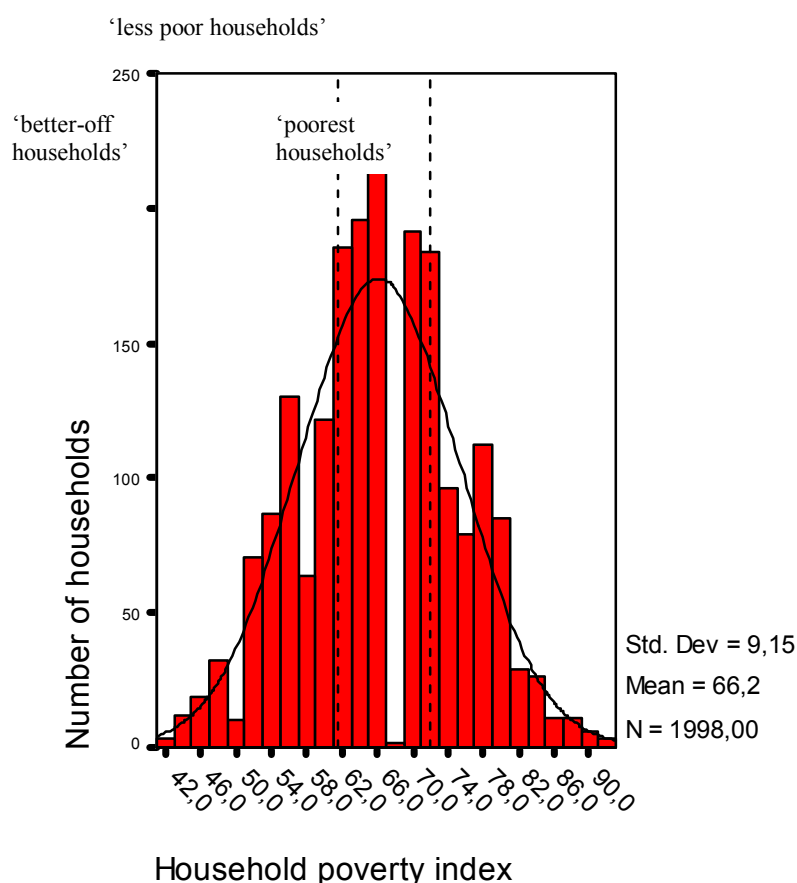


Figure 2.2 Distribution of households according to the household poverty index

Number of households; dotted lines indicate limits between the categories of 'better-off households', 'less poor households' and 'poorest households'

2.4 Developing a measure of the relationship between husband and wife

“Some have husbands who have money. They are mostly farmers and business women and they are involved in many women group activities. Most of their husbands do not interfere with how they spend the income from their projects. Their husbands are very hard working.” *(description of women ranked as enjoying a high level of well-being in Matale Kalagala, Kalisizo sub-county, Rakai district)*

“Husbands are mostly drunkards. Their houses are grass-thatched, and they are always struggling for the survival of the children. The husbands do not care much about their wives. Clothes are out of a very big struggle, some times wearing a cloth for a very long time, like a week, without change” *(description of women ranked as enduring a low level of well-being in Gwanda, Kyebe sub-county, Rakai district)*

As these two quotations from the female well-being ranking interviews illustrate (and as reflected in the list of most frequently indicators of female well-being (see Table 2.2), female well-being is perceived as the combined result of two elements, namely i) the general state of well-being of the household as such (e.g. sources of income not only of the woman but also of other household members, notably the husband, housing quality, and ability to acquire new dresses as mentioned in the above quotations) and ii) the relationships within the household, notably the relationship between husband and wife (woman's engagement in own income-generating activities, woman's ability to influence decision making, husband's responsibility towards the family as mentioned in the above quotations). Conceptually, this makes a lot of sense and has a lot in common e.g. with the framework proposed by Kabeer (1999) for understanding women's empowerment. Methodologically, however, for the attempt to develop a measure, i.e. an index of female well-being like the above index of household poverty, it poses a problem, because the relative weight given to these two aspects by the informants in their rankings of female well-being varied considerably. Thus a continuum exists ranging from informants who perceive female well-being as almost synonymous with household well-being¹¹ to informants who perceive female well-being exclusively as a function of the relationship between husband and wife. Since this variation is not found to be systematic in any way, it complicates – if not prevents – the development of a single index, which captures the way in which women were ranked according to their well-being. While the aspects relating to household well-being emphasized in the rankings of female well-being are already reflected in the household poverty index described above, a new set of indicators and a corresponding index is needed to reflect the element of the relationship between husband and wife, featuring in the perceptions of female well-being. In the following, we refer to this element in terms of the equality of gender relations within the household.

2.4.1 Indicators of gender relations within the household

Based on the list of the most frequently used indicators of female well-being (table 2.2), a set of five indicators of gender relations within the household was developed and computed for the households with both a male and a female member. This excludes households headed by a single man or women. The total number of households for which the gender relations indicators are computed is 1509 or 76% of the total sample. The set of gender relations indicators is described in table 2.6. The first indicator, IDECIDE, reflects the extent to which the woman has a say on decision making with respect to how to spend income earned from sale of crops or animal products, while the second indicator, IEXPEND, measures the extent to which the husband contributes to basic household expenditures, namely for buying basic commodities like food, salt and sugar, paraffin and soap, medical expenditures and, to the extent the household has children between 6 and 12 years of age, clothes for children. The three remaining indicators reflect the woman's access to sources of income (agricultural and non-agricultural) (IFSOURCE) and means of production (i.e. land (IFASLAND) and animals (IFANIMAL)).

¹¹ - including using the same indicators as can be observed by comparing Table 2.1 and Table 2.2 listing the most frequently used indicators of household and female well-being, respectively.

Table 2.6 Gender relations indicators

Scoring system for indicators constituting the gender relations index (text in italics refer to the variable names and codes in the questionnaire data base and shows how the indicator was computed)

Indicator	Score	Description
IDECIDE	33	Married woman decides together with husband (or other household members) or on her own how to spend proceeds from sales of own crops, crops from shared fields, from husbands fields or own sales of animal products
	67	Married woman has no influence on how to spend proceeds from sales of own crops, crops from shared fields, from husbands fields or own sales of animal products
IEXPEND	33	Husband contributes to all of the following household expenditure categories: food, paraffin/soap, salt/sugar, children's education (if household has children between 6 and 12 years of age), children's clothes (if household has children below 18 years of age) and medical expenditures
	67	Husband contributes to at least one of the following household expenditure categories: food, paraffin/soap, salt/sugar, children's education, children's clothes and medical expenditures
	100	Husband does not contribute to any of the following household expenditure categories: food, paraffin/soap, salt/sugar, children's education, children's clothes and medical expenditures or he does not sell crops from own or shared fields or animal products
IFSOURCE	33	Woman has "high entry cost" non-agricultural sources of income, like being professionals, having shops or businesses (trading, transport, etc.) or receives help (remittances) from children or she sells milk
	67	Woman sells own crops or own animal products or she has non-agricultural sources of income like tailoring, building, crafts-making, brewing beer, making and selling bricks, charcoal etc. or preparing and selling food
	100	Woman does not sell own crops, milk or other animal products and she is not engaged in any non-agricultural sources of income
IFASLAND	67	Woman has access to land
	100	Woman does not have access to land
IFANIMAL	67	Woman owns animals (cattle, oxen, goats/sheep, pigs, chicken, turkeys, rabbits)
	100	Woman does not own any animals

Table 2.7 shows the distribution of the households according to the scores possible for each indicator, as well as the number of households for whom a score has not been assigned.

Table 2.7 Distribution of households^a (N= 1509) according to gender relations within the household^b

Number of women by score, by gender relations indicator (variable names in brackets)

Gender relations indicator	Score			Number of households who have not been assigned a score (not applicable or lack of information)
	33	67	100	
Woman's influence on how to spend income from crop sale or sale of animal products (IDECIDE)	895	295	-	319 ^c
Husband's contribution to household expenditures (IEXPEND)	356	882	238	33
Woman's sources of income (IFSOURCE)	194	818	490	7
Woman's access to land (IFASLAND)	-	813	681	15
Woman's ownership of animals (IFANIMAL)	-	810	667	32

^a Seventy-six percent of the households had scores assigned on all of these five gender relations indicators and an additional 22% of the households had scores assigned on four of the five indicators.

^b Table 2.3 provides the meaning of the scores for each of the gender relations indicators

^c The large number of households who have not been assigned a score on the indicator IDECIDE is due to these households not selling any crops.

2.4.2 Gender relations index

Based on these gender relations indicators, a gender relations index was computed as the average of the scores that the household has received on each of these five indicators. The values of this index range from 46.6 indicating the highest level of gender equality in the sample to 100 indicating the lowest level of gender equality in the sample, with a mean of 70.5 (see figure 2.3).

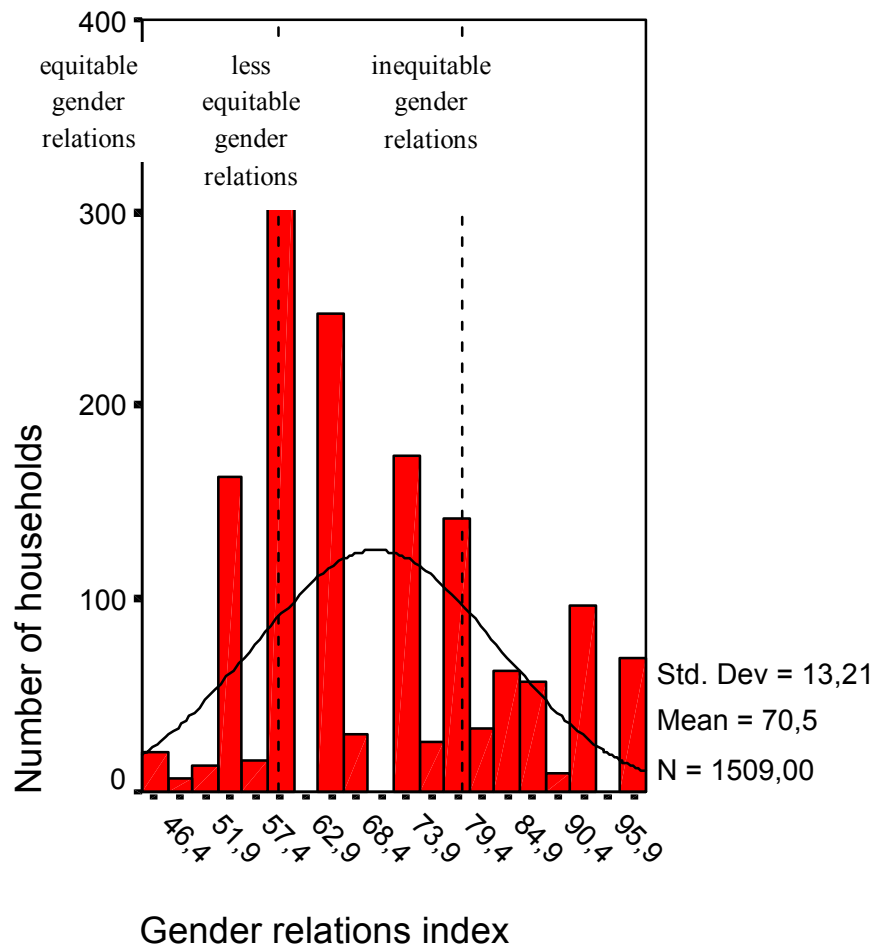


Figure 2.3 Distribution of households according to the gender relations index

Number of households; dotted lines indicate limits between the categories of 'equitable', 'less equitable' and 'inequitable' households with respect to gender relations

Since the importance attached to equality of gender relations *vis-à-vis* overall household well-being varied greatly among the informants in their perceptions and rankings of female well-being, the testing of the external validity of the gender relations index, i.e. its degree of correlation with the way in which women were ranked in the female well-being rankings, makes little sense.¹² Thus, only the testing of the internal logic of the gender relations index and its constituting indicators has been performed. Figure 2.4 shows the average gender relations index values for each of the options on the five gender relations indicators. For the 895 households who had been assigned the score of '33' according to the decision-making indicator (IDECIDE),

¹² An attempt to correlate the gender relations index with the ranking-based female well-being score showed no statistically significant correlation in any of the 26 communities for which valid data existed, while in four communities, statistically significant (at the 0.05 level) correlation was found between the household poverty index and the ranking-based female well-being score (Spearman's rank order correlation test). The gender relations index and the household poverty index are significantly correlated at the 0.01 level (two-tailed) (Spearman's rank order correlation test).

the average gender relations index was 62.6, while the 295 households who had been assigned the score of ‘67’ according to this indicator had an average gender relations index value of 76.6. Overall, the five indicators contribute as would be expected – and as they were used by the informants during the rankings of female well-being – and thus the internal logic of the gender relations index can be confirmed.

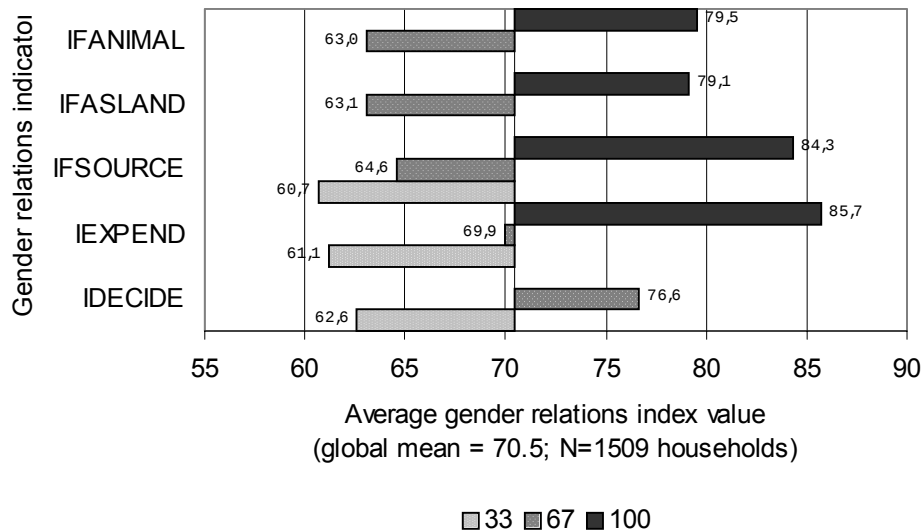


Figure 2.4 Average gender relations index value by options (score) on the five gender relations indicators

2.4.3 Defining levels of equality of gender relations

Based on an examination of the combination of indicator scores giving rise to different index-values compared with the way the indicators were used during the female well-being rankings (see Table 2.2), three levels of equality in gender relations within the households were defined. The category of households having ‘equitable’ gender relations contains households having an gender relations index value of 60 or less; the category of households with ‘less equitable’ gender relations consists of household having an gender relations index value between 60 and 80; while the category of household with ‘inequitable’ gender relations consists of household having an gender relations index value above 80 (see Figure 2.3).

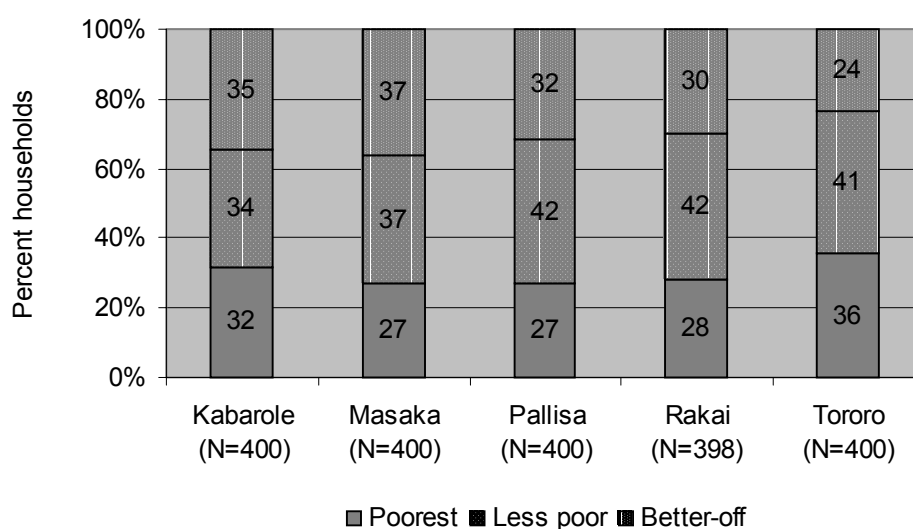
In the following sections, the household poverty categories and the categories reflecting equality in gender relations are used to draw gendered poverty profiles of the populations of the five ASPSP pilot districts of Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo.

3. Household poverty and gender relations in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo Districts, Uganda, 2001

3.1 Household poverty

Overall, Masaka is the district with the smallest proportion of its population being categorized as 'poorest' (27%) and with the largest proportion being categorized as 'better-off' (37%) whereas, at the other end of the scale, Tororo is the district with the highest proportion of its population being characterized as 'poorest' (36%) and the smallest proportion being characterized as 'better-off' (24%) (see figure 3.1).

This pattern coincides with the overall trend emerging from the 1999/2000 National Household Survey, which estimates the proportion of poor people to be lowest in the Central Region (includes Masaka and Rakai) at 20%, followed by the Western Region, which includes Kabarole, at 28%, and highest in the Eastern Region, which entails Pallisa and Tororo, at 37% of the population being characterized as 'poor' (Appleton, 2001).



**** Significant correlation between poverty level and district at 0.01 level (Pearson's chi-square)**

Figure 3.1 Poverty level by district, Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts, Uganda**

Percent households per district, by poverty level

However, in absolute terms, i.e. in terms of numbers of persons, a somewhat different picture emerges. Based on the 1991 population census (Mugisha, 1998) and the proportions listed in figure 3.1, table 3.1 provides a rough estimate of the numbers of better-off, less poor and poorest

persons in the five districts. Due to their larger populations, Kabarole district, followed by Masaka, are the districts with the biggest population of ‘poorest’ persons, counting 237,000 and 225,000 persons, respectively.

Table 3.1 Number of ‘better-off’, ‘less poor’ and ‘poorest’ persons by district, Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts, Uganda

’000 persons per district by poverty level

Poverty level	District				
	Kabarole	Masaka	Pallisa	Rakai	Tororo
Better-off ^a	261	306	114	114	131
Less poor ^a	256	309	150	160	227
Poorest ^a	237	225	97	107	199
Total ^b	747	839	358	384	556

^a Number of persons is estimated on the basis of relative poverty level distribution shown in figure 3.1 and the 1991 population census estimate of population size (Mugisha 1998)

^b 1991 population census estimate of population size (Mugisha 1998)

In the following, profiles are drawn of the better-off, the less poor and the poorest households in the five districts based on the poverty indicators which emerged from the local descriptions well-being rankings and which constitute the household poverty index. The profiles show that while based on the poverty measure, poverty and well-being have different faces in the five districts. The profiles are organized in three general sections, namely i) demographic features; ii) sources of livelihood; and iii) needs satisfaction.

Implicit in many of the aspects discussed are the dimensions of vulnerability, social shame and prestige, relations of dependency etc. Working as a casual labourer does not only imply a specific source of livelihood; it also implies dependency upon others and acceptance of low status employment. Poor dressing, e.g. not owning shoes, does not only imply physical discomfort but also social shame by having to appear bare-footed at public events.

3.1.1 Demographic characteristics

Demographic features – more specifically the marital status of the household head and the age of the household head and spouse – constitute the final general aspect, which emerged from the local descriptions of well-being. Households headed by singles, particularly widows, were generally perceived as disfavoured, just as old age was often seen to reinforce other conditions associated with low levels of well-being. The following section describes the better-off, the less poor and the poorest households with respect to their marital status and age of household head in the five districts.

Marital status of household head (IMARITAL)

Table 3.2 describes the marital status of the household heads by poverty level in the five districts. It distinguishes between married household heads (both male and female) and female household heads who are either singles, divorced or widowed.

Table 3.2 Marital status of household head by household poverty level in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo.

Percent households per poverty level (IMARITAL)

Option	District ^a	Poverty level ^b			All poverty levels
		better-off	less poor	poorest	
<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Kabarole</i>	<i>138</i>	<i>136</i>	<i>126</i>	<i>400</i>
	<i>Masaka</i>	<i>146</i>	<i>146</i>	<i>107</i>	<i>399</i>
	<i>Pallisa</i>	<i>121</i>	<i>165</i>	<i>114</i>	<i>400</i>
	<i>Rakai</i>	<i>118</i>	<i>166</i>	<i>114</i>	<i>398</i>
	<i>Tororo</i>	<i>94</i>	<i>163</i>	<i>143</i>	<i>400</i>
Household head is male or a married woman	Kabarole	86	79	61	76
	Masaka	84	70	47	69
	Pallisa	96	93	86	92
	Rakai	91	77	65	78
	Tororo	99	94	80	90
Household head is a widow or a single or divorced woman	Kabarole	15	21	39	24
	Masaka	16	30	53	31
	Pallisa	4	7	14	9
	Rakai	9	23	35	22
	Tororo	1	6	20	10

^a Significant correlation between the district and marital status at 0.01 level for all the poverty levels (Pearson chi-square test)

^b Significant correlation between the poverty levels and marital status at 0.01 level in Kabarole, Masaka, Rakai and Tororo and at 0.05 level for Pallisa (Pearson chi-square test)

Masaka is the district with the highest proportion of households (31%) headed by women who are either single, divorced or widowed while Pallisa is the district with the lowest incidence of households (9%) headed by single, divorced or widowed women. As reflected in the well-being descriptions provided by local informants in the five districts, households headed by single, divorced or widowed women are more likely to be among the poorest households. Again Masaka and Pallisa represent the extremes: More than half of the poorest households in Masaka are headed by single, divorced or widowed women whereas only 14% of the poorest households in Pallisa are headed by single, divorced or widowed women. However, as much as 30% of the less poor households and 16% of the better-off households in Masaka are headed by single, divorced or widowed women. Despite the overall significant association between marital status of household head and poverty level, using single female headship as a proxy is not sufficient for targeting the poorest households partly because a considerable part of the poorest households in all the five districts are male headed, partly because a considerable part of the households headed by single, divorced and widowed women do not belong to the category of poorest households.

Age of household head and spouse (IAGE)

Overall, very few households are headed by couples above 55 years of age, namely only between 6% and 12% of the households in the five districts. Despite the emphasis placed on old age as a descriptor of the households of the lowest levels of well-being by local well-being ranking

informants, table 3.3 shows that only in Tororo district, significant correlation was found between age of the household head and spouse as poverty level, with 21% of the poorest households being headed by couples above 55 years of age as compared to this being the case for only 3% of the better-off households in Tororo.

Table 3.3 Age by household poverty level in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo
Percent households per poverty level (IAGE)

Option	District ^a	Poverty level ^b			All poverty levels
		better-off	less poor	Poorest	
<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Kabarole</i>	<i>131</i>	<i>118</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>349</i>
	<i>Masaka</i>	<i>140</i>	<i>126</i>	<i>78</i>	<i>344</i>
	<i>Pallisa</i>	<i>126</i>	<i>157</i>	<i>99</i>	<i>382</i>
	<i>Rakai</i>	<i>117</i>	<i>148</i>	<i>98</i>	<i>363</i>
	<i>Tororo</i>	<i>94</i>	<i>163</i>	<i>141</i>	<i>398</i>
Either the household head or the wife is below 55 years of age	Kabarole	91	92	90	91
	Masaka	96	94	89	94
	Pallisa	93	92	85	91
	Rakai	91	87	86	88
	Tororo	97	90	79	88
Both the household head and the wife are 55 years or above	Kabarole	9	8	10	9
	Masaka	4	6	12	6
	Pallisa	7	8	15	9
	Rakai	9	14	14	12
	Tororo	3	10	21	12

^a No significant correlation between districts and age for any of the poverty levels (Pearsons chi-square test)

^b Significant correlation between the poverty levels and age at the 0.01 level for Tororo district, only (Pearsons chi-square test)

3.1.2 Household sources of livelihood/income

There is a considerable difference among the better off, less poor and the poorest households in the five districts with respect to how they derive their livelihood. The following section depicts how households of different poverty levels derive their livelihood in the five districts.

Land ownership (ILAND)

Table 3.4 presents the distribution of land by poverty level in the five districts. The table distinguishes between three categories of land ownership, namely owning more than five acres of land, owning between one and five acres of land, and owning no land or having less than one acre.

Table 3.4 Land ownership by household poverty level in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts

Percent households per poverty level (ILAND)

Option	District ^a	Poverty level ^b			All poverty levels
		better-off	less poor	Poorest	
<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Kabarole</i>	<i>136</i>	<i>136</i>	<i>126</i>	<i>398</i>
	<i>Masaka</i>	<i>147</i>	<i>147</i>	<i>106</i>	<i>400</i>
	<i>Pallisa</i>	<i>129</i>	<i>163</i>	<i>108</i>	<i>400</i>
	<i>Rakai</i>	<i>120</i>	<i>162</i>	<i>112</i>	<i>394</i>
	<i>Tororo</i>	<i>94</i>	<i>163</i>	<i>142</i>	<i>399</i>
Own > 5 acres of land	Kabarole	40	15	2	20
	Masaka	35	9	3	17
	Pallisa	50	22	7	27
	Rakai	37	12	2	17
	Tororo	54	26	11	28
Own < 5 and > 1 acre of land	Kabarole	51	59	44	51
	Masaka	56	61	55	57
	Pallisa	44	67	60	58
	Rakai	58	77	70	69
	Tororo	44	64	55	56
Do not own land or own < 1 acre of land	Kabarole	9	26	54	29
	Masaka	9	31	43	26
	Pallisa	6	12	32	16
	Rakai	5	11	29	14
	Tororo	2	10	34	17

^a Significant correlation between district and land distribution at the 0.01 level for the less poor and the poorest households and at the 0.05 level for the better-off households (Pearson chi-square test).

^b Significant correlation between poverty level and land distribution in all districts at the 0.01 level (Pearson chi-square test).

Overall, land appears to be significantly more scarce in Kabarole and more easily available in Tororo. Whereas 29% of all households in Kabarole and 26% in Masaka own one acre or less, this is the case for between 14% and 17% of the households in Tororo, Pallisa and Rakai. In Pallisa and Tororo, 27-28% of all households own more than five acres of land, while this is the case for less than 21% in the remaining three districts. Finally, Rakai stands out as the district with the largest proportion of households, namely 69%, owning between one and five acres as compared with between 51% and 58% in the remaining four districts.

As would be expected, the better-off households are significantly more likely to own large extensions of land. Between one third and half of the better-off households (ranging from 35% in Masaka to 54% in Tororo) own more than five acres of land, whereas this is the case for less than a quarter of the less poor households (ranging from 9% in Masaka to 26% in Tororo) and almost none of the poorest households (ranging from 2% in Rakai and Kabarole to 11% in Tororo).

With the exception of Kabarole, the majority of the poorest households own between one and five acres of land. Of the poorest households, between 44% (in Kabarole) and 70% (in Rakai) own between one and five acres of land. This is also the case for the majority of the less poor households of whom 59% in Kabarole and 77% in Rakai own between one and five acres of land.

Kabarole is the district with the largest proportion of households being landless or close to landless. As mentioned above, almost one third of all households in Kabarole (29%) own one acre or less and for the poorest households, this is the case for more than half (54%), as compared with between 29% (Rakai) and 43% (Masaka) of the poorest households in the remaining districts. Only an insignificant proportion of the better-off households are landless or close to landless, ranging from 9% in Kabarole to 2% in Tororo.

Non-agricultural sources of income (INONAG)

Although agriculture beyond doubt is the most common and important source of livelihood to the majority of households in the five districts, having non-agricultural sources of income was a feature, which was often mentioned in the well-being rankings as associated with higher levels of well-being. Having non-agricultural sources of income in an agriculturally based economy constitutes a means to reduce the income variations caused by factors such as climatic and market fluctuations. Table 3.5 summarizes the extent to which the better-off, the less poor and the poorest households are engaged in different types of non-agricultural sources of income in the five districts. Two types of non-agricultural sources of income were identified: i) those having high entry barriers, but often also involving higher or more stable earnings, like being a professional, owning a shop or an equivalent business and ii) income sources involving lower entry barriers such as tailoring, building, crafts-making, beer brewing or preparing and selling food, bricks, etc.

Overall, more than two-thirds of all households in the five districts have some sort of non-agricultural sources of income. This figure, however, covers a great difference between the better-off, the less poor and the poorest households in all the districts. Whereas more than 80% of the better-off have non-agricultural sources of income, this is the case of approximately two-thirds of the less poor and only between one-fourth and one-third of the poorest households.

Table 3.5 Non-agricultural sources of income by household poverty level in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts
Percent households per poverty level (INONAG)

Option	District ^a	Poverty level ^b			All poverty levels
		better-off	less poor	poorest	
<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Kabarole</i>	<i>135</i>	<i>133</i>	<i>122</i>	<i>390</i>
	<i>Masaka</i>	<i>146</i>	<i>147</i>	<i>106</i>	<i>399</i>
	<i>Pallisa</i>	<i>129</i>	<i>163</i>	<i>108</i>	<i>400</i>
	<i>Rakai</i>	<i>121</i>	<i>163</i>	<i>112</i>	<i>396</i>
	<i>Tororo</i>	<i>91</i>	<i>161</i>	<i>136</i>	<i>388</i>
Someone in the household having “high entry barrier” non-agricultural sources of income, like being professionals, having shops or businesses (trading, transport etc.)	Kabarole	68	29	5	35
	Masaka	62	32	4	35
	Pallisa	54	18	3	26
	Rakai	73	24	5	33
	Tororo	43	19	3	19
Someone in the household having sources of income like tailoring, building, crafts-making, beer brewing, brick-making, charcoal production or preparing and selling food	Kabarole	16	32	21	23
	Masaka	27	32	35	31
	Pallisa	30	44	23	34
	Rakai	17	50	35	36
	Tororo	40	44	28	37
Nobody in the household is engaged in non-agricultural sources of income	Kabarole	16	39	75	42
	Masaka	11	36	61	34
	Pallisa	16	37	74	41
	Rakai	11	26	61	31
	Tororo	18	37	69	44

^a Significant correlation between the district and non-agricultural sources of income at the 0.01 level, for the better-off and less poor households. No significant correlation between district and non-agricultural sources of income for the poorest households (Pearson chi-square test).

^b Significant correlation between the poverty levels and non-agricultural sources of income at the 0.01 level in all the five districts (Pearson chi-square test).

Considering the different types on non-agricultural sources of employment, households in the districts of Kabarole, Masaka and Rakai are more likely to have high “entry barrier” sources of income like professional jobs and businesses (over 30% of the households), than households in Pallisa (26%) and Tororo (19%). At the same time, Tororo, Kabarole and Pallisa districts have the highest percentage of households without non-agricultural sources of income, ranging from 44% in Tororo to 41% in Pallisa while in the other two districts about a third of the households (Masaka 34% and Rakai 31%) do not have any non-agricultural sources of income.

Besides being the most likely to have non-agricultural sources of income, the better-off households are also the most likely to have the more attractive and high entry barrier types of non-agricultural sources of income like being professionals or running businesses, which is not surprising considering the high entry barriers as well as returns from sources like professional jobs, shops and businesses are engaged in such sources of income. Rakai district shows the

highest percentage (73%) of better-off households having high entry barrier sources of income, followed by Kabarole and Masaka with 68% and 62% respectively, whereas in Pallisa and Tororo the corresponding percentages are down to 54% and 43%, respectively. Only insignificant proportions of the poorest households have high entry barrier sources of income, ranging from 5% in Kabarole to 3% in Tororo.

Rather than being professionals or running businesses, the better-off households in Tororo and Pallisa are engaged in lower entry barrier sources of income like tailoring, building, beer-brewing etc. Around a third of the better-off households in these two districts (40% and 30%, respectively), are engaged in such sources of income as compared to 27% in Masaka, 17% in Rakai and 16% in Kabarole districts. These sources of income are also relatively more frequent among the less poor households in Pallisa, Tororo and Rakai, counting between 44% and 50% of the less poor households.

Thus, the better-off households are not only the most firmly based in agriculture in terms of land ownership; they are also more likely to have more attractive non-agricultural sources of income and thus to benefit from the potential gains from the interaction between these two income sources. In Tororo, however, and to some extent in Pallisa, they are much more firmly based in land ownership and less in high barrier non-agricultural incomes than in the other districts.

Casual labouring (ILABOUR)

In the well-being ranking, having to work for others as a casual labourer was unanimously mentioned as an indicator of the lowest level of well-being. This association of working as a casual labourer with the lowest level of well-being is partly due to such work being poorly remunerated, partly due to the dependency and low social status associated with accepting such employment, particularly among the Baganda. Table 3.6 presents the distribution of casual labouring by poverty level in the five districts. Three levels of household dependence on casual labouring are distinguished: i) no dependence, where nobody in the household has worked for others as a casual labourer during the past year; ii) intermediate dependence, where somebody in the households has worked as a casual labourer for three months or less during the past year or has worked more than three months during the past year but not more than once a week; and iii) high dependence where somebody from the household has worked as a casual labourer for more than three months during the last year or for less than three months but almost every day.

Table 3.6 Casual labouring by household poverty level in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts

Percent households per poverty level (ILABOUR)

Option	District ^a	Poverty level ^b			All poverty levels
		better-off	less poor	poorest	
<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Kabarole</i>	135	131	123	389
	<i>Masaka</i>	147	146	107	399
	<i>Pallisa</i>	129	163	108	400
	<i>Rakai</i>	120	162	113	395
	<i>Tororo</i>	86	160	140	386
Nobody from the household works for others as a casual labourer	Kabarole	94	68	29	65
	Masaka	91	68	36	68
	Pallisa	78	34	14	43
	Rakai	90	70	38	67
	Tororo	64	36	16	35
Somebody from the household works as a casual labourer, but either only three months or less per year or more than three months per year but not more than once a week	Kabarole	2	16	24	14
	Masaka	7	23	34	20
	Pallisa	16	34	24	26
	Rakai	8	19	22	16
	Tororo	24	38	34	34
Somebody from the household works for others as a casual labourer more than three months per year or less than three months per year but almost everyday	Kabarole	4	16	47	22
	Masaka	3	9	30	12
	Pallisa	6	33	62	32
	Rakai	3	12	40	17
	Tororo	12	26	49	31

^a Significant correlation between the districts and casual labouring at the 0.01 level for all the poverty levels (Pearson chi-square test).

^b Significant correlation between the poverty levels and casual labouring at the 0.01 levels for all the districts (Pearson chi-square test).

Overall, less than a third of all households are highly dependent upon employment as a casual labourer as a source of income in all districts. However, significant differences exist among the districts as well as among the poverty levels with respect to this dependency. Thus, more households in Tororo and Pallisa depend on casual labouring than in Masaka, Kabarole and Rakai districts. In Tororo and Pallisa, 65% and 58%, respectively, of the households are either occasionally or on a more permanent basis working as casual labourers whereas in the remaining three districts this is the case for only around one third of the households. Also when distinguishing between different degrees of dependency, households in Tororo and Pallisa stand out as being significantly more likely to be highly dependent upon working as casual labourer with almost one-third of the households having one or more members working as casual labourer for more than three months during the last year whereas this is the case for only 22, 17 and 12% of the households in Kabarole, Rakai and Masaka, respectively.

Judging from table 3.6, taking up employment as a casual labourer appears to be primarily confined to the poorest households and in Tororo and Pallisa also to the less poor households, whereas particularly in Kabarole, Masaka and Rakai only a small share of the better-off

households (10% or less) take up such employment. More than 60% of the poorest households in Pallisa district are highly dependent on casual labouring compared to 30, 40, 47 and 49% of the poorest households in Masaka, Rakai, Kabarole and Tororo district, respectively.

Animal ownership (IANIMAL)

Animal ownership and in particular ownership of cattle was a fourth feature related to sources of livelihood which was frequently emphasized in the descriptions of different levels of well-being obtained during the well-being rankings. Table 3.7 presents the ownership of animal by poverty level in the five districts. The table distinguishes between ownership of cattle and oxen; ownership of other animals like goats, sheep, pigs, turkeys, rabbits and chicken and ownership of no animals.

The profiles of the population of the five districts with respect to animal ownership show that more households in Tororo (42%) and Pallisa (38%) own cattle and other animals than in Masaka (28%), Rakai (21%) and Kabarole (30%). Finally, Rakai stands out as the district with the largest proportion of households (58%), owning animals other than cattle (goats, sheep, pigs, chicken, turkeys and rabbits) compared to between 45% and 49% in the remaining four districts.

Table 3.7 also bears witness to significant differences among the better-off, the less poor and the poorest households in all the districts. As would be expected, ownership of cattle and oxen, possibly in combination with other animals tends to be a characteristic of the better-off households, whereas ownership of smaller animals only, tends to be a characteristics of the less-poor and the poorest households. While the vast majority of the households in all of the five districts own animals (more than 75% of the households in the districts own animals), the poorest households are significantly more likely to be without the ownership of any animals, not even chicken, than the less poor and better-off households. Between 26% (in Tororo) and 39% (in Rakai) of the poorest households do not own any animals, whereas this is the case for between 15% (in Kabarole) and down to none of the better-off households (in Tororo).

Table 3.7 Animal ownership by household poverty level in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo

Percent households per poverty level (IANIMAL)

Option	District ^a	Poverty level ^b			All poverty levels
		better-off	less poor	poorest	
<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Kabarole</i>	<i>133</i>	<i>130</i>	<i>120</i>	<i>393</i>
	<i>Masaka</i>	<i>141</i>	<i>144</i>	<i>105</i>	<i>390</i>
	<i>Pallisa</i>	<i>129</i>	<i>163</i>	<i>108</i>	<i>400</i>
	<i>Rakai</i>	<i>120</i>	<i>160</i>	<i>109</i>	<i>389</i>
	<i>Tororo</i>	<i>94</i>	<i>163</i>	<i>142</i>	<i>399</i>
Somebody in the household has cattle or oxen, possibly together with other animals	Kabarole	54	27	8	30
	Masaka	48	24	8	28
	Pallisa	64	36	8	38
	Rakai	45	16	4	21
	Tororo	81	45	14	42
Nobody in the household has cattle, but they have other animals (goats, sheep, pigs, chicken, turkeys, or rabbits)	Kabarole	31	59	56	48
	Masaka	38	49	60	48
	Pallisa	33	57	57	49
	Rakai	44	69	57	58
	Tororo	19	46	60	45
Nobody in the household has any animals	Kabarole	15	14	37	21
	Masaka	14	27	32	24
	Pallisa	2	7	35	13
	Rakai	12	16	39	21
	Tororo	0	9	26	13

^a Significant correlation between district and animal ownership at the 0.01 level for the better-off and less poor households. No significant correlation between district and animal ownership for the poorest households (Pearson chi-square test).

^b Significant correlation between poverty level and animal ownership at the 0.01 level in all the districts (Pearson chi-square test).

A large percentage of better-off households in Tororo (81%) and Pallisa (64%) own cattle and oxen compared with 54% (Kabarole), 48% (Masaka) and 45% (Rakai). Less than half of the less poor households (ranging from 16% in Rakai to 45%) in Tororo own cattle and other animals. Very few households in the poorest category own cattle with Rakai (4%) having the lowest percentage and Tororo (14%) having the highest percentage, the remaining three districts have 8%.

It is striking that ownership of animals is almost the defining characteristic of the better-off and less poor in Tororo and Pallisa distinguishing them from their counterparts in the other districts, while there is no significant differences in cattle ownership between the poor households in the five districts.

Ability to hire labourers (IHIRE)

Although not strictly being a source of income, the ability to hire labourers significantly enhances the agricultural opportunities available to a household. Table 3.8 below illustrates the households' ability to hire labourers by poverty level in the five districts. The table distinguishes between households who hire labourers for at least two of the following tasks: land clearing, ploughing, planting, weeding and harvesting, and households who do not hire labourers or hire labourers for only one of the tasks above.

Table 3.8 Ability to hire labourers by household poverty level in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo

Percent households per poverty level (IHIRE)

Option	District ^b	Poverty level ^a			All poverty levels
		better-off	less poor	poorest	
<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Kabarole</i>	136	135	124	395
	<i>Masaka</i>	147	147	106	400
	<i>Pallisa</i>	128	163	108	399
	<i>Rakai</i>	121	161	113	395
	<i>Tororo</i>	94	164	142	400
Hire labourers for at least two of the following tasks: land clearing, ploughing, planting, weeding and harvesting	Kabarole	60	23	2	29
	Masaka	62	17	6	31
	Pallisa	70	24	5	33
	Rakai	65	32	5	34
	Tororo	59	22	3	24
Do not hire labourers or hire labourers for one task only	Kabarole	40	77	98	71
	Masaka	38	83	94	70
	Pallisa	31	76	95	67
	Rakai	35	68	95	66
	Tororo	42	78	97	76

^a Significant difference between the districts and ability to hire labourers at the 0.05 level for the less poor households only (Pearson chi-square test)

^b Significant correlation between the poverty levels and ability to hire labourers at the 0.01 in all the districts (Pearson chi-square test)

Overall, in all the districts the percentage of households that hire labourers is between one fourth and one third (ranging from 24% in Tororo to 34% in Rakai) while those who do not hire labourers are between two-thirds and three quarters (ranging from 66% in Rakai to 76% in Tororo). Thus, no major differences exist between the districts with respect to the proportion of households hiring labourers.

As would be expected the better-off households are more able to hire labourers for at least two tasks than the less poor and poorest households. Between 59% (in Tororo) and 70% (in Pallisa) of the better-off households hire labourers for at least two tasks while this is the case for between 17 and 32% of the less poor and less than 10% of the poorest households.

3.1.3 Needs satisfaction

Needs satisfaction i.e. food security, food quality, housing quality, health conditions, child education and dressing are important aspects widely considered in the conventional basic needs surveys. These aspects were similarly reflected in the local perceptions of household well-being inquired into during the well-being rankings. This section describes how these aspects of needs satisfaction characterize the various poverty levels (better-off, less poor and the poorest) in the five districts.

Household food security (IFOOD)

The level of households food security was one of the most frequently mentioned aspects in the descriptions of well-being obtained during the well-being rankings. Table 3.9 presents the distribution of households in the five districts by poverty level with respect to their level of household food security. The table distinguishes between i) households that have never experienced a period of food shortage within the previous year; ii) households that have experienced a period of food shortage of less than two months during the past year; and iii) households that have experienced a period of food shortage lasting more than two months during in the previous year.

Generally, the level of food insecurity is high in all districts. Between 32 and 45% of all households have experienced periods of food insecurity lasting more than two months during the last year. Food insecurity appears to be most widespread in Rakai and Masaka with 74% and 63% of all households having experienced a period of food insecurity during the last year, and least widespread in Pallisa, followed by Kabarole and Tororo, with between 54% and 59% of the households having experienced a period of food shortage during the last year.

As would be expected the poorest households are however much harder hit by food insecurity than the less poor and the better-off households. The vast majority of the poorest households – more than 88% - have experienced a period of food shortage during the last year, and for more than two-thirds of them, the period lasted more than two months.

Table 3.9 Household food security by household poverty level in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts

Percent households per poverty level (IFOOD)

Option	District ^a	Poverty level ^b			All poverty levels
		Better-off	less poor	poorest	
<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Kabarole</i>	<i>138</i>	<i>128</i>	<i>118</i>	<i>384</i>
	<i>Masaka</i>	<i>144</i>	<i>128</i>	<i>92</i>	<i>364</i>
	<i>Pallisa</i>	<i>127</i>	<i>157</i>	<i>92</i>	<i>376</i>
	<i>Rakai</i>	<i>110</i>	<i>152</i>	<i>94</i>	<i>356</i>
	<i>Tororo</i>	<i>93</i>	<i>163</i>	<i>141</i>	<i>397</i>
Have not experienced a period of food shortage within the last year	Kabarole	75	41	10	44
	Masaka	63	30	7	37
	Pallisa	72	45	12	46
	Rakai	45	23	10	26
	Tororo	77	45	13	41
Have experienced a period of food shortage within the last year which lasted less than two months or which lasted longer but the only recourse that was taken was eating less meat, using farm products rather than buying so much or buying food	Kabarole	13	16	24	17
	Masaka	22	16	16	18
	Pallisa	17	27	19	22
	Rakai	26	33	27	29
	Tororo	15	27	14	19
Have experienced a period of food shortage within the last year which lasted two months or more	Kabarole	12	43	66	39
	Masaka	16	55	77	45
	Pallisa	11	28	70	32
	Rakai	29	44	64	45
	Tororo	8	29	74	40

^a Significant correlation between the district and food security at 0.01 level for the better-off and less poor households. No significant correlation between the district and food security for the poorest households (Pearson chi-square test)

^b Significant correlation between the poverty level and food security at the 0.01 level in all the districts (Pearson chi-square test)

Also a significant share of the less poor households had experienced a prolonged period of food insecurity during the last year, particularly in Kabarole, Rakai and Masaka where more than 42% had experienced food shortages lasting more than two months. Although it is less pronounced even many of the better-off households experience food shortages, especially in Masaka (38%) and Rakai (55%), The latter seems to be the most food insecure district.

While there is a clear difference in the food security of the better-off and less poor between districts, the difference is insignificant among the poorer households, who are all more or less equally food insecure.

Quality of diet (IFEED)

In eliciting the local perceptions of well-being in the five districts surveyed, it was found that the diet of different households and their ability to purchase certain food items such as sugar, cooking oil and meat was seen as an important indicator of household well-being. The indicator on the quality of the diet distinguishes three levels of diet quality based upon the extent to which the household consumes sugar, meat and fried food, as well as the steps taken when the household runs out of these items as described in table 3.10 below.

Table 3.10 Quality of diet by household poverty level in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts

Percent households per poverty level (IFEED)

Option	District ^a	Poverty level ^b			All poverty levels
		better-off	less poor	Poorest	
<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Kabarole</i>	<i>131</i>	<i>132</i>	<i>119</i>	<i>382</i>
	<i>Masaka</i>	<i>140</i>	<i>129</i>	<i>95</i>	<i>364</i>
	<i>Pallisa</i>	<i>129</i>	<i>161</i>	<i>99</i>	<i>389</i>
	<i>Rakai</i>	<i>110</i>	<i>152</i>	<i>98</i>	<i>360</i>
	<i>Tororo</i>	<i>92</i>	<i>161</i>	<i>139</i>	<i>392</i>
Bought sugar when they last ran out of sugar, eat meat at least once a month and fry food at least once a week	Kabarole	53	8	2	22
	Masaka	29	8	1	14
	Pallisa	43	12	1	20
	Rakai	33	9	0	14
	Tororo	27	10	2	11
Either did not buy sugar when they last ran out of sugar, or eat meat less than once a month, or fry food only occasionally (but not all three conditions at once)	Kabarole	47	80	67	65
	Masaka	66	67	52	63
	Pallisa	54	78	85	72
	Rakai	65	78	59	66
	Tororo	65	70	55	64
Went without sugar when they last ran out of sugar or rarely buy sugar, eat meat less than once a month and fry food occasionally	Kabarole	1	11	31	14
	Masaka	5	26	47	23
	Pallisa	3	10	14	9
	Rakai	3	20	41	20
	Tororo	8	20	43	25

^a Significant correlation between the districts and the quality of food at the 0.01 level for all the poverty levels (Pearsons chi-square test)

^b Significant correlation between the poverty levels and quality of diet at the 0.01 for the better-off and the poorest, and at the 0.05 level for the less poor households in all the districts (Pearsons chi-square test)

More than two-thirds (from 63% in Masaka to 72% in Pallisa) of all the households in each of the five districts could afford one or two of the “expensive” food items whereas less than a quarter of the households could afford to buy sugar whenever they ran out of it, eat meat at least once a month and fry food at least once a week. In general, the quality of the diet appears to be best in Pallisa and Kabarole where only 9% and 14 %, respectively, rarely get sugar, meat or fried food.

In all the five districts, taking sugar, eating meat and frying food on this frequent basis is, however, in particular a characteristics of the better-off households applying to between 27% (in Tororo) and 53% (in Kabarole) of the better-off households as compared with less than 12% of the less poor households and almost none of the poorest households. Although the majority of the poorest household can afford to buy sugar and eat meat and fried food, though on a more irregular basis, particularly in Pallisa where this applies to as much as 85% of the poorest households, a significant share of the poorest households, particularly in Masaka, Tororo and Rakai, namely more than 40% do not always have sugar and only rarely buy meat and fry food.

Housing (IHOUSING)

Housing quality is another well-being aspect that featured prominently in the local perceptions of household well-being. Table 3.11 describes the housing quality of the populations of the five districts by poverty levels. Based on the descriptions obtained during the well-being rankings, housing quality is reflected in types of materials which the roof and walls are made of as well as whether the house is in need of major maintenance. Thus, three levels of housing quality are distinguished, namely i) good housing quality where the house has plastered walls or walls made of bricks and has an iron or tiled roof; ii) intermediate housing quality, referring to houses where either the roof is tiled or made of iron sheets, or the walls are plastered or made of bricks; and iii) lowest housing quality which refers to houses with walls made of mud, old tins or banana or any other leaves, and the roof is grass thatched or made from banana leaves, old tins, polythene, etc. or houses which are in need major repairs, irrespective of the materials of walls and roof.

From the table 3.11, Masaka stands out as the district with the generally speaking highest housing quality as compared with the remaining four districts whereas Rakai stands out as the district with the lowest housing quality. More than 40% of the households in Masaka have good housing quality compared to less than 20% in the other four districts (varying from 11% in Kabarole to 19% in Rakai). On the other hand, a bit more than a quarter of all households in Rakai (27%) have the lowest housing quality, compared with between 6% in Pallisa and 17% in Masaka. With the exception of Masaka, the majority of all households have houses offering an intermediate housing quality.

Table 3.11 Housing by household poverty level in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts

Percent households per poverty level (IHOUSING)

Option	District ^a	Poverty level ^b			All poverty levels
		better-off	less poor	poorest	
<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Kabarole</i>	<i>138</i>	<i>136</i>	<i>126</i>	<i>400</i>
	<i>Masaka</i>	<i>147</i>	<i>147</i>	<i>106</i>	<i>400</i>
	<i>Pallisa</i>	<i>129</i>	<i>163</i>	<i>108</i>	<i>400</i>
	<i>Rakai</i>	<i>121</i>	<i>164</i>	<i>113</i>	<i>398</i>
	<i>Tororo</i>	<i>94</i>	<i>164</i>	<i>142</i>	<i>400</i>
Have houses with both brick or plastered walls and iron or tile roofs	Kabarole	26	4	0	11
	Masaka	61	40	21	43
	Pallisa	28	12	6	16
	Rakai	41	14	4	19
	Tororo	47	13	4	18
Have houses which have either iron roof, plastered walls or brick walls	Kabarole	70	90	73	78
	Masaka	37	48	35	40
	Pallisa	70	83	82	79
	Rakai	57	62	37	54
	Tororo	49	74	70	67
Have houses with walls made of mud, old tins or banana or other leaves, and grass-thatched roofs or roofs made of banana or other leaves, old tins or polythene, or have houses that are in need of major repairs	Kabarole	4	6	27	12
	Masaka	3	12	44	17
	Pallisa	3	5	12	6
	Rakai	3	24	59	27
	Tororo	4	12	26	15

^a Significant correlation between the district and housing quality at 0.01 level for all the poverty levels (Pearson chi-square test)

^b Significant correlation between the poverty levels and housing quality at 0.01 level for all the districts (Pearson chi-square test)

However, significant differences exist with respect to the housing quality of the better-off, less poor and poorest households in all the five districts. In Rakai and even in Masaka, which in general was characterized as having good housing quality, as much as 59% and 44% of the poorest households have houses of the lowest housing quality while in all five districts, only a negligible share of the better-off households, namely less than 5% have such lowest quality housing. Good quality housing, on the other hand, is restricted to the better-off households – between 26% and 61% of the better-off households have good quality housing – with the exception of Masaka, where also a considerable share of the less poor and even poorest households, namely 40% and 21%, respectively, have good quality housing.

Health conditions (IHEALTH)

Health is another key aspect when describing well-being. Not only does poor health in itself reduce a person's well-being; having a household member with health problems implies health care expenditures as well as it may reduce the income-earning capacity of the household. Based on the ways in which poor health was described during the well-being rankings, a set of diseases associated with serious health problems was identified and forms the basis for the health indicator, distinguishing between households where somebody is either disabled or suffer from tuberculosis (T.B.), HIV/AIDS, anaemia or chest-related diseases and households where nobody suffer from any of these diseases. Although malaria is obviously one of the major health problems, it is difficult to use as a distinguishing indicator precisely because it is so widespread among all groups. Table 3.12 presents the distribution of the population by poverty level with respect to health status in all the five districts.

Table 3.12 Health conditions by household poverty level in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts

Percent households per poverty level (IHEALTH)

Option	District ^a	Poverty level ^b			All poverty levels
		better-off	less poor	poorest	
<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Kabarole</i>	121	132	121	374
	<i>Masaka</i>	137	145	100	380
	<i>Pallisa</i>	129	160	106	395
	<i>Rakai</i>	113	155	109	377
	<i>Tororo</i>	84	160	137	381
Nobody in the household suffers from T.B., HIV/AIDS, anaemia or chest related diseases or are disabled	Kabarole	79	79	69	76
	Masaka	81	80	74	79
	Pallisa	83	76	65	75
	Rakai	86	90	73	84
	Tororo	71	62	64	65
Somebody in the household suffers from T.B., HIV/AIDS, anaemia or chest related diseases or are disabled	Kabarole	21	21	31	24
	Masaka	19	20	26	21
	Pallisa	17	24	35	25
	Rakai	14	10	27	16
	Tororo	29	38	37	35

^a Significant correlation between the districts and health at 0.01 level for only the less poor households (Pearson chi-square test)

^b Significant correlation between the poverty levels and health at 0.01 levels in Pallisa and Rakai, only (Pearson chi-square test)

Three quarters of the households in the five districts do not have members suffering from these serious diseases or handicaps. However, two districts stand out from this average. With 35% of all households in Tororo having members suffering from a serious disease, households in Tororo are significantly more likely to have serious health problems than are households in the remaining districts. Conversely, households in Rakai are significantly less likely – 16% of households in Rakai reported any of the mentioned diseases – to have somebody suffering from a serious disease.

Only in Rakai and Pallisa districts, the likelihood of having a household member suffering from tuberculosis, HIV/AIDS, anaemia or chest-related diseases is significantly associated with poverty levels. In both districts, the poorest households are significantly more likely to suffer from any of the mentioned diseases than are the less poor and in Pallisa, particularly the better-off households. Although not as strongly associated with poverty levels as the features reflected by most of the other poverty indicators, having health problems often critically increases the vulnerability of a household, which is otherwise associated with poverty.

Schooling of children (ISCHOOL)

The ability to educate children is another factor that was identified as a measure of well-being considering the financial responsibilities attached to it and the future opportunities well-educated children represent to a household. Three aspects of schooling were taken into account, namely the type of school (UPE or private) currently attended by children at the ages between 6 and 12 years, whether any children of the household currently or previously had attended secondary school, and whether the household had children between 6 and 12 years of age who were not attending school. Table 3.13 presents the distribution of households according to their ability to educate children by poverty level in the five districts.

Of the five districts, Masaka has the highest percentage of households (93%) with children attending school or previously having attended up to secondary level, while the lowest corresponding percentage is found in Tororo district with 78%, meaning that 22% of the households in Tororo have children at schooling age who are not attending school. Likewise Masaka has the highest proportion of households with children having attended up to secondary level, with this being the case for 42% of the households in Masaka, ranging down to 20% of the households in Tororo district.

As would be expected, the better-off households in all the five districts are significantly better able to afford private schools or education up to secondary level, than are the less poor and poorest households. In Rakai district for instance, where this pattern is most pronounced, 67% of its better-off households have or have had children in private schools or attending secondary level education, while this is the case for only 33% and 9% of the less poor and poorest households, respectively. Similarly, the poorest households are significantly more likely to have children at the schooling age who are not attending school, ranging from 18% of the poorest households in Masaka, to one third in Tororo district than the better-off and less poor households.

Table 3.13 Schooling of children by household poverty level in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts

Percent households per poverty level (ISCHOOL)

Option	District ^a	Poverty level ^b			All poverty levels
		better-off	less poor	poorest	
<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Kabarole</i>	<i>106</i>	<i>112</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>292</i>
	<i>Masaka</i>	<i>111</i>	<i>103</i>	<i>72</i>	<i>286</i>
	<i>Pallisa</i>	<i>111</i>	<i>131</i>	<i>75</i>	<i>317</i>
	<i>Rakai</i>	<i>95</i>	<i>126</i>	<i>70</i>	<i>291</i>
	<i>Tororo</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>130</i>	<i>91</i>	<i>288</i>
Have or have had children at secondary school or higher, or have children between 6 and 12 years in private or other schools, at the same time as not having any children between 6 and 12 years who are not in school	Kabarole	51	30	7	32
	Masaka	60	43	13	42
	Pallisa	43	23	4	26
	Rakai	67	33	9	38
	Tororo	37	21	6	20
Have not (had) children in secondary school, and do only have children between 6 and 12 years in UPE school while not having any children between 6 and 12 years who are not in school	Kabarole	39	48	68	50
	Masaka	37	53	69	51
	Pallisa	46	60	71	57
	Rakai	27	54	63	47
	Tororo	43	65	60	58
Have children between 6 and 12 years who are not in school	Kabarole	10	21	26	19
	Masaka	4	4	18	7
	Pallisa	11	18	25	17
	Rakai	5	14	29	14
	Tororo	19	15	34	22

^a Significant correlation between the districts and schooling at 0.01 level for the less poor and the better-off households (Pearsons chi-square test)

^b Significant correlation between the poverty levels and schooling at 0.01 level for all the districts (Pearsons chi-square test)

Dressing (IDRESS)

As the final aspect related to needs satisfaction, table 3.14 shows the distribution of better-off, less poor and poorest households according to the dressing quality in the five districts. The table distinguishes three levels of dressing quality based on the ways in which dressing was used as an indicator of household well-being in the well-being rankings, namely dressing well, dressing fair and dressing poorly. Dressing well is defined as when a woman owns shoes and both the woman and the children get new clothes on a regular basis. Dressing fair is defined as when a woman either owns shoes but the woman or the children last got new clothes half a year ago; or she does not own shoes but she or the children got new clothes less than a year ago. Finally, dressing poorly is defined as when a woman does not own shoes and both the woman and the children last got new clothes more than a year ago.

Table 3.14 Dressing by household poverty level in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts

Percent households per poverty level (IDRESS)

Option	District	Poverty level ^a			All poverty levels
		better-off	less poor	poorest	
<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Kabarole</i>	<i>137</i>	<i>133</i>	<i>121</i>	<i>391</i>
	<i>Masaka</i>	<i>144</i>	<i>132</i>	<i>95</i>	<i>371</i>
	<i>Pallisa</i>	<i>129</i>	<i>160</i>	<i>99</i>	<i>388</i>
	<i>Rakai</i>	<i>111</i>	<i>150</i>	<i>99</i>	<i>360</i>
	<i>Tororo</i>	<i>94</i>	<i>161</i>	<i>139</i>	<i>394</i>
Woman owns shoes and both the woman and the children got new clothes about three months ago or more recently	Kabarole	42	11	2	19
	Masaka	31	8	1	15
	Pallisa	21	6	1	10
	Rakai	41	13	7	20
	Tororo	17	9	4	9
Either woman owns shoes, and she or the children got clothes more than 3 months ago; or woman does not own shoes, and she or the children got clothes half a year ago or more recently	Kabarole	58	76	69	68
	Masaka	68	83	68	73
	Pallisa	68	66	56	64
	Rakai	59	81	75	72
	Tororo	71	68	52	63
Woman does not own shoes and both the woman and the children last got new clothes more than a year ago	Kabarole	0	13	29	13
	Masaka	1	10	31	12
	Pallisa	11	28	43	26
	Rakai	1	6	18	8
	Tororo	12	23	45	28

^a Significant correlation between the district and dressing at 0.01 level of significance for all the poverty levels (Pearsons chi-square test)

^b Significant correlation between the poverty levels and dressing at 0.01 in all the districts (Pearsons chi-square test)

Overall, woman and children in Tororo and Pallisa are significantly more likely to be dressing poorly than in the remaining districts. In 28% of the households in Tororo and in 26% in Pallisa, the women do not own shoes and both the women and the children last got new cloths more than a year ago. In the remaining three districts 13% or less of the households are in this situation.

As would be expected, the better-off households are more likely to own shoes and get new clothes more frequently. About 42% of the women from the better-off households in Kabarole and 41% in Rakai districts own shoes and got new clothes recently, followed by 31% in Masaka, 21% in Pallisa and 17% in Tororo. The same difference between districts exist in the poorest group, where almost half (45%) of the women from the category of poorest households in Tororo and (43%) in Pallisa did not own shoes and neither they nor their children had got new clothes during the last year, compared to 18-31% in the remaining districts.

3.1.4 Summary of household poverty in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts

In summary, the picture which emerges of the poorest households in all five districts is one of dependency upon own agricultural production on small pieces of land supplemented with incomes from working as casual labourers, though in different combinations. With the exception of Kabarole, the majority of the poorest households own more than one acre of land from which to derive their livelihood, while with respect to casual labouring close to half or more of the poorest households in Tororo, Kabarole and Pallisa districts are heavily involved in casual labouring as compared to only 30% and 40% in Masaka and Rakai, respectively. In all of the districts, only a minority of the poorest households (less than 40%) are engaged in non-agricultural income generating activities like beer-brewing, charcoal burning, brick-making, running businesses, etc. Hardly any of the poorest households own cattle. Instead, the majority tend to own smaller animals like chicken, sheep and goats, etc.

Whereas overall the food security is slightly better in Tororo and Pallisa than in the remaining districts, the situation on all other aspects related to needs satisfaction discussed above, many of which depend upon the market and institutional infrastructure, is worse in Tororo and Pallisa than in the remaining districts. However, despite these regional differences, the situation for the poorest households is highly precarious in all five districts being characterized by high levels of food insecurity, poor diet, inadequate housing, and low ability to provide for children's schooling.

Although a considerable share, particularly in the central part of Uganda, of the poorest households are headed by women who are either single, divorced or widows, this is by no means the case for all of the poorest households. Thus, with the exception of Masaka, the majority of the poorest households are headed by a married man (or in very few cases, a married woman).

At the other end of the well-being scale, the better-off households tend to be landed, even owning large pieces of land, particularly in Tororo and Pallisa where land appears to be more abundant, and to complement their agricultural production with incomes from non-agricultural sources like being professionals and running businesses. In Tororo and Pallisa, where the involvement in high entry barrier non-agricultural sources of incomes is less frequent in general as well as among the better-off households, this seems to be compensated by a much higher likelihood of owning cattle, ranging from 65% of the better-off households in Pallisa to 81% in Tororo owning cattle as compared with around half of the better-off households in the remaining districts. Probably also reflecting the relative absence of attractive non-agricultural sources of income in Tororo and Pallisa, between a third and a fifth of the better-off households work as casual labourers on an occasional basis whereas this is hardly the case for better-off households in the remaining three districts.

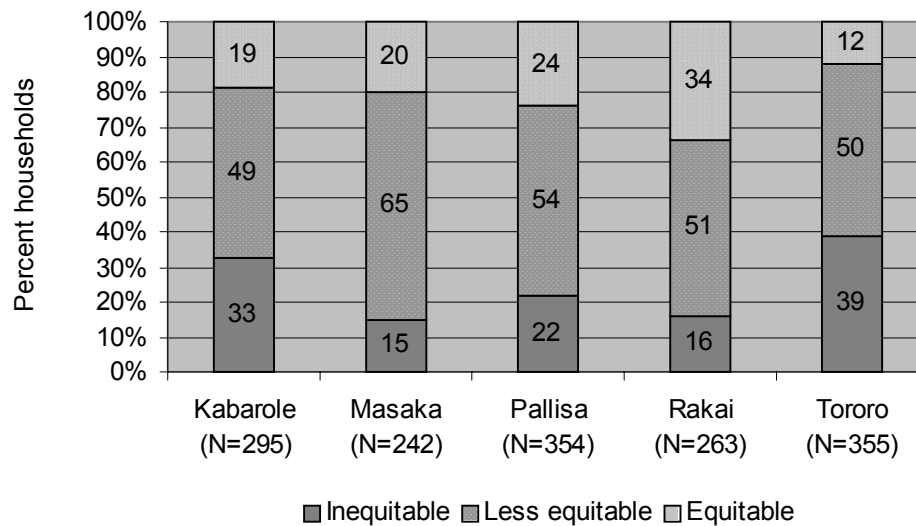
The majority of the better-off households have a high level of needs satisfaction. Only in Rakai, the majority even of the better-off households had experienced a period of food shortage during the past year.

Finally, the picture which emerges of the less poor households in the five districts is one of owning medium-sized pieces of land and supplementing the income earned from their land with a combination of non-agricultural sources of income such as brick-making, beer-brewing, building and tailoring, charcoal burning etc. on the one hand and working as casual labourers, particularly in Tororo and Pallisa.

3.2 Profile of gender relations in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts

As described in the methodology section (section 2), the equality of the relationship between husband and wife – what we in short refer to as equality in gender relations – was an important aspect when female informants were describing the well-being of women. The levels of equality in gender relations as defined here combine a number of indicators emerging from these descriptions, as also described in section 2. Each indicator is further analysed below. The present section draws profiles of the gender relations, i.e. of the relationships between husband and wife, in the five districts. Thus, discussing relations among husband and wife is not relevant with respect to households headed by a single man or woman, whether unmarried, divorced or widowed. As a much higher proportion of households in Masaka, Rakai and Kabarole than in Tororo and Pallisa, this means that significantly more households from the three central and western districts are left out from the analysis presented in this section than from the two eastern districts (see figure 3.2).

Significant differences exist with respect to the level of equality in relations between husband and wife within the households among the five districts. As shown in figure 3.2 Tororo district stands out as having the largest proportion (39%) of households characterized by inequitable gender relations, followed by Kabarole, where one third of the households (33%) are characterized by inequitable gender relations. At the other end of the scale, only 15% and 16% of the households in Masaka and Rakai, respectively, are characterized as having inequitable gender relations and, in Rakai, a significant proportion, namely one third of the households (34%), is even characterized as having equitable gender relations within the household.



*** Significant correlation between equality in gender relations and district at 0.01 level (Pearson's chi-square)*

Figure 3.2 Level of equality in gender relations by district, Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts, Uganda**

Percent households per district, by level of equality in gender relations

Masaka and Rakai districts also stand out as the districts where the level of equality in gender relations does not appear to be associated with poverty level (see table 3.15), whereas particularly in Tororo and Kabarole, but also in Pallisa, gender relations are much more likely to be inequitable in the poorest households than in the less poor and better-off households, and thus further aggravating the situation of women in the poorest households.

Among the possible explanations of the much higher level of inequality in gender relations, particularly in Tororo, could be as an effect of bride price. Due to the bride price paid by most men in anticipation of the hard work from their soon-to-be wives, the expectation exists that whatever income-generating activity, which the woman undertakes should benefit the man. Moreover, eastern Uganda is also known for having the highest levels of polygamy. Since polygamy often leads to conflict and discrimination among the wives, it could be a further contributing factor explaining the more inequitable gender relations in Tororo.

Table 3.15 Equality in gender relations by household poverty level in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts

Percent households per poverty level

Option	District ^a	Poverty level ^b			All poverty levels
		better-off	less poor	poorest	
<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Kabarole</i>	<i>116</i>	<i>104</i>	<i>76</i>	<i>295</i>
	<i>Masaka</i>	<i>118</i>	<i>85</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>242</i>
	<i>Pallisa</i>	<i>123</i>	<i>148</i>	<i>83</i>	<i>354</i>
	<i>Rakai</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>108</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>263</i>
	<i>Tororo</i>	<i>92</i>	<i>152</i>	<i>111</i>	<i>355</i>
Equitable gender relations	Kabarole	29	14	8	19
	Masaka	21	17	26	20
	Pallisa	30	24	14	24
	Rakai	40	34	22	34
	Tororo	10	15	9	12
Less equitable gender relations	Kabarole	50	54	40	49
	Masaka	70	65	54	65
	Pallisa	50	60	52	54
	Rakai	48	47	62	51
	Tororo	63	50	38	50
Inequitable gender relations	Kabarole	21	32	52	33
	Masaka	9	19	21	15
	Pallisa	20	16	35	22
	Rakai	12	19	16	17
	Tororo	27	35	53	39

^a Significant correlation between equality in gender relations and district at the 0.01 level for all poverty levels (Pearson chi-square test).

^b Significant correlation between equality in gender relations and poverty level in Kabarole, Pallisa and Tororo districts at the 0.01 level; no significant correlation in Masaka and Rakai districts (Pearson chi-square test).

In the following, the character of the relations between husband and wife/wives in the five districts will be described in more detail according to the individual indicators constituting the gender relations index and levels of equality in gender relations.

3.2.1 Decision-making

A feature which was emphasized in the descriptions of female well-being was the extent to which the women had a say over the spending of income earned, either by herself, by the husband or by the household as such. Examples of expressions of this feature include that 'husbands and wives cooperate' or that 'husbands take the money of their wives'. Table 3.16 shows the extent to which women have some degree of influence over how income is spent within the household in the five districts. It distinguishes between households where the woman either together with her husband or alone decides how to spend proceeds from sales of own products (crops and animals), products from shared fields or products from husband's fields, and household where the woman does not have any influence on how such proceeds are spent.

Table 3.16 Women's decision making by household poverty level in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo

Percent households per poverty level (IDECIDE)

Option	District ^a	Poverty level ^b			All poverty levels
		better-off	less poor	poorest	
<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Kabarole</i>	89	79	45	213
	<i>Masaka</i>	107	71	34	212
	<i>Pallisa</i>	102	122	61	285
	<i>Rakai</i>	88	96	44	228
	<i>Tororo</i>	66	120	66	252
Married woman decides with husband, or on her own, how to spend proceeds from crops and animal sales	Kabarole	85	75	76	79
	Masaka	84	85	82	84
	Pallisa	73	73	62	71
	Rakai	84	81	84	83
	Tororo	76	58	58	63
Married woman has no influence on how to spend proceeds from crop and animal sales	Kabarole	15	25	24	21
	Masaka	16	15	18	16
	Pallisa	28	27	38	30
	Rakai	16	19	16	17
	Tororo	24	42	42	37

^a Significant correlation between the district and women's influence on decision making at the 0.01 level for the less poor and poorest households (Pearson's chi-square test)

^b Significant correlation between women's influence on decision making and poverty level at the 0.05 level for Tororo district only (Pearson's chi-square test)

With the exception of Tororo, the degree to which women have an influence on decision making on how to spend income from crop or animal sales was *not* found to be significantly associated with poverty level. Thus, women from better-off households in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa and Rakai are no more likely to have a say on how to spend income than are women from the less poor and poorest households. Women from better-off households in Tororo stand a much better chance of getting a say over the spending of income, than women from less poor and poorest households of whom only 58% get a say on the spending of proceeds from crop and animal sales as compared with 76% of women from better-off households.

In general, over 60% of married women in all the five districts have a say on how proceeds from crop or animal sales are spent. Yet, particularly for the less poor and poorest households, there are significant differences among the districts with respect to women's influence on the spending of proceeds from crop and animal sales. In Tororo and Pallisa, women in a much as a third of the households (37% and 30%, respectively) have no say over the spending of incomes from crop and animal sales, while in the remaining three districts, this is the case for women in only around a fifth of the households.

3.2.2 Husbands' contribution towards meeting basic household expenditures

Another feature of female well-being and specifically of the relationship between husband and wife which was emphasized during the female well-being rankings was the extent to which the husband contributes towards basic household expenditures, like necessities such as salt, sugar,

paraffin and soap as well as children's education, clothing and medical expenditures. Women who had to carry the sole responsibility in these respects due to the failure of her husband to assist her were regarded as having a lower level of well-being than women who could count on the cooperation of her husband. Table 3.17 presents the extent to which husbands contribute towards the basic household expenditures – whether he contributes to all, some or none of these expenditures – by household poverty level.

Women in households in Rakai and Pallisa are the most likely to have husbands who contribute towards meeting all basic household expenditures, i.e. food, salt, paraffin, medical expenditures and children's education and clothes, the latter two provided that the household has children. In Rakai and Pallisa, this is the case in about one-third of the households as compared with less than 20% of the households in the remaining three districts. Married women in Rakai and Pallisa are also the least likely to have husbands who do not contribute to any of the listed basic household expenditures as this applies to 10% or less of the households in these two districts.

In contrast, women in Kabarole and Tororo, in particular for those from the poorest households, are the most unfortunate in this respect. In a quarter of the households in these two districts, husbands do not contribute towards meeting any of the basic household expenditures, and specifically for the poorest households, this is the case in 35% and 39%, respectively.

Interestingly, in Rakai, Masaka and Pallisa, husbands from the poorest households are just as likely – if not more likely – to contribute towards meeting basic household expenditures, as are husbands from the less poor and the better-off households.

Table 3.17 Husband's contribution towards household expenditures by household poverty level in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo

Percent households per poverty level (IEXPEND)

Option	District ^a	Poverty level ^b			All poverty levels
		better-off	less poor	poorest	
<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Kabarole</i>	<i>112</i>	<i>99</i>	<i>68</i>	<i>279</i>
	<i>Masaka</i>	<i>118</i>	<i>85</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>241</i>
	<i>Pallisa</i>	<i>122</i>	<i>142</i>	<i>82</i>	<i>346</i>
	<i>Rakai</i>	<i>98</i>	<i>106</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>257</i>
	<i>Tororo</i>	<i>92</i>	<i>152</i>	<i>109</i>	<i>353</i>
Husband contributes to all of the following: food, paraffin/soap, salt/sugar, children's education, children's clothes and medical expenditures	Kabarole	21	15	12	17
	Masaka	16	20	24	19
	Pallisa	26	37	37	33
	Rakai	35	35	40	36
	Tororo	9	20	18	16
Husband contributes to at least one but not all of the following: food, paraffin/soap, salt/sugar, children's education, children's clothes and medical expenditures	Kabarole	51	67	53	57
	Masaka	70	65	66	68
	Pallisa	66	67	53	62
	Rakai	54	57	51	55
	Tororo	72	62	43	59
Husband does not contribute to food, paraffin/soap, salt/sugar, children's education, children's clothes or medical expenditures	Kabarole	28	18	35	26
	Masaka	14	15	11	14
	Pallisa	7	3	7	6
	Rakai	11	9	9	10
	Tororo	20	18	39	25

^a Significant correlation between districts and husbands contribution at 0.01 level for all poverty levels (Pearson's chi-square test)

^b Significant correlation between poverty level and husbands contribution at the 0.01 level for Tororo and 0.05 level for Kabarole districts (Pearson's chi-square test)

3.2.3 Women's sources of income

Having independent sources of income – whether agricultural or non-agricultural – was another valued aspect of female well-being. As appears from table 3.18, the woman has independent sources of income in the majority of households in all five districts. However, significant differences exist among the districts with Tororo and Rakai representing the extremes. In Tororo, women in only 55% of the households have own sources of income whereas this is the case in as much as 82% of the households in Rakai. Moreover, in all districts, the likelihood of a married woman having own sources of income increases with decreasing levels of household poverty. Thus, women from better-off households are significantly more likely to have independent

sources of income, ranging from 73% of the women from better-off households in Tororo to 87% of women from better-off households in Masaka and Rakai. For women from the less poor households, between 59% and 83% have independent sources of income, while women between 36% and 71% of the poorest households have independent sources of income. Both for the less poor and the poorest households, the extremes are found in Tororo and Rakai districts, respectively.

Table 3.18 Women's sources of income by household poverty level in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo

Percent households per poverty level (IFSOURCE)

Option	District ^a	Poverty level ^b			All poverty levels
		better-off	less poor	poorest	
<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Kabarole</i>	<i>116</i>	<i>103</i>	<i>75</i>	<i>294</i>
	<i>Masaka</i>	<i>118</i>	<i>85</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>242</i>
	<i>Pallisa</i>	<i>122</i>	<i>145</i>	<i>83</i>	<i>350</i>
	<i>Rakai</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>108</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>263</i>
	<i>Tororo</i>	<i>91</i>	<i>151</i>	<i>111</i>	<i>353</i>
Woman has 'high entry barrier' non-agricultural sources of income e.g. as professionals, shop owners, businesses or receives remittances	Kabarole	27	6	3	13
	Masaka	23	6	10	15
	Pallisa	25	8	4	13
	Rakai	35	10	4	18
	Tororo	10	9	3	7
Woman sells own crops or animal products or has non-agricultural sources of income e.g. tailoring, crafts, brewing beer etc.	Kabarole	48	54	36	47
	Masaka	65	73	46	65
	Pallisa	51	61	40	53
	Rakai	52	73	67	64
	Tororo	63	50	33	48
Woman does not sell own crops or animal products and has no non-agricultural sources of income	Kabarole	25	40	61	40
	Masaka	12	21	44	20
	Pallisa	24	30	57	34
	Rakai	13	17	29	18
	Tororo	28	41	64	45

^a Significant correlation between districts and woman's source of income at the 0.01 level for all poverty levels (Pearson's chi-square test)

^b Significant correlation between poverty level and woman's sources of income at the 0.01 level for all the districts (Pearson's chi-square test)

A similar pattern emerges when looking at the type of income source. Table 3.18 shows, that women from better-off households are significantly more likely to have high entry barrier, non-agricultural sources of income than women from the less poor and poorest households whereas other income sources – agricultural as well as non-agricultural – are more evenly distributed among women from the better-off, the less poor and the poorest households.

3.2.4 Women's access to land

Table 3.19 shows the distribution of households with respect to women's access to land. In their descriptions of women's well-being, our female informants emphasized a woman's access to land, especially for personal uses, as a feature contributing significantly to her well-being.

Although in general, land appears to be more abundant in Pallisa and Tororo (see table 3.4), this is where women's access to land is most restricted. As shown in table 3.19, women have access to land only in half or less of the households in Pallisa and Tororo, whereas in the remaining districts, women from between 59% (in Kabarole) and 66% (in Rakai) of the households have access to land.

In Tororo, Pallisa and Masaka, women's likelihood of having access to land increases with decreasing levels of poverty. Thus, women from better-off and less poor households stand a much better chance of having access to land than do women from the poorest households. In Kabarole and Rakai, no significant correlation was found between poverty level and women's access to land.

Table 3.19 Women's access to land by household poverty level in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo

Percent households per poverty level (IFASLAND)

Option	District ^a	Poverty level ^b			All poverty levels
		better-off	less poor	poorest	
<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Kabarole</i>	<i>114</i>	<i>104</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>292</i>
	<i>Masaka</i>	<i>114</i>	<i>85</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>238</i>
	<i>Pallisa</i>	<i>122</i>	<i>147</i>	<i>82</i>	<i>351</i>
	<i>Rakai</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>108</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>263</i>
	<i>Tororo</i>	<i>90</i>	<i>151</i>	<i>109</i>	<i>350</i>
Woman has access to land	Kabarole	62	63	50	59
	Masaka	68	64	41	62
	Pallisa	65	50	29	50
	Rakai	66	71	55	66
	Tororo	49	46	28	41
Woman does not have access to land	Kabarole	38	38	50	41
	Masaka	33	37	59	38
	Pallisa	35	50	71	50
	Rakai	34	29	46	34
	Tororo	51	54	73	59

^a Significant correlation between the districts and access to land at the 0.01 level for less poor and the poorest households and at the 0.05 level for the better-off households (Pearson's chi-square test)

^b Significant correlation between the poverty level and access to land at the 0.01 level for Pallisa and Tororo and at the 0.05 level for Masaka district (Pearson's chi-square test)

3.2.5 Women's animal ownership

As the final aspect to be discussed as part of providing a profile of the relationship between husband and wife, table 3.20 shows the extent to which married women from better-off, less poor and poorest households have their own animals. Table 3.20 distinguishes between households where the woman owns cattle, oxen, goats and sheep, pigs, chicken, turkeys or rabbits, and households where the woman does not own any of the animals mentioned.

In general households in Tororo (and Pallisa) are the most likely to own animals (see table 3.7). Yet, with less than half owning animals, women in households in Tororo together with those in Kabarole, are the *least* likely to own animals. Married women in Masaka, on the other hand, are the most likely to own animals with around two-thirds owning some type of animal.

As would be expected, women from the poorest households are significantly less likely to own animals than women from the less poor and the better-off households in all districts except Masaka, thus further exacerbating the situation of women belonging to the poorest households.

Table 3.20 Women's animal ownership by household poverty level in Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai and Tororo districts

Percent households per poverty level (IFANIMAL)

Option	District ^a	Poverty level ^b			All poverty levels
		better-off	less poor	poorest	
<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Kabarole</i>	<i>107</i>	<i>99</i>	<i>71</i>	<i>277</i>
	<i>Masaka</i>	<i>115</i>	<i>83</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>236</i>
	<i>Pallisa</i>	<i>123</i>	<i>148</i>	<i>82</i>	<i>353</i>
	<i>Rakai</i>	<i>99</i>	<i>106</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>258</i>
	<i>Tororo</i>	<i>91</i>	<i>151</i>	<i>111</i>	<i>353</i>
Woman own animals	Kabarole	55	46	32	46
	Masaka	72	64	58	67
	Pallisa	69	64	42	60
	Rakai	67	59	45	59
	Tororo	54	48	34	45
Woman does not own any animal	Kabarole	45	55	68	54
	Masaka	28	36	42	33
	Pallisa	31	37	59	40
	Rakai	33	41	55	41
	Tororo	46	52	66	55

^a Significant correlation between districts and animal ownership at the 0.01 level for the better-off households and at the 0.05 for the less poor households. No significant correlation was found for the poorest households (Pearson's chi-square test)

^b Significant correlation between poverty level and animal ownership at the 0.01 level for Pallisa and at the 0.05 level for Kabarole, Rakai and Tororo districts. No significant correlation was found for Masaka district (Pearson's chi-square test)

3.2.6 Concluding remarks concerning gender relations

In the descriptions of women's well-being, provided by local female informants, women's well-being was described as the combined result of the level of household well-being (or poverty) and the relations, particularly between husband and wife, within the household. In an effort to develop a measure of the latter relational aspect, a set of five indicators was developed based on these relations, emphasised by the female informants and reflecting the degree to which women have influence on how income is spent within the household; the degree to which the husband contributes towards meeting basic household expenditures; the types of independent sources of income the woman has, if any; and the woman's access to land and ownership of animals.

In general terms, as well as with reference to each of the five indicators of the level of equality in relations among husband and wife within a household, Tororo stands out as the district with the most inequitable relations among husband and wife. Not only are married women in Tororo, followed by women in Pallisa and Kabarole, the least likely to have access to productive resources – whether land, animals or any other source of income – and to have a say on the spending of income within the household; they are also the least likely to have husbands who contribute towards meeting basic household expenditures for food, salt, paraffin, children's clothing and education, and medical expenditures. Rakai, on the other hand, followed by Masaka, stand out as the district where women are favoured by the most equal relations with their husbands, giving them access not only to productive resources, but also to have a say in decision making as well as a higher degree of sharing of expenditures with their husbands.

Overall, women's access to productive resources as reflected in the indicators on women's independent sources of income, women's access to land and women's ownership of animals is, not surprisingly, correlated with the poverty level of the household. Thus, in these respect women in the poorest households are significantly less likely to have access to productive resources than women belonging to less poor and better-off households.

However, with respect to the aspects of shared decision-making and responsibility, reflected in the indicators on decision-making and contribution towards household expenditures, cultural differences rather than poverty levels seem to shape the relations between husbands and wives. Women belonging to the poorest households in four out of the five districts – Tororo being the exception – were found to have the same say in decision making with respect to the spending of household income as women belonging to less poor and better-off households and in three out of the five districts, namely Rakai, Masaka and Pallisa, women from the poorest households were equally likely to have husbands contributing towards basic household expenditures, as women from less poor and better-off households. Hence, although closely interlinked, a woman's well-being is by no means strictly a function of the well-being of the household to which she belongs.

4. Outcomes of the ASPS components

The gendered district poverty profiles have been developed as baselines for monitoring gender and poverty impact of the ASPS in the pilot districts. The future changes in overall poverty and gender equality indices and corresponding indicators will be the main measures of impact of the ASPS. However, obviously not all changes in the levels of poverty and gender equality in the districts will be due to ASPS but may be attributed to other developments and interventions. Thus, to help overcome this problem of attribution and thus assess which changes in the levels of poverty and gender equality are caused by ASPS, monitoring will include the identification of the farmers reached by ASPS activities as well as studies of changes in behaviour among small farmers (men and women) which the ASPS seeks to achieve to meet its objectives, and their perceptions of the contents of ASPS support. These behavioural and perceptual changes are here defined as the outcomes that link programme outputs to programme impact. The ASPS and several of its components define food security and increased incomes from agriculture as their objectives, which may for the overall ASPS poverty and gender objective also be included among the outcomes supposed to contribute to its poverty and gender impact.

It is only some of the ASPS components that target farmers in the pilot districts on a broad scale, so the monitoring of this type of outcomes only made sense for the district activities of the Household Agriculture Support Programme (HASP), Farmers Organisations (FO) and District Agricultural Training and Information Centres (DATICs) components at the time of the study.

4.1 Households reached by ASPS activities

Survey respondents were asked to indicate if they were members of various groups, and if they had participated in different extension activities such as field days or on-farm-trials, and whether these activities had received support from or were organized by outside agencies. The positive responses relating such exposure to ASPS were so few that households were included as “reached” by the activities of one of the components if they had just participated in any one activity supported by that component, irrespective of the type of activity.

Table 4.1 shows the proportion of households that had been reached by different agencies according to the household’s poverty level. In total, 26% of the households of the five districts have been reached by an external intervention, including those by the local government, NGOs, etc., while 6% were reached by one or more of the three ASPS components. This is not surprising, considering the short period the ASPS has been in operation. The table also shows a significantly higher exposure among the better-off households, followed by the less poor and with the lowest ASPS reach among the poorest. This is caused by a similar bias for FO reach, while there is no significant difference between the poverty levels in the reach of the other two components. For DATICs, the lack of any significant discernible difference may be attributed to

the very few positive responses, also in the following tables, while for HASP it must be taken as an indicator of a more equal distribution of reach.

Table 4.1 Households “reached” by HASP, Farmers organizations, or DATICs by household poverty level

Percent households reached per poverty level (If a household is reached, e.g. by both HASP and FO it is only counted once, so percentages do not add up)

Intervention	Poverty level			All poverty levels (N=1998)
	better-off (n=615)	less poor (n=778)	poorest (n=605)	
HASP ^{ns}	3	2	1	2
FO*	7	3	1	4
DATICs ^{ns}	1	0	0	1
HASP, FO & DATICs*	10	5	2	6
Any intervention*	42	24	12	26

**Correlation is significant at 0.001 level (Pearson chi-square)*

^{ns}No significant correlation

Table 4.1, as well as all the following tables, have to be considered with the following caveats: It is not an objective for the programme, that farmers should know that an activity they participated in received ASPS support, so in some cases they just may not know. However the Common Interest Groups organized by HASP are in fact often called HASP groups, any answer that mentioned support from farmers organization were registered under FO reach, whether it was eventually supported by the FO component or not, and similarly for the DATICs, which are local institutions whose activities are not all included in the DATICs component. These are issues that have been followed up in the more qualitative “impact process studies” which followed the household survey as part of the overall baseline for ASPS impact monitoring. A straight statistical comparison of HASP and FO reach should also be done keeping in mind that FO reach includes FO activities before the start of the ASPS.

Of all the households in the sample we have seen that 6% have been reached by one or more of the ASPS components. As shown in table 4.2, there are 4% of the households where a male member has been reached while a female has been reached in only 2% of them. Again HASP is not gender biased, while FO reaches more male than female household members.

Table 4.2 Households reached by HASP, FO or DATICs by sex of the person(s) reached
Percent of all households where males respectively females are reached. Households where both genders are reached are counted in both columns.

Intervention	Households reached by gender of person(s) reached		All households (N=1998)
	male	female	
HASP	1	1	2
FO	3	1	4
DATICs	0	0	1
HASP, FO & DATICs	4	2	6

4.2 Households perceptions of the messages they receive from ASPS.

Most activities supported by ASPS and its components aim at disseminating information and demonstrations of different aspects of improved agriculture in order to promote such changes in farmers' behaviour, that are again supposed to lead to achievement of the over all objectives of poverty reduction and gender inequality. In order to be able to monitor the degree to which households perceive that they are actually reached with such messages, respondents were asked to mention the topics of each of the interventions to which they stated they had been exposed, such as support to groups of which they are members, field demonstrations or on-farm-trials.

During longer term monitoring the purpose will be to measure the reach of different messages by different types of intervention by different agencies and components, and to different groups of households. At this stage, where the total reach is still limited, it is also limited to what extent it makes sense to disaggregate the data.

Thus the present analysis is limited to the overall reach of HASP and FO respectively, through all the different means used, and to all the households reached, but disaggregated into the different aspects of agriculture people claimed had been the topics of the interventions to which they had been exposed. This analysis is presented in table 4.3, which shows the percentage of those households that were reached by any HASP respectively FO intervention, who claimed that any particular aspect of agriculture had been a topic of the intervention.

Table 4.3 Topics of interventions (group-support, demonstrations, trials, advise, etc) mentioned by households reached by HASP and FO.

Percent of households reached by HASP and FO respectively who mention each agricultural topic.

Topics	HASP (n=33)	FO (n=60)
Storage	20	50
Markets	30	30
Credit	20	20
New crops	70	60
Seeds	70	70
Animal manure	50	50
Fertilizers	50	70
Compost and green manure	50	60
Erosion	70	70
Pesticides	40	60
Integrated pest management	50	30
Irrigation	20	10
Fodder	40	30
Ways to get information	20	20

While keeping in mind the uncertainty created by the relatively small number of respondents and the rather broad range of answers given by each, it still appears that both HASP and FO are perceived to focus most on improvement of specific cultural methods, such as those improving soil fertility or controlling erosion, and plant protection. But also new crops and seeds with the potential to change farming systems are high on the list. More dramatic changes like irrigation or cultivation of improved fodder are mentioned less frequently, but so are also storage, markets and credit, which are aspects of particular importance for commercialising small scale agriculture, which is the specific objective of ASPS.

The table does not reveal any major differences between the type of messages supported by the two components. Maybe it is indicative, though, that the only noticeable differences are the more frequent mentioning of storage, fertilizers, and pesticides among topics promoted by FO, and of integrated pest management among topics promoted by HASP.

Sources of information and how to obtain new information are listed lowest among the types of information people feel exposed to by activities supported by both components. In the long run that may well be the most important aspect of sustained agricultural development.

4.3 Improved agricultural practices adopted by farmers

Soil conservation and soil improvement are among the topics farmers most frequently stated they have been exposed to from HASP and FO. It is important therefore to monitor the changes in farmers behaviour in these fields. In this baseline study it is only possible to register how many perform different improved practices, which can hardly be seen as an impact of ASPS interventions, but based on this it should of course in the future be possible , not only to measure any increases in these numbers, but also to correlate these with changing proportions of households reached with different types of information from ASPS components and other agencies.

According to Table 4.4 more than 50% of all households claim to perform some soil conservation measures. Not surprising the percentage is higher among the better off households, followed by the less poor, but even among the poorest 47% state that they do soil conservation! That it is furthermore claimed that terracing and other earth works is the most frequent type of soil conservation performed in all three groups is even more surprising, and definitely merits some further investigation during the in-depth impact process studies.

Table 4.4 Households performing soil conservation by poverty level
Percent households performing per poverty level

	Poverty level			All poverty levels (n=1998)
	better-off (n=615)	less poor (n=778)	poorest (n=605)	
Any soil-conservation*	60	55	47	54
Contour ploughing**	11	10	6	9
Mulching*	18	12	6	12
Made grass strips or trash lines ^{ns}	18	20	16	18
Terraces and other earthworks*	42	36	31	36

*Correlation is significant at 0.001 level (Pearson chi-square)

**Correlation is significant at 0.05 level (Pearson chi-square)

^{ns} No significant correlation

The distribution of households claiming to perform three of the four categories of soil conservation used here, ie. contour ploughing, mulching, and terraces and other earthworks, is significantly skewed towards the better off poverty level. Possible explanations may be that mulching is mainly done by farmers with large, possibly commercial banana plantations; that contour ploughing requires oxen and plough; and that earthworks are generally resource demanding? Making grass strips and trash lines does not require any specific resources (apart from taking up a little land), and is the only category that is equally distributed in relation to poverty levels.

Table 4.5 Households performing soil-conservation by sex of head of household
Percent households performing in male and female headed households respectively

	Head of Household		All households (n=1997)
	male (n=1599)	female (n=398)	
Any soilconservation**	56	48	54
Contour ploughing***	8	8	9
Mulching ^{ns}	12	13	12
Made grass strips or trash lines*	20	10	18
Terraces and other earthworks ^{ns}	37	34	36

*Correlation is significant at 0.001 level (Pearson chi-square)

**Correlation is significant at 0.01 level (Pearson chi-square)

^{ns} No significant correlation

Strangely, in comparison and considering that female headed households would be expected on average to have less resources than male headed households, Table 4.5 indicates that it is precisely the grass strips and trash lines type of soil conservation that is performed by twice as many male as female headed households. On the contrary, the three other categories of soil conservation practices are equally distributed between male and female headed households.

During the colonial time soil conservation was the major extension message. After independence more efforts were put into increasing production, first with chemical fertilizers, followed by other soil improvement measures, the latest being incorporation of crop residues into the soil, compost, and green manure. Fallowing is generally regarded as part of the farming system, practised by anybody who has the necessary land resources. From section 4.2 above it is clear, that soil improvement measures are centrally located in ASPS interventions.

Table 4.6 shows the proportion of households that perform different soil improvement practices, and their distribution between the household poverty levels.

Table 4.6 Households performing soil improvement by poverty level
Percent households performing per poverty level

	Poverty level			All poverty levels (n=1998)
	better-off (n=615)	less poor (n=778)	poorest (n=605)	
Any soil improvement*	60	47	33	47
Incorporate residues without burning*	26	18	13	19
Animal manure*	28	21	10	20
Fertilizers*	6	2	1	3
Compost*	25	20	13	19
Green manure**	7	5	4	5
Fallow*	19	13	7	13

*Correlation is significant at 0.001 level (Pearson chi-square)

**Correlation is significant at 0.05 level (Pearson chi-square)

The number of households performing any soil improvement is slightly less than what was seen for soil conservation among those at the two lower poverty levels (table 4.4 above) but still almost half of all households and 1/3 of the poorest say that they do some kind of soil improvement. Manuring, composting, and incorporation of crop residues in the soil include the most commonly performed measures. Fallowing is less frequent, and use of chemical fertilizers virtually non-existent, except among the better-off households. The latter situation is probably to some extent a consequence of Uganda being in a state of turmoil, war, and civil war in the late 70's and 80's when other East African governments performed major campaigns to promote the use of chemical fertilizers.

All six categories of soil improvement presented here are performed by significantly more of the better-off households, followed by the less poor, and fewest among the poorest households.

Table 4.7 finally demonstrates very clearly that there is no difference between male and female headed households, neither in terms of overall soil improvement performance nor in the use of the different categories of practices. This may be a bit strange, considering the male bias in the reach of such messages from outside interventions (table 4.2)

Table 4.6 Households performing soil improvement by sex of head of household

Percent households performing in male and female headed households respectively

	Head of Household		All households (n=1997)
	male (n=1599)	female (n=398)	
Any soil improvement ^{ns}	47	44	47
Incorporate residues without burning ^{ns}	19	18	19
Animal manure ^{ns}	20	18	20
Fertilizers ^{ns}	3	2	3
Compost ^{ns}	19	22	19
Green manure ^{ns}	5	4	5
Fallow ^{ns}	14	10	13

^{ns} No significant correlation

4.4 Crop sales

4.4.1 Sales of crops

Agricultural incomes or crop sales were not frequently mentioned as indicators of poverty or wellbeing in the well-being rankings, as for example non-agricultural incomes were. Agricultural incomes, therefore are not one of the indicators making up the household poverty index.

However, increased agricultural incomes are a main objective for the ASPS, as a means to reduce poverty, and it is useful therefore to monitor the development of agricultural incomes in districts and by poverty levels. Due to the unreliability of income figures obtained through

questionnaire surveys the proportion of households in a district or among the households making up a certain poverty level, who sells one or more crops are taken as proxy measures showing the movement in agricultural incomes from one survey to the next.

Table 4.7 shows the overall picture for the three poverty levels in the five districts as a whole. Maize, beans, coffee, and cassava, are sold by most households, in that order and by more than 20% of all households. The distribution is significantly skewed against the the poorest households for all crops, including the larger number (33%) of the poorest who sells no crops at all, against 22-23% for the two other levels.

Table 4.7 Households selling different crops by poverty level

Percent households selling per poverty level –crops mentioned are those sold by more than 10%

Crop sold	Poverty level			All poverty levels (n=1998)
	better-off (n=629)	less poor (n=774)	poorest (n=595)	
Maize*	41	38	29	36
Beans*	37	31	25	31
Coffee ^{ns}	26	25	20	24
Casava**	23	21	15	20
Cotton*	17	22	14	18
Bananas*	23	17	12	18
Groundnuts*	15	15	8	13
Finger millet**	12	12	6	10
No crop sales*	23	22	33	26

*Correlation is significant at 0.001 level (Pearson chi-square)

**Correlation is significant at 0.05 level (Pearson chi-square)

ns Correlation is not significant (Pearson chi-square)

This skewedness may be due to a skewed distribution within districts, but it may also be because a certain crop is more prevalent in better of districts.

Maize is, however, sold by major parts of the population in all districts (30-46%). Beans and bananas are major cash crops in Kabarole, Masaka and Rakai, coffee in Masaka and Rakai, cotton in Pallisa and Tororo, and cassava in Pallisa . Among smaller cash crops cassava and groundnuts are sold in all five districts, finger millet and rice in Pallisa and Tororo, and Irish potatoes in Rakai.

Maize is generally grown by all poverty groups, though by significantly more better-off than poorest households in Tororo and Masaka. The main beans selling districts exhibit no significant difference in sales between poverty levels, whereas in Masaka and Rakai banana sales are biased towards the better-off households. Contrary to common expectations, sales of the major export crop, Coffee, is equally distributed between poverty levels, while cotton sales in Tororo are biased towards the less poor group, and in Pallisa towards the better-off. All the smaller cash crops are sold more by the better-off in the districts where they prevail.

5. Gender and poverty impact monitoring

5.1 Poverty and gender relations monitoring

This report has presented gendered district poverty profiles 2002 for the five ASPS focus districts, Kabarole, Masaka, Pallisa, Rakai, and Tororo. While based on local perceptions of poverty and gender relations in the five districts, obtained through qualitative and participatory methods, it has been shown to be possible to extrapolate, quantify and integrate these into one measure of poverty and one measure of equality in gender relations, which are valid for all five districts. These measures have the form of a poverty index and an index for equality in gender relations, which have allowed the grouping of households according to three levels of poverty and three levels of equality in gender relations.

The report demonstrates the usefulness of the three levels of poverty and three levels of equality (or inequality) in gender relations for establishing and analysing the district profiles 2002 (which actually depict the situation in the second half of 2001) and for comparing poverty and gender relations between the districts by comparing the district profiles. Apart from differences between the districts in the distribution of households between the poverty levels as well as the levels of equality in gender relations, the profiles have also revealed the different faces or compositions poverty or gender inequality takes on. Thus, while the indicators which constitute the poverty index or the equality in gender relations index are the same in all districts, each indicator may have different importance in characterizing household poverty or gender inequality in the different districts, as shown above in section 3. In other words, poverty as well as gender inequality have different expressions in different contexts.

This report, therefore, has presented detailed comparisons of the situation of the households in the five districts in terms of poverty levels and levels of equality in gender relations, as well as analyses of how indicators contribute differently to such situations. It has not – yet – however, presented analyses of the development over time of poverty and gender relations. But the methodology used to construct the profiles was developed precisely to allow such comparison over time.

For the purpose of ASPS gender and poverty impact monitoring, it is planned to develop gendered district poverty profiles for the focus districts every third year, initially using the same indicators as the present profiles. Comparing the 2005 profiles with the present 2002 baseline profiles will allow both the registration of changes in the rates of poverty and gender inequality, i.e. changes in the proportions of households falling at the three levels, as well as in the relative importance of the individual indicators in describing household poverty and gender inequality. Hence, the most important section in the 2005 report should be the one depicting reduced or increased poverty in each district as well as the changes in the faces of poverty and gender equality having occurred since 2002.

In the long run, of course peoples perceptions of poverty and gender relations may change as well, so it is possible that this will also have to be monitored e.g. in 2008, meaning that both the household and female well-being rankings and the household survey will have to be repeated then.

The five present focus districts are only meant as pilot districts, and the ASPS and its components are already beginning to spread their activities to Bundibugyo (already included among the first districts from the beginning, but delayed because of civil insecurity). The methodology allows inclusion of new districts by undertaking household and female well-being rankings in a limited number of carefully selected communities to check the applicability of the already identified indicators and, if affirmative, undertake the questionnaire survey. Likewise, new issues can be incorporated into the questionnaire if necessary, e.g. as a result of changes in the content of ASPS interventions.

5.2 ASPS outcome monitoring

In order to attribute changes in poverty levels and in levels of equality in gender relations to impacts of ASPS component interventions, it is necessary to measure the number and kind of households, disaggregated by poverty levels as well as by sex of household head, that are reached by the different interventions. Information must be collected on i) changes in behaviour in the directions which the ASPS interventions aims at; ii) changes in behaviour in directions which recipients perceive ASPS interventions to promote; and iii) about recipients' assessments of the link between these behavioural changes and their overall level of poverty and gender equality.

The present gendered district poverty profiles constitute a baseline. Hence, by comparing the 2002 and 2005 profiles, the next report – the 2005 profiles – will be able to monitor the outcome of the ASPS interventions in terms of assessing changes behaviour and their correlation with changes in levels of poverty and equality in gender relations.

5.3 Attribution

The presence of statistical correlation, for instance between decreasing levels of poverty and high exposure to ASPS supported interventions and changes e.g. in the use of soil conservation practices promoted as part of ASPS supported interventions is not in itself sufficient to attribute decreasing poverty levels to ASPS. Fear of sanctions against non-adopters of soil conservation measures created by earlier government campaigns and improved health facilities could just as well explain the observed changes behaviour and poverty levels, respectively. Thus, besides the

gendered district poverty profiles, the ASPS gender and poverty monitoring has included two supplementary activities which address the problems of attribution and explanation.

Monitoring socio-economic and policy context. To be able to attribute changes to ASPS or non-ASPS factors, the relevant policy, institutional and socio-economic context and its changes is studied, with repetitions every three years.

ASPS component impact processes. In order to explain the links between ASPS interventions and changes in gender and poverty levels and indicators, i.e. to examine some of the reasons behind the statistical relationships found (or not found) through the sample survey analysis, monitoring has also included qualitative analyses of the *processes* through which interventions are translated into changes in well-being for different groups of people.

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