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Foreword, Prime Minister



Northern Uganda has come a long way since September 2006 when Joseph Kony's Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) rebels succumbed to defeat by the Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF) and ceased armed hostilities. With the return to sustained peace in Northern Uganda, the Government has moved towards expanding health, education, water services as well as initiating peace building, resettlement and reintegration programmes of conflict affected communities. Today, the region has made progress in the enhancement of capacities of local governments and improved human development outcomes. The economy of the region has recovered and is vibrant and rapidly growing; and the reconstruction of social infrastructure is progressing well. Since 2006, we have seen a surge in primary school enrolment—

reaching 8.5 million by 2012/13—as well as numerous undertakings in the health sector, especially targeting maternal health.

As the high levels of response to Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSAF) and Karamoja Livelihoods Programme (KALIP) initiatives attested, communities in Northern Uganda now have high expectations for the Government to deliver on consolidating peace, security and post-conflict reconstruction – to enable households once again resume their economic activities.

The Government of Uganda recognizes the challenges ahead, including those of providing economic opportunities to those affected by conflict. Curbing corruption, expanding social services, addressing local government capacity and dealing with youth unemployment remain top priorities for the Government. As the region attains nine years without conflict, the ambition of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) Government is to give hope to each and every person in Northern Uganda.

Nine years after the end of the conflict, I am very pleased that the fifth *National Human Development Report 2015* for Uganda focuses on Northern Uganda with the relevant theme of unlocking the development potential of this region. Without economic opportunities, investments in human development are unlikely to be sustainable. The focus on economic development is highly appropriate for post-conflict Northern Uganda given the previous focus on social service provision. With the country now engaged in a transition, for Northern Uganda, from recovery to development, human development can be an ideal framework for the development vision of Northern Uganda. I am confident that the preparation of the 2015 Northern Uganda *National Human Development Report 2015* will help us evaluate different policy choices and design better conflict sensitive policies and programs.

Government participated in the preparation of the 2015 Northern *Uganda National Human Development Report* because we believe in evidence-based policy making. Evidence provided in this report presents us with a benchmark against which progress in conflict affected areas can be measured in the future. Overall, we are confident that the conclusions and recommendations of this report will contribute to the multiplicity of debates for shaping the future of the region.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Ruhakana Rugunda'.

Ruhakana Rugunda (Dr.)
PRIME MINISTER
REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

Preface



Northern Uganda has made steady progress towards development following decades of devastating civil conflict.

Government of Uganda's comprehensive Peace Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP) has helped in revitalizing the region's socioeconomic transformation in an effort to enable it catch up with the rest of the country. Today, more children are attending school, the quality of infrastructure has significantly improved, and citizens are actively more engaged in economic activity. Overall, there is a renewed sense of optimism and drive to ensure shared prosperity for the region and its people.

However, while the region has made substantial gains in development indicators manifested by an increase in the Human Development Index from 0.402 in 2005/06 to 0.431 in 2012/13, and the narrowing of the margin with the rest of the country, performance is still far below the national average of 0.463. The good message, as indicated in this report is that the region possesses enormous development potential that requires unlocking.

In this report, which is the 8th edition since 1990, we will learn that the effort of government and development actors in unlocking the economic potential of the region will be judged, not only in terms of how much economic growth is attained, but whether this growth has led to substantial improvements in the well-being of the people, irrespective of social class and other identities. The theme builds on a lot of work and interventions that have been undertaken in the northern region, to put it on a sustainable path to recovery.

The report examines across disciplines, the human development conditions in the PRDP region and proposes practical recommendations on how to move beyond recovery and secure sustainable human development. It calls for a change in the structure of the northern economy to transition from low value-added activities to higher value-added industrial activities to maximize gains from local economic activity and support generation of good jobs.

According to the report, unlocking the development potential of the region requires a paradigm shift, to enhance human capabilities and enlarge people's choices. Action in catalytic areas is needed – from investing in transformational infrastructure and sustainable food systems, to increasing productivity of smallholder farmers, advancing social justice, empowering and engaging youth and women productively and in decision making, in addition to building resilience to economic and climatic shocks.

Developing the extractive sector is also identified as a potential key driver for economic growth and human development in this report. Maximizing the sector's potential however, will require government and other stakeholders to prioritise benefits to the people, while ensuring that the environment is well-protected. In doing so, it is important to draw on global experiences and expertise on how to avoid the 'resource curse' that has been common in developing nations, but also emphasize locally grown initiatives to ensure optimal gains.

UNDP, and the broader United Nations System in Uganda, is well-positioned to support government's efforts in unlocking the region's potential and capabilities. Northern Uganda has been, and will continue to remain a priority focus for our development interventions.

The commencement of the third phase of PRDP, along with the second National Development Plan (NDPII), and Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development make this report particularly relevant and timely in informing development action and investment in Northern Uganda.

It is my hope that this report will inform policy thinking and sustained dialogue on how to move Northern Uganda to a transformational development path to attain Vision2040.

Finally, I wish to appreciate the team of researchers from the Economic Policy Research Centre (EPRC) for successfully preparing this report. I also thank all the stakeholders who participated in the research and final validation of the report.



Almaz Gebru

UNDP Resident Representative, a.i.

Acknowledgements

The 2015 Uganda Human Development Report (2015 UHDR) was prepared by the Economic Policy Research Centre (EPRC) on behalf of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The preparation process commenced in November 2014 with the drafting of 9 background papers. The team of consultants led by Sarah Ssewanyana, the Executive Director of EPRC included Ibrahim Kasirye, EPRC, Madina Guloba, EPRC, Gemma Ahaibwe, EPRC, Joseph Mawejje, EPRC, Anita Ntale, EPRC, Clarisse Goffard, EPRC, Brenda Bonabana, Makerere University, Robert Senath Esuruku, International Alert, Julius Kiiza, Makerere University, Frank Muherereza, Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR), Christopher Muhoozi, Makerere University, and Peace Musimenta, Makerere University.

The preparation of the report was guided by a Technical Committee that included: Tony Muhumuza, UNDP, Kordzo Sedegah, UNDP, Patience Lily Alidri, UNDP, Francesca Akello, UNDP, Simon Peter Nsereko, UNDP, Innocent Ejolu, Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), Donald Mbuga, Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development (MoFPED), Vincent Ssenono, Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBoS), Grace Bantebya, Makerere University, Juliet Bataringaya, World Health Organisation (WHO), Rita Gaide, United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), and Francis Wasswa, MoFPED..

The background papers underwent a series of reviews by the technical team that provided feedback at various working sessions between December 2014 and April 2015. The 2015 UNDR draft was presented to an extended audience comprising of experts from various Government agencies and other development actors for technical guidance in July 2015. It was also presented to the UNDP Country Office Management Team, and the Northern Uganda Donor Group in August, 2015. The refined version underwent extensive peer review by MoFPED, OPM, the UNDP Human Development Report Office (HDRO), HDR Network Members, and the UNDP Regional Support Team.

The report also benefited from discussions at various fora including: The National Reconciliation Conference of March 2015 in Kampala, the Northern Uganda Implementation Plan (2014-2015) on the Maternal and New-born Health (MNH) Convergence Area in March 2015, the meeting that reviewed the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) Action Plan held in Moroto in April 2015, and the meeting on Youth Engagement and Empowerment (YEE) and Gender Regional Consultation in May 2015.

The report also benefited from extensive reviews and guidance from Gleh Appleton, UN Resident Coordinator's Office (RCO), Joseph Enyimu, MoFPED, Elisabet Frisk, UN RCO, Nasiib Kaleebu, UNDP, Doreen Kansiime, UNDP, Sheila Kulubya, UNDP, Daniel MacMondo, UNDP, Richard Musinguzi, UNDP, Alex Rodriguez, UN Development Operations Coordination Office (UNDOCO), Marios Obwona, United State Agency for International Development (USAID), Ogenga Latigo, former Member of Parliament, Paul Corti Lakuma (EPRC), Tony Odonkoyero (EPRC), Annet Adong (EPRC), Alastair Taylor, OPM, Eric Awich Ochen, Makerere University, participants of the national and regional validation workshops held on November 9 in Kampala and November 19 in Gulu, respectively. Project administrative support provided by Josephine Faith Nansubuga, UNDP, Gerald Janani, UNDP, Moureen Kekirunga, UNDP, Florence Ochola, UNDP, Elizabeth Birabwa, EPRC, and Mary Tusaba Kivunike, EPRC, is highly appreciated. The editorial support provided by John Wayem is highly acknowledged. Several organizations generously shared their data and other research materials to inform the report. Their contribution is duly appreciated.

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Executive Summary

The Uganda Human Development Report 2015 (2015 UHDR) focuses on development in Northern Uganda, broadly defined as the region covered by the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP). The report applies one dominant notion of post-conflict research - that is, restarting the engines of growth. This notion is applied to examine the abundant development opportunities, and the unique challenges associated with unlocking the economic potential of the PRDP region using the UNDP-inspired lens of human development. The underlying premise as stipulated by Amartya Sen is that development is not just about investments as we regard them (for instance infrastructure), important as they are. Nor is it about growth per se. Development is fundamentally about people and their wellbeing.

The unlocking-of-development discourse matters because it asks hard questions on post-conflict wealth creation. For example, in what ways can the PRDP region uproot the critical developmental bottlenecks and what needs to be done to ensure a transition from recovery mode to structural socioeconomic transformation?

The 2015 UHDR specifically explores the region's human development gaps and the progress so far made. Where data permits, comparisons are made with the rest of the country (RoC). The report pays attention to issues of inequalities and vulnerabilities – specifically focusing on how they have been addressed as well as how a level-playing field could be achieved to spur sustainable human development. The following messages feature in the report.

- a) First, unlocking the development potential of the region requires adoption of a more inclusive, coordinated and transformative approach. Within the normal flow of development transformation, as articulated by the PRDP III, there has to be a set of innovations to accelerate and shorten the path for “Catch-up”. Such innovation must be built around transforming the region's greatest social challenge: the ‘too late to go back to school’ segment of the population, youth unemployment/under employment and low employability, into its greatest opportunity, by tapping into the regions’ economic potential in agriculture.
- b) Second, land reforms that would enhance security of tenure, while respecting the traditional socio-cultural norms with respect to communal ownership of land, should be implemented. This will encourage productive investments in, and use of, land. However, issues relating to land access and land tenure, especially in a communal setting, should be handled cautiously, as they arouse sentiments and emotions within the affected communities, and are potentially major trigger buttons of conflict.
- c) Third, the contribution of the mining sector to the socio-economic development of the region in particular Karamoja needs to be emphasised. The development of this sector is critical for value addition and has a strong multiplier effect on employment. But the institutional framework must be supportive.
- d) Fourth, supporting the development of the local tourism industry in the PRDP region can have spill-over effects on other sectors, especially on education, health, transport and energy. Investments in these sectors can further strengthen human development outcomes in the tourism hotspots and surrounding regions. Moreover, the development of a vibrant tourism sectors can help overcome regional inequalities and vulnerabilities through the building of supportive infrastructures that can unlock the rest of the sectors. Notwithstanding these benefits, tourism should be used only as a stop-gap measure, not as a sector that can push the region's economy on a path to transformation
- e) Fifth, it is necessary to provide complementary reforms in the livestock and crop sub-

sectors in order to transition Karamoja from the traditional way of livelihood to settled existence. This shift is a gradual process requiring multidimensional approaches and long term interventions. It is important to embark on strategic interventions that will improve livestock productivity (size, quality, better breeds) and also approaches that integrate the crop and livestock sub-sectors. There is a need to integrate the pastoral economy of Karamoja with that of pastoral groups in neighbouring countries of South Sudan and Kenya, in order to harness synergies.

- f) Sixth but not least, some efforts have been blind to the heterogeneity of the PRDP region, by pursuing a “one-size-fits-all” approach to related interventions. The clustering of districts in the PRDP region into three mutually

exclusive sub-regions suffers from the same defect. This is especially so with the *severely affected* sub-region, which includes Karamoja, Acholi and one or two districts from West Nile and Lango, thereby mixing up different types of conflicts, each having a distinctly different impact on human development. Clearly, “*spill over*” sub-region performed closely with the RoC. Moving forward, re-clustering of these locations could be of help for targeting.

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Abbreviations/Acronyms

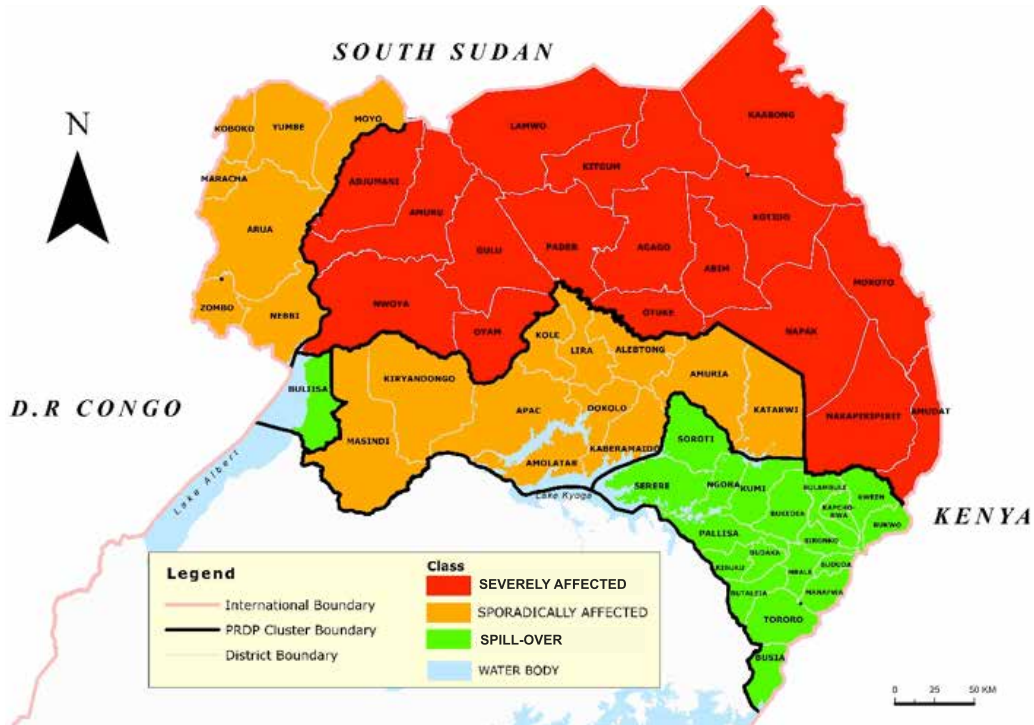
ACCS	Advisory Consortium on Conflict Sensitivity	DGSM	Department of Geological Surveys and Mines
ACF	Action Against Hunger	DRC	Danish Refugee Council
ADRA	Adventists Relief and Development Agency	DSIP	Development Strategy and Investment Plan
AFR	Adolescent Fertility Rates	EDF	European Development Fund
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome	EPRC	Economic Policy Research Centre
ALREP	Agricultural Livelihoods Recovery Programme	ERA	Electricity Regulatory Authority
ARLPI	Acholi religious Leaders Peace Initiatives	ESSAR	Education and Sports Sector Annual Performance Report
APFS	Agro Pastoral Field Schools	EU	European Union
ASB	Arbeiter-Samariter-Bund Deutschland	FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
ASM	Artisanal and Small-scale Mining	FFS	Farmer Field Schools
CAOs	Chief Administration Officers	FfW	Food-for-Work
C&D	Italian Co-operation and Development	FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
CAHWs	Community Animals Health Workers	FIEFCP	Farm Income Enhancement and Forestry Conservation Project
CEDAW	Convention on Elimination of all Discrimination Against Women	FIT	Foreign Independent Tourist
COBs	Community Based Organisations	GAM	Global Acute Malnutrition
CBR	Centre for Basic Research	GBV	Gender Based Violence
CCA	Community Conservation Area	GDI	Gender Development Index
CDC	Centre for Disease Control and Prevention	GDP	Gross Domestic Product
CEDAW	Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women	GER	Gross Enrolment Rate
CESVI	Cooperazione Sviluppo Onlus	GHDR	Global Human Development Report
CfW	Cash-for-Work	GII	Gender Inequality Index
COOPI	Cooperazione Internazionale	GNI	Gross National Income
CSO	Civil Society Organisation	GoU	Government of Uganda
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency	HC	Health Centre
DDG	Danish Deming Group	HDI	Human Development Index
DDR	Disarmament Demobilisation and Reintegration	HISP	Household Income Support Project
DECARs	District, Urban and Community Access Roads	HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
DFID	Department for International Development	HTTI	Hotel and Tourism Training Institute
		ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
		IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
		IHDI	Inequality adjusted Human Development Index
		ILO	International Labour Organisation
		IMR	Infant Mortality Rates
		IOM	International Organization for Migration

IRS	Indoor Residual Spraying	NUREP	Northern Uganda Rehabilitation Programme
ITNs	Insecticide-Treated mosquito Nets	NUSAF	Northern Uganda Social Action Fund
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources	NWSC	National Water and Sewerage Corporation
JLOS	Justice, Law and Order Sector	ODI	Overseas Development Institute
KALIP	Karamoja Livelihoods Program	OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
KAPFS	Karamoja Action Plan for Food Security	PADC	Pian Agro-Pastoral Development Centre
KIDDP	Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Development Program	PHC	Primary Health Care
KPEP	Karamoja Primary Education Project	PMC	Project Management Committees
KPAP	Karamoja Productive Assets Program	PPP	Public-Private Partnership
LDPG	Local Development Partners Group	PPR	Peste des Petits Ruminants
LLIN	Long-lasting insecticidal net	PRDP	Peace Recovery and Development Plan
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army	PWP	Public Works Programmes
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation	QENP	Queen Elisabeth National Park
MAAIF	Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industries and Fisheries	RDCs	Resident District Commissioners
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals	RoC	Rest of the Country
MEMD	Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development	SAGE	Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment
MFNP	Murchison Falls National Park	SCG	Senior Citizens Grants
MISR	Makerere Institute for Social Research	SCIUG	Save the Children in Uganda
MNH	Maternal and New born Health	SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
MoFPED	Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development	TBA	Traditional Birth Attendants
MoGLSD	Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development	TCC	Tourism Coordination Committee
MoES	Ministry of Education and Sports	TIMS	Tourism Information Management System
MoH	Ministry of Health	USR	Under Five Mortality Rate
MPI	Multidimensional Poverty Index	UBoS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
MoTWH	Ministry of Tourism Wildlife and Heritage	UCC	Uganda Communications Commission
MoWE	Ministry of Water and Environment	UDHS	Uganda Demographic and Health Survey
NAADS	National Agricultural Advisory Services	UHDR	Uganda Human Development Report
NER	Net Enrolment Rate	UECTL	Uganda Electricity Transmission Company Limited
NDP	National Development Plan	UNDAF	United Nations Development Assistance Framework
NDP	National Development Plan	UNDP	United Nation Development Programme
NEMA	National Environmental Management Authority	UNHS	Uganda National Households Survey
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations	UNICEF	United Nations Children's Education Fund
NRM	Natural Resource Management	UNPS	Uganda National Panel Survey
NUERP	Northern Uganda Early Recovery Programme		

UPDF	Uganda People’s Defence Forces	UWA	Uganda Wildlife Authority
UPE	Universal Primary Education	VFSG	Vulnerable Family Support Grants
USDI	Uganda Service Delivery Indicator	VfW	Vouchers-for-Work
USD	United States Dollar	VSLA	Village Savings and Lending Association
USE	Universal Secondary Education	WFP	World Food Program
UShs	Uganda Shillings	YLP	Youth Livelihood Programme
UTA	Uganda Tourism Association	YVCF	Youth Venture Capital Fund
UTB	Uganda Tourism Board		

PRDP Regional Classifications used in this Report

MAP 1: PRDP REGION BY INTENSITY OF CONFLICT



Source: UBOS, 2015.

The report focuses on the districts covered by the Peace Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP). The PRDP region is made up of 55 districts which are categorised into three mutually exclusive sub-regions to reflect the intensity of the conflict in the region as articulated in the PRDP II report: *severely affected* by conflict and/or cattle rustling, *sporadically affected*, and those that experienced *spill-over* effects. These are detailed below:

Severely affected districts Adjumani, Gulu, Kitgum, Kotido, Moroto, Nakapiripirit, Pader, Abim, Amuru, Kaabong, Oyam, Agago, Amudat, Lamwo, Napak, Nwoya, and Otuke.

Sporadically affected districts: Katakwi, Kaberamaido, Amuria, Apac, Arua, Lira, Moyo, Nebbi, Yumbe, Amolator, Dokolo, Koboko, Alebtong, Kole, Zombo, Maracha, Masindi, and Kiryandongo.

Spill-over districts: Busia, Kapchorwa, Kumi, Mbale, Pallisa, Soroti, Tororo, Sironko, Budaka, Bududa, Bukedea, Bukwo, Butaleja, Manafwa, Bulambuli, Kibuku, Kween, Ngora, Serere, Buliisa.

Notes: To avoid confusion in the use of sub-region according to intensity of conflict with the sub-region as used in the Northern Uganda Survey, the latter is referred to as a group of districts in the entire report – e.g instead of Acholi sub-region, this report refers to the same geographical coverage as Acholi districts. Thus, Acholi districts includes Gulu, Kitgum, Pader, Amuru, Agago, and Nwoya; Lango districts includes Apac, Lira, Amolator, Dokolo, Alebtong, Kole, Oyam and Otuke; West Nile districts includes Adjumani, Arua, Moyo, Nebbi, Yumbe, Koboko, Maracha and Zombo; and Karamoja districts includes Kotido, Moroto, Nakapiripirit, Abim, Kaabong, Amudat, and Napak.

**CHAPTER 1:
INTRODUCTION**

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Northern Uganda remains an eyesore in Uganda's relatively impressive national human development record, because of its long, protracted civil conflict. On the one hand, the conflict was between the Government of Uganda (GoU) and various rebel groups, especially, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). On the other hand, the conflict in Karamoja that revolved around a long history of social, economic and political exclusion from the centre as well as cattle rustling.

A substantial body of evidence documents how the legacy of violent conflict can affect human development outcomes.¹ Violent conflict adds to an array of traditional determinants of poverty, such as education, livelihoods and health, and, in so doing, limits future progress in human development. The effects of civil conflict can be very destructive and persist for a long time after the conflict has ended. An example is Cambodia, where significant adverse impacts of the conflict during the Khmer Rouge regime (1975-78) still exist more than 30 years later.² It is, therefore, not surprising that Northern Uganda still remains fragile even nine years after the end of the conflict. Literature points to first ten years after end of a conflict as critical to preventing the re-emergence of another conflict.³ Northern Uganda shares a border with South Sudan. South Sudan has demonstrated that the re-emergence of conflict is not only possible but also highly probable, in the short to medium term. Unlike conflicts in other countries, the conflict in Northern Uganda was geographically concentrated, as illustrated in Map 1.

The conflict in the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP) region forced human displacement, extreme deprivation, destruction of infrastructure and livelihoods. This had devastating effects on human development progress. Indeed, the conflict partly contributed to the large unfinished human development agenda in the region. Indicators of human development including education, health, gender equality, and child health remain below those of the Rest of the Country (RoC).

The Uganda Human Development Report 2015 (2015 UHDR) locates human development in Northern Uganda in the broader context of Uganda's overall development, and compares the situation in the region with that of the RoC. 'Northern Uganda' as

defined in the Report, refers to the region covered by the PRDP. This region includes Acholi, Lango, West Nile, Karamoja, Bukedi, Elgon, Teso and part of Bunyoro (Map 1). While important sub-regional variations exist, the PRDP region is characterized by one common denominator, that is, the relatively low level of human development. The region has lagged behind the RoC partly because of the long period of conflict and cattle rustling, but also due to a marginalisation process that dates back to the colonial era.

The PRDP region has received several interventions by both the State and non-State actors since 2006, when the conflict ended. Such interventions include: the PRDP itself; the Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSAF I and II); the National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) programme, the Karamoja Livelihoods Programme (KALIP), and the Agricultural Livelihoods Recovery Programme (ALREP), implemented with support from development partners. A host of other interventions have been spearheaded by the private sector and Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs). The Government has also embarked on several infrastructural development projects including road and energy infrastructure projects such as the Gulu-Atiak, Olwiyo-Gulu-Kitgum-Musingo highway, and the Karuma hydro-electric power dam. Investments have also gone into social services (particularly education, water and health), communication, and the strengthening of the Justice, Law and Order Sector (JLOS). Given the long period of disparities within the PRDP region on the one hand, and between the PRDP region and the RoC on the other hand, any investment in the region's long-term development carefully analyse how such interventions will contribute to human development in a sustainable manner.

Most of the interventions in the region are incorporated in the PRDP, which is a comprehensive development framework, put in place by the GoU. Its overarching aim is to consolidate peace in the region, and thereby ensure sustained recovery and development. Phase II of the framework (PRDP II) focused on four strategic objectives, namely: (a) consolidation of state authority; (b) rebuilding and empowering communities; (c) revitalization

of the economy; and (d) peace building and reconciliation.⁴ However, changes have been proposed in PRDP III. First, its goals now include significantly and sustainably increasing household incomes and reducing vulnerability. Second, the strategic objectives have been reduced to three to include: i) consolidation of peace; ii) development of the economy; and iii) reduction of vulnerability. Despite this, a number of concerns have surfaced. First, the PRDP III is silent on how the region would harness its potential without resolving the land question. Second, the Plan focuses on post-conflict interventions but is silent on the region's initial conditions. Third, the PRDP III has limited space for social services, which are critical for human development. The change in focus under PRDP III, plus the on-going non-PRDP programmes and interventions are fully acknowledged in this Report.

One key question is whether such interventions have put the region on a sustainable path from recovery and transformation. While those interventions appear to be well-intentioned, the dominant theory of change emphasizes small-steps improvements, not big-steps transformations. In Northern Uganda, incrementalism, rather than structural transformation, has received the lion's share of analytical and policy space.

The 2015 UHDR makes a significant contribution to policy discourse by advocating the shifting of attention from recovery to a new era of enhanced productivity, enlarged capabilities and transformative interventions through a human development lens. The underlying premise is that development is not just about improvements in infrastructure, important as they are. Nor is it about economic growth *per se*. Development is, fundamentally, about people and their well-being.⁵ The aim is to deliver big-steps improvements and sustained human development, based on a new transformative theory of change. The Report examines the human development conditions in the region, and explores ways in which people can achieve higher levels of human development and contribute to the realisation of the region's full development potential. It analyses policy options for: accelerating progress on the unfinished business of the MDGs; facilitating the full recovery of the region, within the context of PRDP III and, harnessing the economic potential of the region through structural socio-economic transformation. It also identifies

the obstacles to structural transformation, and promotes corrective policies that can contribute to the realisation of sustainable human development.

The Report comes at a time when the Government of Uganda (GoU) has just launched the second National Development Plan (NDP II 2015/16-2019/20), and the third generation of the PRDP (PRDP III). It also coincides with the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and preparation of Country programmes by development partners. Its novelty, in part, pertains to analysis of human development statistics at the PRDP sub-regional level in order to reflect the differences in human development for varying conflicts and severity, by comparing *severely affected*, *sporadically affected* and *spill-over* sub-regions. This offers a new dimension to reporting on human development in Uganda, which is critical for targeting as proposed by agenda 2030.

1.1 UGANDA'S MACROECONOMIC PERFORMANCE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCE

There is general consensus that growth is a necessary but not sufficient precondition for sustainable human development. This is also true for Uganda. During the 2005/6 to 2012/13 period, the Ugandan economy grew, on average, by 7 percent per annum. This growth was mainly driven by the services sector (8 percent) and the industry sector (7.8 percent). The agricultural sector, from where the majority of Ugandans derive their livelihood, grew, on average, by 1.3 percent annually, with the poorest performance noted for the food crops sub-sector. Growth was stronger during the 2005/6 to 2009/10 period, compared to the 2009/10 to 2012/13 period. This trend was also true for some human development indicators, as discussed in Chapter 2. The possible causes for the economic slowdown in the latter period derive from both local and external factors. The period was characterised by high inflationary pressures, national elections in 2011, significant decline in exports to South Sudan, and the decline in global commodity prices⁶, among others. The worst period was 2011/12, when the cost of living increased rapidly (with double-digit inflation), and real GDP growth rate declined from 6.7 percent in 2010/11 to 3.4 percent in 2011/12. The agricultural sector registered minimal growth,

averaging 1 percent per annum during 2010/11 and 2012/13. However, macroeconomic stability was restored during 2013, with inflation down to single digit. To this end, the economy grew by 4.5 percent in 2013/14 and 5.9 percent in 2014/15 respectively.

Notwithstanding the aforementioned positive growth performance, some challenges remain. First, Uganda's growth has been characterised by growing levels of income inequalities. The Gini coefficient, which measures income inequality, increased significantly (from 0.395 in 1999/2000, to 0.426 in 2009/10), before declining to 0.395 in 2012/13. Second, economic growth has not yet translated into significant and sustainable progress in human development outcomes, particularly in the PRDP region. Third and most importantly, Uganda's growth has not been inclusive and transformative. For example, the country has registered only marginal changes in the use of productivity-enhancing technologies (such as fertilisers and high yielding seed varieties).

Uganda's progress towards the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) has been mixed.⁷ For instance, substantial progress was made in achieving the "income poverty" reduction goal ahead of 2015. The share of the population living below the poverty line fell from 55.7 percent in 1992 to 19.7 percent in 2012/13.⁸ However, progress in education was not sustained over time and health indicators only slowly improved. For example, the country achieved and maintained gender parity in primary education enrolment but lost momentum on the net primary enrolment rate (NER) for the period under review. However, the health indicators are improving slowly. The slow progress is partly attributed to high population growth (3.03 percent⁹ per annum), one of the highest in the world.

Moreover, regionally-disaggregated human development achievements reveal that the PRDP region (excluding the Bukedi and Elgon districts), continues to lag behind the RoC, thereby pulling down the national progress in human development.¹⁰ For instance, the share of the population living below the poverty line declined from 72.2 percent in 1992 to 45.8 percent in 2012/13. This fact demonstrates the region's inability to have achieved the first MDG goal (of halving extreme income poverty) before the end of the MDGs time

frame, and the transition to the SDGs initiative. By implication, Uganda's overall progress on human development outcomes might not materialise unless the binding constraints in the lagging areas are addressed. It is necessary to shift focus from national statistical averages to more regionally-disaggregated data, in order to ensure prosperity for all. The national development strategies such as the Vision 2040 might appear to deliver, on average, but fail to achieve prosperity for all. This consideration is relevant to the overarching aim of the SDGs, which advocates that no one should be left behind in development.

1.2 WHY THE FOCUS ON THE PRDP REGION

The economic and development plight of Northern Uganda cannot be overlooked. There is a marked north-south divide that is firmly rooted in history. In the colonial era, the south of the country was the hub of industrial and agricultural enterprises, while the north was primarily carved out as a supplier of men for the colonial army and police force, as well as a labour reserve for factories and plantations in the south. Since Independence, the control of Uganda's political and military affairs by the people from the North did not bridge the north-south divide. The late eighties and early nineties were characterised by armed conflicts, with the worst effects observed during the insurgency led by LRA rebels.¹¹ While the insurgency was concentrated in the Acholi, West Nile and Lango districts, instability in Karamoja was due more to cattle raiding (rustling) and a general breakdown of law and order.

Violent conflict affects different dimensions of important determinants of welfare, such as education, livelihoods, and health. In so doing, it limits both immediate and future human development progress. Armed conflict severely destroyed people's livelihoods, especially of agricultural production but also curtailed any opportunity for investment. Long after war, there are still unaddressed legacies of the conflict, in various dimensions of wellbeing. Among them, the growing youth population who have missed their early education,¹² and have limited opportunities for decent and gainful employment.

The PRDP region is renowned for its rich natural resources base. This consists of: oil and gas in the north-west; minerals in Karamoja; water and hydroelectric power potential along the Nile river basin; fertile agricultural soils; as well as wildlife and rich biodiversity. Some have argued that the region is strategically located as the main gateway to South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and, can, therefore, contribute immensely to Uganda's "prosperity for all" aspirations, through harnessing regional trade. In the State of the Nation Address of June 2015, President Yoweri Museveni noted that "Northern Uganda is going to be the industrial hub of Uganda".

Others contest that this vast resource endowment only adds to the region's development paradox. This is because of the recurrence of conflicts in the bordering countries (such as South Sudan, the DRC etc), as well as the region's lack of institutional frameworks and the shortage of skilled human capital, which are required to make development a reality. The region has received substantial investments from the government, as well as non-state actors, to support its recovery from armed conflict, and, more recently, for its transition from recovery to long-term sustainable development. Notwithstanding the aforementioned development potential of the region and efforts to turn around its human development on a sustainable basis, the region still lags behind the RoC in many respects. This raises concerns about the extent to which these interventions have been transformative and/or channels for closing the gaps between the region and the RoC.

Large inequalities in incomes, education, health and participation across gender, geography and life cycle persist, despite comprehensive recovery and development plans for the PRDP region. This raises important issues with regard to the achievement of human development, which can only be sustained through the socio-economic transformation of the region. The most affected are the vulnerable segments of the population, especially women, children and youth. Women in this part of the country are yet to enjoy their rights to economic justice and sustainable development, a factor which constrains the full development of their capacity and, in turn, affects the prosperity of their families, societies and the country at large. Bearing

this in mind, it is important not to underplay the impact of social norms on human development outcomes. Furthermore, the remoteness of some districts within the PRDP region (especially within Karamoja) from the traditional centres of business and economic power, also contributes to the region's low levels of human development.

There have been deliberate efforts to reverse the marginalisation of the region. However, some efforts have been blind to the heterogeneity of the region, by pursuing a "one-size-fits-all" approach to related interventions. Even the clustering of districts in the PRDP region into three mutually exclusive sub-regions suffers from the same defect. This is especially so with the *severely affected* sub-region, which includes Karamoja, Acholi and one or two districts from West Nile and Lango, thereby mixing up different types of conflicts, each having a distinctly different impact on human development.

1.3 THE STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

The remainder of this Report is organised in six chapters. **Chapter 2** assesses the status of human development in the region and how it compares with the RoC. The chapter highlights the challenge of uneven progress in human development within the PRDP region, as well as between the PRDP region and the RoC. In **Chapter 3**, vulnerability and human development are discussed. Specifically, the chapter explores how vulnerability could be a driver of some of the inequalities observed in Chapter 2. **Chapter 4** focuses on human development in Karamoja, and consequences of development interventions there as well as potential entry points for fast-tracking development. **Chapter 5** explores possible mechanisms for improving and sustaining human development in the PRDP region. It focuses on the ways the region can be integrated into the national economy by building resilience mechanisms. **Chapter 6** is the thematic focus of the Report. It discusses the developmental obstacles of the PRDP region, and what needs to be done to unlock the economic potential of the region for sustainable human development. Conclusions and policy actions for rebuilding the local economy and strengthening human development are highlighted in **Chapter 7**.

CHAPTER 2:
THE STATUS AND PROGRESS OF
HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

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Human development focuses on important aspects of human well-being including the rights to education and health, and free participation in economic, social and political activities. Human rights that are necessary for survival and dignified living, include the rights to life and liberty; a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of individual and her/his family, including food, water and housing, continuous improvements of living conditions, social protection in times of need; and work and favourable conditions of work. Human rights also cover those rights and freedoms necessary for human capabilities, dignity, creativity and intellectual and spiritual development. These include the rights to education and access to information, freedom of religion, opinion, speech and expression; freedom of association; and the right to participate in the political process.

Human development framework defines and evaluates development mostly in term of the expansion of substantive freedoms, expanding the capabilities for people to lead the kind of life they value, and enhancing the functioning of people in such areas as health and life expectancy as well as education, among others. It is, therefore, important to distinguish between the instruments for achieving development and ends of development. It is necessary to look beyond achievements in income that is important for development, and pay more attention to the ends of development that are intrinsically valued by people. Human development manifests itself in a long and healthy life, knowledge (education and skills) and a decent standard of living, including earning high incomes and purchasing power or command over economic resources. Furthermore, the concept of human development recognises poverty in its multidimensional perspectives.

The overall aim of this chapter is therefore to provide highlights of the status and progress of human development in the PRDP region. These include: the human development index (HDI), the inequality adjusted HDI (IHDI), the Gender Inequality Index (GII), the Gender Development

Index (GDI) and the multi-dimensional poverty index (MPI). Comparisons are made with the RoC and the national averages.

The chapter also discusses the main components of each of the indices and the driving forces, highlighting the disparities over time, across space, gender and life cycle. The discussion goes beyond the key indicators that feed directly into the computation of these indices. It includes, among others, the quality of service provision, population dynamics and their implications for achieving sustainable human development. Within the PRDP region, the ranking of sub-regional human development indices remains unchanged. The *severely affected* sub-region presents the worst outcomes, while the *spill-over* sub-region reports the best indicator outcomes (with the exception of the Gender Inequality Index (GII)). In addition, insights are provided on population dynamics, and their implications for transforming the region. The chapter explores the youth dimension, examining the aspects that can be harnessed as a generation nurtured from conflict.

The review period is divided into two: 2005/6 to 2009/10 and 2009/10 to 2012/13. These periods were chosen partly to match the availability of survey data points, but also because they coincide with two distinct growth-poverty-inequality episodes.¹³

2.1 HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDICES

Using UNDP's human development framework, the broad dimensions of human well-being used for the composite indices include: access to knowledge, long and healthy life, economic opportunities, and participation. Access to knowledge is captured by various education indicators, including literacy rates, enrolment rates, mean years of schooling and expected years of schooling. Health related indicators are represented in the computation by long and healthy life, measured by: maternal mortality rates, fertility rates, child nutrition and mortality. Economic opportunities consider patterns and trends in peoples' standard of living

(which is influenced by household incomes, income poverty, housing conditions, and livelihood strategies).

2.1.1 Human Development Index

The Human Development Index (HDI) is a composite index measuring average achievements in three basic dimensions of human development. These are: a long and healthy life; knowledge; and a decent standard of living. The variables that enter its computation are: a life expectancy index; an education index; and, a gross national income (GNI) index. The education dimension is measured by mean years of schooling for the *senior* adult population (31 years and older) and expected years of schooling for the younger age category. The decent standard of living indicator is measured by per capita consumption expenditure.

Figure 2.1(a) shows that the HDI improved from 0.448 in 2005/6 to 0.463 in 2012/13. This is equivalent to a 0.5 percent per annum growth in human development. The trend in the national HDI confirms that Uganda remains a low human development country, because its index falls below the HDI cut-off value of 0.550¹⁴. The improvement in HDI was faster in the period 2005/6 to 2009/10, compared to that for the 2009/10 to 2012/13 period.

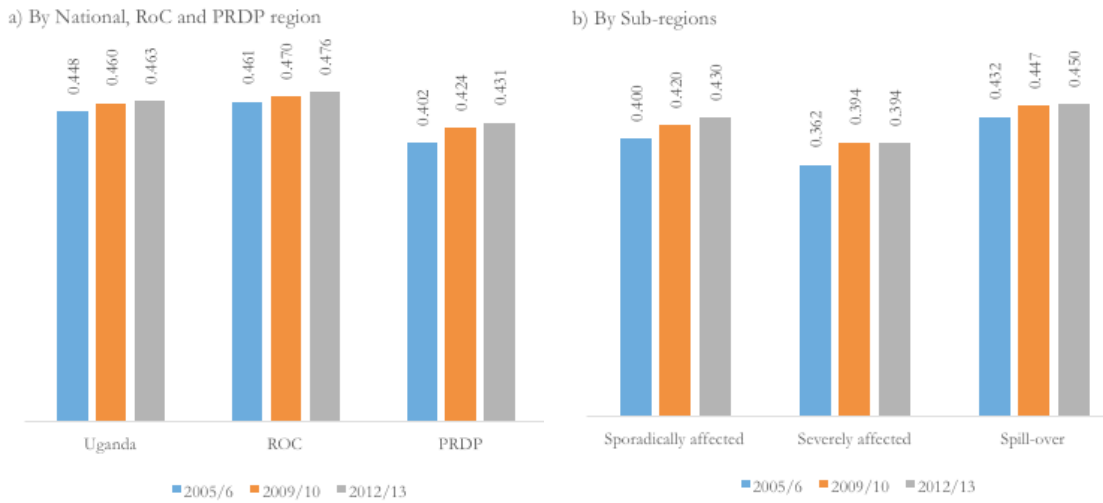
However, the gains at the national level mask the underlying disparities as will be discussed later. Figure 2.1(a) also shows that the HDI for the entire PRDP region remained well below the levels for Uganda and for the Rest of the Country (RoC), although with a narrowing gap over time. The highest contribution to the HDI comes from the health index (life expectancy at birth) followed by the education index (mean years of schooling and expected years of schooling). The income index made the lowest contribution.

There are notable disparities within the PRDP region, where the HDI was highest in the *spill-*

over sub-region and lowest in the *severely affected* sub-region (see Figure 2.1b), partly weighed down by indicator values for Karamoja (see Chapter 4). However, the gap between these two sub-regions declined between 2005/6 and 2012/13. For the entire eight year period, the HDI values for the *spill-over* sub-region were well above the average for the entire PRDP region, but narrowing. In this sub-region, the contribution of the education component to the overall HDI mirrors that at the PRDP region level. Worth noting also is the *spill-over* sub-region's progress on the education index: it was well above the national and PRDP region averages, regardless of survey round. This progress is largely explained by the increase in expected years of schooling (from 12.5 years in 2005/6 to 13.3 years in 2012/13).

In terms of income, there is a change in sub-regional rankings. Between 2005/6 and 2009/10, the *spill-over* sub-region was in the lead, but the position was taken over by the *sporadically affected* sub-region. Furthermore, there is a notable reduction in income gap between the *severely affected* and the *spill-over* sub-regions. That said, the *spill-over* sub-region maintained its position as the leading sub-region in the overall HDI. The gains in education achievements were stronger than the losses in income that helped the sub-region to maintain progress in the HDI, though at a slower rate. Despite the lowest HDI ranking for the *severely affected* sub-region, it registered the highest improvements over time (a growth rate of 1.2 percent per annum), followed by the *sporadically affected* sub-region. The signs of slowdown in progress in the latter period are partly explained by contraction in income growth in all sub-regions (see Table 2.1) and the reduction in the mean years of schooling as will be discussed in Section 2.2.2. The only exception to this contraction in income growth is the *sporadically affected* sub-region.

FIGURE 2.1: PATTERNS AND TRENDS IN HDI



Source: Calculations based on UNHS data of 2005/6, 2009/10 and 2012/13.

2.1.2 Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index

The Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI) measure goes beyond the average achievements in the well-being of the population of an entity in all the three dimensions of the HDI (health, education and income). Unlike the HDI, the IHDI takes into account inequality in all these dimensions by discounting each dimension’s average value according to its level of inequality. The difference between the HDI and IHDI values for a country is the loss due to inequality in distribution of the HDI within the country. The distribution/ranking however, has remained unchanged. In 2013, Uganda’s HDI value was 0.463, but, discounting it for inequality reduces the value to 0.274 (see Figure 2.2). This represents a loss of 40.9 percent. The loss in the PRDP region (38.2 percent) is well below the national average and that for the RoC. By implication, the manifestation

of inequalities in the above dimensions is different between the PRDP and RoC. Life expectancy index falls substantially due to inequalities; and income is the most resilient to inequality. While income inequalities seem to be higher in the RoC, inequalities in education attainment are higher in the PRDP region.

Considering the sub-regions, the loss on account of inequality ranged between 36 and 43 percent. Regardless of the survey round, the loss in HDI due to inequality is highest for the *severely affected* sub-region with the loss worsening over time. This is partly explained by the drastic loss in income. In terms of education and income, the inequalities are higher in the *severely affected* sub-region compared to the overall average for the PRDP and averages for the RoC. The education inequalities in this sub-region seem to have widened between 2005/6 and 2012/13; but reduced for the *spill-over* sub-region in the same period.

FIGURE 2.2: PATTERNS AND TRENDS IN IHDI



Notes: Each bar represents the HDI as presented in Section 2.1.1 but broken down into IHDI and loss due to inequality.
Source: Calculations based on UNHS data of 2005/6, 2009/10 and 2012/13.

2.1.3 Gender and human development

Expanding opportunities for women and girls is not only a human right, but also essential for sustainable development. Indeed gender inequality remains a barrier to sustainable human development. The gender-responsive legal and policy environment has seen Uganda register some progress in reducing gender inequalities and vulnerabilities across the different social, political and economic capabilities. However, challenges still remain, in the form of significant gender inequalities. This is especially so in the PRDP region, where the conflict worsened the situations of women and girls, in terms of development opportunities and progress. Notwithstanding this, gender gaps have narrowed, in terms of primary school enrolment, as well as participation in economic activities and decision making, since 2006.¹⁵ However, there is evidence of persistent high rates of maternal mortality and morbidity, as well as teenage pregnancies, and of low enrolment of females at the post-primary education levels, limited access to, and ownership of, productive resources for women (especially land), as well as increased sexual and gender based violence (SGBV).

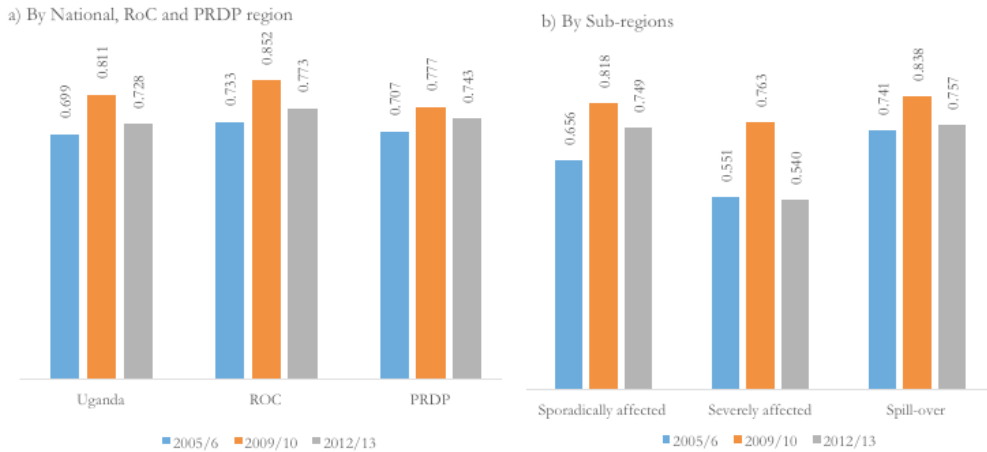
Gender inequalities limit the ability of women and girls to fully participate in, and benefit from, development programmes in the PRDP region. Formal and informal institutions, such as patriarchy, religion, family, marriage as well as social norms and

cultural practices, play a major role in perpetuating gender inequalities in many African countries, including Uganda and in particular, the northern region.¹⁶ While women and girls were affected by gender inequalities before the war, their situation was worsened by the effects of war as explained in the section that follows. The gender related human development indices are discussed below.

Gender Development Index

The Gender Development Index (GDI) is constructed with similar dimensions of human well-being as the HDI, except that the GDI adjusts for gender differences. It incorporates gender equity into the measure of absolute levels of human development. Put differently, the GDI measures disparities in HDI by gender (a female to male ratio of the HDI). It reflects the differences in human development achievement between males and females in three dimensions – education, health and standard of living. The closer the ratio is to 1, the smaller the gap between females and males. Figure 2.3 reveals the challenges of sustaining progress over time. However, considering the entire period, the gender gap is wider for the PRDP region, compared to the RoC. The gap is widest for the *severely affected* sub-region, and narrowest in the *sporadically affected* sub-region. The significant drop over time in the value for the *severely affected* sub-region is partly explained by the significant decline in the per capita incomes for females between 2009/10 and 2012/13.

FIGURE 2.3: PATTERNS AND TRENDS IN GDI



Source: Calculations based on UNHS data of 2005/6, 2009/10 and 2012/13.

Gender Inequality Index

The Gender Inequality Index (GII) is a composite index that considers gender-based inequalities in three dimensions. These are: reproductive health, measured by maternal mortality rates (MMRs) and adolescent fertility rate (AFR); empowerment, measured by the share of parliamentary seats held, and education attainment of at least some secondary level by gender for *senior* adults; and, labour market, measured by participation in the labour force for the economically active population. In other words, the GII shows loss in human development on account of inequality between

female and male achievements in all these three dimensions.

The higher the GII value the higher the losses due to inequality. The results are presented in Figure 2.4. The national average GII value remained almost constant for the eight year period, at about 0.565, (implying a loss in achievement due to gender inequality of 56.5 percent). The results reveal that the extent of inequalities was higher at the PRDP region relative to the RoC, regardless of the survey period. Notably, a declining trend was registered for the RoC but the progress for the PRDP region was not sustained over the eight year period.

FIGURE 2.4: PATTERNS AND TRENDS IN GII



Source: Calculations based on UNHS data of 2005/6, 2009/10 and 2012/13.

The GII increase in 2012/13 in the PRDP region was driven largely by the *spill-over* sub-region which registered the highest loss of 60.4 percent in 2012/13 from 59 percent in 2005/6. The significant increase in teenage pregnancy partly explains this worsening situation. By implication, the region experienced worsening gender inequality during the review period, with the index at its lowest in the *sporadically affected* sub-region.

Encouragingly, there was an increase in female participation in politics across all levels. This is largely due to the affirmative action policy of the GoU, through which female representation in Parliament is mandatory. The *severely affected* sub-region registered the highest increase (from 36.4 percent in the 8th Parliament to 42.5 percent in the 9th Parliament). In spite of this, females still lag behind males in terms of the share of persons with at least secondary education, as will be discussed later. Their share has remained in single digits for the PRDP region and the sub-regions therein (with the exception of the *spill-over* sub-region in 2009/10). Indeed, the gender gap widened between 2005/6 and 2012/13.

With regard to labour participation, the gender gap is narrower for the PRDP sub-region, relative to

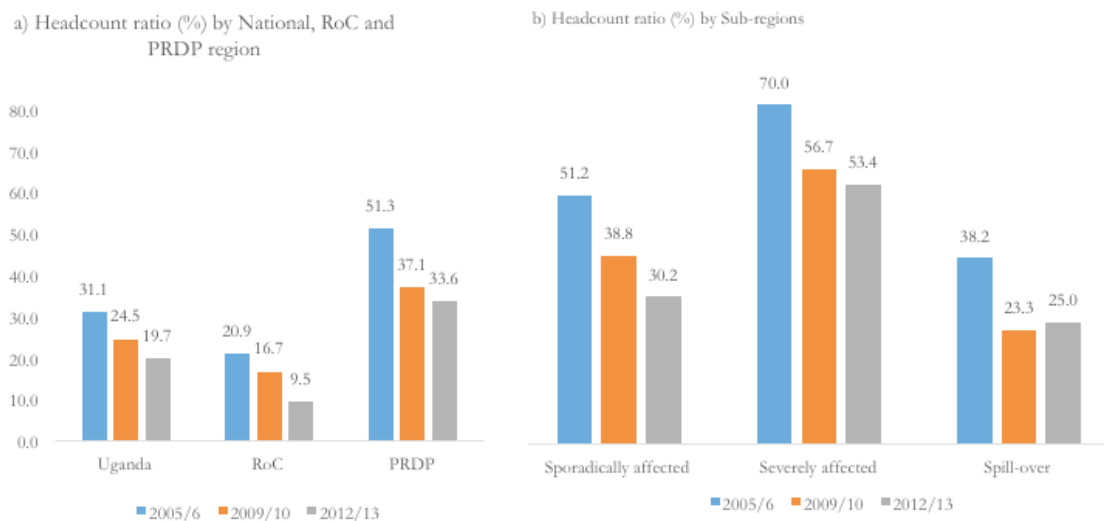
the RoC. The observed higher labour participation is driven by the inclusion of those persons in subsistence production, who are predominantly female. The participation reduces significantly with the focus shifts to paid employment, with a wider gender gap in favour of males in the *spill-over* sub-region, followed by the *sporadically affected* sub-region. Females in the *spill-over* region are more likely to engage in subsistence activities, compared to their counterparts elsewhere, despite their relatively higher educational levels. The gender gap is negligible for the *severely affected* sub-region.

2.1.4 Poverty and deprivation

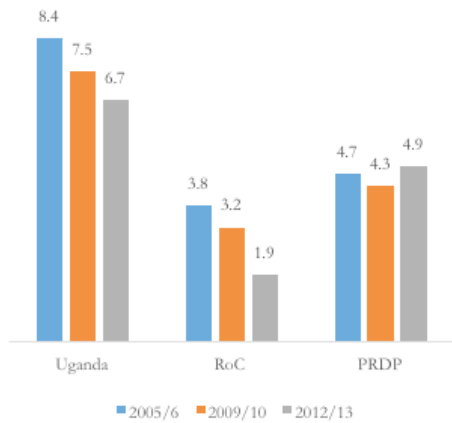
Income Poverty

The government’s poverty reduction interventions have continued to focus on income poverty. Uganda was among the few sub-Saharan African countries that were able to achieve the first MDG goal (of halving extreme income poverty) ahead of the 2015 deadline. Indeed, the income poverty headcount ratio reduced significantly from 55.7 percent in 1992/93 to 19.7 percent in 2012/13, although progress has continued to be uneven, as discussed below.

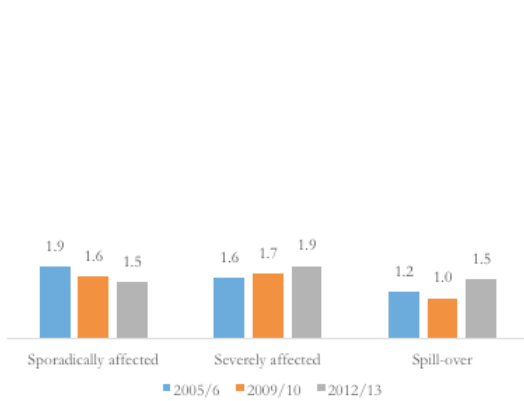
FIGURE 2.5: PATTERNS AND TRENDS IN POVERTY HEADCOUNT INDEX AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF POOR PERSONS (MILLIONS)



c) Poor persons (millions) by National, RoC and PRDP region



d) Poor persons (millions) by Sub-regions



Source: Calculations based on UNHS data 2005/6, 2009/10 and 2012/13.

Uneven progress in income poverty reduction remains a challenge. Despite the progress at the national level, progress in income poverty reduction has remained uneven at the disaggregated level (both in terms of headcount ratio, as well as in absolute terms). In terms of poverty gap, the gap remains more pronounced in the PRDP region. Notwithstanding the significant decline in the poverty gap in the PRDP region from 16.4 percent in 2005/6 to 10.2 percent in 2012/13 (compared RoC that fell from 4.9 percent to 2.1 percent respectively), the gap in 2012/13 is still almost five times larger than the 2.1 percent gap for the RoC. By implication, the restoration of peace across the PRDP region has yet to translate into a meaningful narrowing of the gap with the RoC. These results also shed scepticism on the possibility of Uganda achieving the poverty headcount target of 10 percent by 2017.¹⁹

Despite a faster reduction in the poverty headcount ratio since 2006, the PRDP region continues to host a greater proportion of the poor with its contribution to poverty well above its share of the total population. Upon the restoration of peace in 2006, people moved back to their villages with the poverty they had endured in the internally displaced persons (IDPs) camps. Indeed, the number of poor people has increased for the entire PRDP region from 4.7 million in 2005/6 to 5.1 million in 2012/13 (Figure 2.5). The high population growth rate, (caused by the high fertility rates in the

region) as well as the return of formerly displaced persons to their homes, largely explains the limited reduction in the number of poor people. Poverty studies on Uganda cite larger household size as a key driver of income poverty.²⁰ The RoC registered significant reductions in the household size, whereas the picture is mixed for the PRDP region.

Sub-regionally, the incidence of poverty remains higher in the *severely affected* sub-region and lower in the *spill-over* sub-region. Similar patterns are observed for the poverty gap, which significantly declined in the case of the *sporadically affected* sub-region (from 16.2 percent in 2005/6 to 7.7 percent in 2012/13). This is largely explained by the significant growth in mean incomes. The cost of eliminating income poverty (as measured by the poverty gap) remains highest in the *severely affected* sub-region (at 20.6 percent) and least in the *spill-over* sub-region (at 6.2 percent in 2012/13). Indeed, the *sporadically affected* sub-region was the only sub-region that was able to maintain momentum in income poverty reduction during the review period. In 2005/6 the *sporadically affected* sub-region registered the highest concentration of poor people, which position was later taken over by the *severely affected* sub-region (37.8 percent) in 2012/13.

Multi-dimensional Poverty Index

Focusing on income poverty alone conceals deprivations in other aspects of well-being that could have stagnated or even worsened during the

review period. Evidently, in 2012/13, households defined poverty beyond income to include owning nothing, poor health, poor hygiene, lack of production assets, and eating poorly, among others. Hence there is a growing demand for a multidimensional approach if government is to address poverty in a holistic manner. The multidimensional poverty measures complement the monetary measures of poverty. There are three related indicators to consider: the incidence of poverty. These are: headcount ratio (H), which measures the proportion of persons that are multidimensionally poor, based on a cut off ratio of 33.3 percent (if they are deprived in at least one third of the weighted indicators); and, intensity of poverty (A,) measured as the average proportion of indicators in which people are deprived.

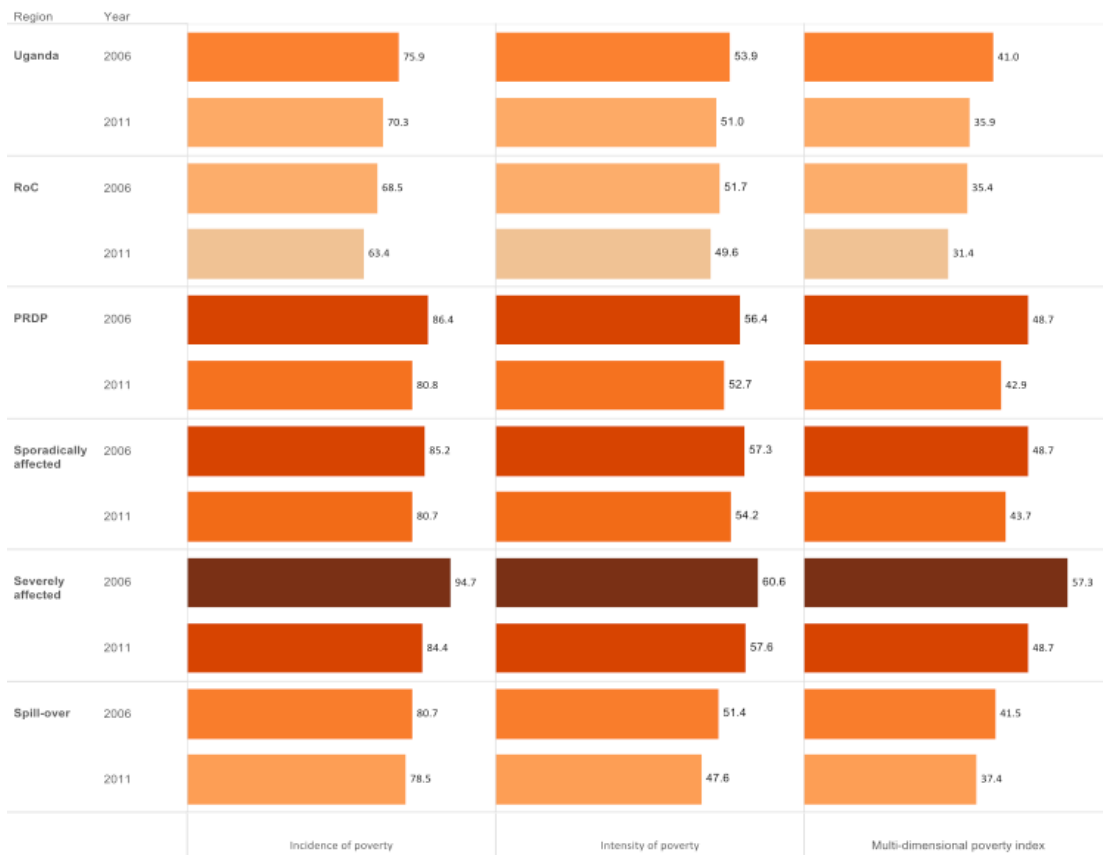
The MPI, the third indicator, combines the two aspects of poverty (namely, incidence and intensity) and it is the product of the previous two indicators (HxA). These measures take into account the overlapping deprivations suffered by people at the same time. They show the number of persons that are multi-dimensionally poor based on three dimensions (health, education and standard of living) and 10 indicators. This section considers deprivations in health, with the proxy indicator being child nutrition and mortality indicators; education, in terms of years of schooling and children's school attendance; and standard of living, in terms of cooking fuel, access to toilets, water, electricity, type of floor, and asset ownership. The MPI computations are based on data from the

same survey - the UDHS data of 2006 and 2011 – with households as the unit of measurement.

Nationally, the multidimensional headcount ratio was 75.9 percent in 2006 but fell by 5.6 percentage points in 2011; this fall was within the same range for the PRDP region and RoC (Figure 2.6). Within the PRDP region, the reduction is larger in the *severely affected* sub-region from 94.7 percent in 2006 to 84.4 percent in 2011 and least in the *spill-over* sub-region from 80.7 percent to 78.5 percent respectively. Similar patterns and trends are observed for the intensity indicators. The average intensity of poverty remains higher in those sub-regions with a higher multidimensional headcount. However, over the two years, the decline in the headcount was stronger for the *severely affected* sub-region and RoC; whereas the decline in intensity was stronger for the *spill-over* sub-region (from 51.4 percent in 2006 to 47.6 percent in 2011). The magnitude of decline remained almost the same for the entire PRDP region.

The MPI shows a declining trend (from 41 percent in 2006 to 35.9 percent in 2011), which corroborates observed trends from the monetary poverty measures (see Figure 2.5). By implication, there has been a significant decline in the multidimensional poverty (that is, in the non-monetary elements of well-being). However, the decline varies spatially, as is the case with the income poverty measures. The PRDP region registered a faster decline, compared to the RoC. Within the PRDP region, the decline was fastest for the *severely affected* sub-region, followed by the *sporadically affected* sub-region.

FIGURE 2.6: MULTI-DIMENSIONAL POVERTY MEASURES, %



Source: Calculations based on the UDHS 2006 & 2011.

Regardless of the survey period, the contribution of child nutrition to the MPI is relatively high. This is followed by child school attendance (with the exception of the *spill-over* sub-region in 2006). Asset ownership, which has been found to be a good proxy for household income, made the second least contribution to the MPI. That said, regardless of level of analysis, the detailed analysis reveals that the most significant reduction in deprivation at individual indicator level was registered in asset ownership. However, the changes vary by indicator and spatially. Some sub-regions registered worsening deprivations in child mortality (*sporadically affected* and *spill-over* sub-regions); child attendance (*spill-over* sub-region, RoC and PRDP region) and years of schooling (*severely affected* sub-region). The significant reductions in deprivation in the rest of the indicators explain the reduction in the MPI measures. Additionally, the

ranking of the sub-regions remained unchanged when comparing income poverty to the MPI. In terms of policy priorities aimed at reducing multi-dimensional poverty, the strategies might differ spatially.

2.2 WHAT ARE THE DRIVERS OF THE PROGRESS IN HUMAN DEVELOPMENT?

This section unpacks the key components of the human development indices (namely, standard of living, access to knowledge, a long and healthy life, and participation) with the aim of highlighting inequalities across time, geographical area, gender and life cycle. Broadly speaking, progress in these various components was stronger during the period 2005/6 - 2009/10, compared to 2009/10-2012/13, thereby mirroring the macroeconomic performance of the country during the period.

2.2.1 Standard of living

One of the components of the composite index for measuring human development is the standard of living. It enters the computation of the HDI as income. In analysing the factors that contribute to observed patterns and trends in the HDI, it is necessary to focus on this “incomes” variable also, especially the sources and drivers of changes in incomes. Incomes are influenced by livelihoods and employment opportunities. This sub-section unpacks the incomes component of the HDI.

Incomes

Uganda’s gross national income (GNI) per capita (2011 PPP\$) increased from USD1,070 in 2005/6 to USD1,279 in 2009/10, and then to USD1,351 in 2012/13, based on the World Bank’s World Development Indicators (WDI). However, the GNI estimates are not available at a disaggregated level.

Instead, in this Report consumption expenditure is used as a proxy for permanent income. The analysis is based on nationally representative household surveys.

Table 2.1 shows that consumption growth was faster during the 2005/6-2009/10 period, compared to the 2009/10-2012/13 period. The growth in mean income mirrors the macroeconomic performance trends, with the first sub-period registering faster growth relative to the second sub-period. Indeed, households’ incomes were not stable during the second sub-period, as further illustrated by households’ perceptions reported in Box 2.1. While average incomes in the PRDP region remain nearly 1.8 times lower than in the RoC, the growth in average incomes was stronger in the former than the latter. The income gap between the PRDP region and the RoC remained unchanged.

TABLE 2.1: PATTERNS AND TRENDS IN PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURE IN 2011 PPP\$

	Annualized growth rates, %					
	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6-2009/10	2009/10-2012/13	2005/6-2012/13
Uganda	932	1,193	1,237	6.2	1.2	4.0
RoC	1,100	1,433	1,525	6.6	2.0	4.6
PRDP	597	802	848	7.4	1.8	4.9
<i>Sporadically affected</i>	590	767	927	6.6	6.1	6.4
<i>Severely affected</i>	458	683	707	10.0	1.1	6.1
<i>Spill-over</i>	708	915	868	6.4	-1.7	2.9

Source: Calculations based on UNHS data 2005/6, 2009/10 and 2012/13.

BOX 2.1: HOUSEHOLD PERCEPTIONS OF CHANGES IN LIVING STANDARDS, 2012/13

Table below shows that the households’ likelihood to report very unstable income during the past 12 months prior to the survey in 2012/13 to be higher in the PRDP region compared to their counterparts in the RoC (see Panel A). Unsurprisingly, this resulted in worsening living standard in the same period (Panel B). Nearly 57 percent of the households residing in the PRDP region cited worsening welfare compared to 40 percent in the RoC. There are notable spatial variations.

	Uganda	RoC	PRDP	<i>Sporadically affected</i>	<i>Severely affected</i>	<i>Spill-over</i>
A) Stability of income during past 12 months						
- Very unstable	49.3	43.3	58.8	59.5	73.1	49.8
- Somewhat stable	40.7	44.8	34.1	32.5	21.0	43.4
- Stable	7.0	8.4	4.7	4.5	3.0	5.9
- Not stated	3.0	3.5	2.3	3.5	3.0	0.9
B) Living standard in past year						
- Increased	18.8	20.8	15.5	17.4	15.6	13.8
- Stayed the same	31.6	35.8	24.9	24.4	26.2	24.5
- Decreased	46.4	39.6	56.9	54.7	54.9	60.1
- Not stated	3.3	3.7	2.7	3.5	3.3	1.6

Source: Calculations based on UNHS 2012/13.

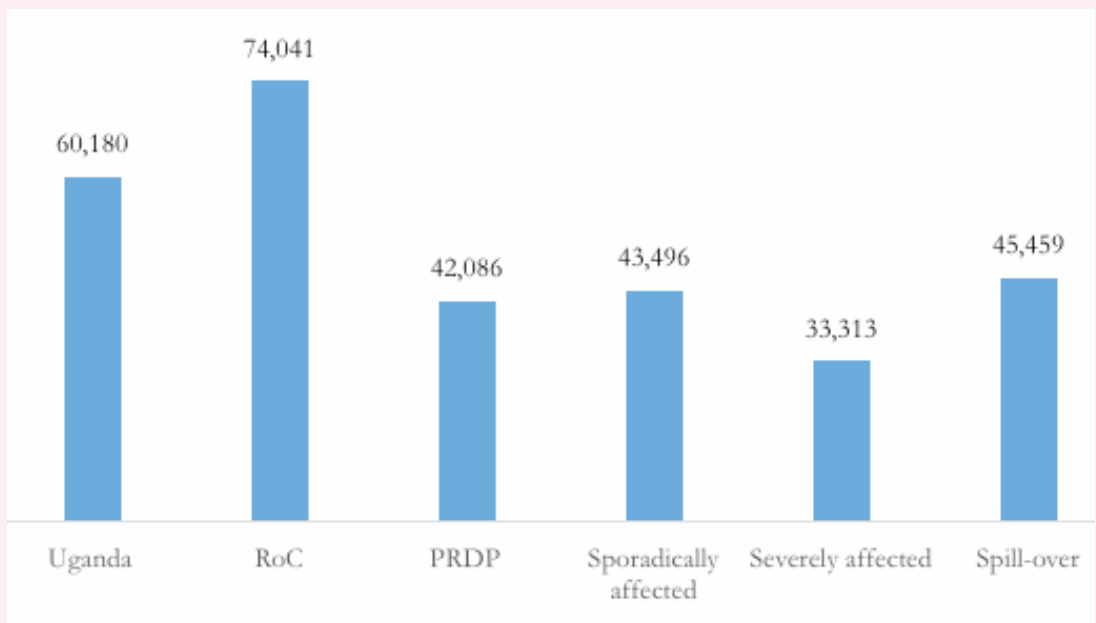
There are also significant differences in average income levels across sub-regions of the PRDP region. Regardless of the survey period, mean incomes are relatively lower in the *severely affected* sub-region, compared to the rest of the sub-regions. The *sporadically affected* sub-region recorded strong growth in mean incomes throughout the review period. It is also the only sub-region that registered significant and positive growth during 2009/10 and 2012/13 period. Growth in consumption was short-lived for the rest of the sub-regions. Furthermore, the *spill-over* sub-region registered higher mean incomes compared with the average for the entire PRDP region, although that sub-region registered a negative growth (2.1 percent) in mean incomes between 2009/10 and 2012/13. This is largely explained by the poor performance of the agricultural sector in the latter years. It is noted that the gains in the components related to education achievements were stronger

than the regression in income, thereby enabling the *spill-over* sub-region to maintain its leading position in the overall human development index.

By extension, there is convergence in average income between the sub-regions. For instance, the income gaps narrowed between the poorest sub-region (*severely affected*) and the richest sub-region (*spill-over*). These findings corroborate those based on the panel surveys, in terms of sub-regional income ranking, as illustrated in Box 2.2. Overall, these findings are, in part, due to the inflationary pressures and drought in some parts of the country during the 2009/10-2012/13 period. The analysis based on the Uganda National Panel Survey (UNPS) data reveals that drought was the most cited shock, which negatively affected households' incomes, food security and assets. Overall, the income gaps are due to differences in initial conditions, especially in market access, wealth status, asset ownership, and connectivity to infrastructure, among others.

BOX 2.2: AVERAGE INCOME (2005/6=100) IN THREE WAVES OF PANEL, USHS

Figure below shows the average per adult income based on the panel household data. The average incomes in the RoC was almost twice that in the PRDP region; and highest in the *spill-over* sub-region and least in the *severely affected* sub-region. The *severely affected* sub-region registered the least average, although this was slightly above the official absolute poverty line.



Source: Calculations based on UNPS data.

Focusing on averages conceals the extent of income inequalities. Uganda has registered some reduction in income inequality (as measured by the Gini coefficient), from 0.408 in 2005/6, rising to 0.426 in 2009/10, before declining to 0.395 in 2012/13. Yet there are no significant reductions for the PRDP region, implying that the national-level reductions were driven by the declines in the RoC. Regardless of the reductions, income inequalities remain more pronounced in the RoC than in the PRDP region. Sub-regionally, the *severely affected* sub-region registered significant increases in income inequality (from 0.324 in 2005/6 to 0.403 in 2012/13). On a positive note, the PRDP region's share in national income increased from 22 percent in 2005/6 to 29.5 percent in 2012/13. The several interventions and other economic empowerment programmes by NGOs, and the private sector (for example, through trade with South Sudan) partly explain the region's increased share in national income.

What has happened to people's livelihoods?

People were forced in the *severely affected* sub-region to relocate to camps for their safety, and other semi-permanent accommodations that had little to offer in the way of financially remunerative activities, and others fled to neighbouring districts. Furthermore, human capital was not just diminished in terms of lives lost, but also by the psychological trauma suffered by survivors, as well as the physical injuries sustained. Both of these have serious economic consequences, as they limit an individual's financial and societal contribution. Regarding income streams, the loss of access to land and capacity to engage in crop cultivation as a means of sustenance was diminished. Indeed, people's capacity to participate in the wider economy and be a part of their own development was diminished.

The aforementioned concern is evidenced in the notable variations in households' most important source of income during the last 12 months prior to each panel survey round. Since 2006, dependency on remittances and support from organisations (e.g. food aid, WFP, NGOs) has significantly reduced. Instead, households have been gradually

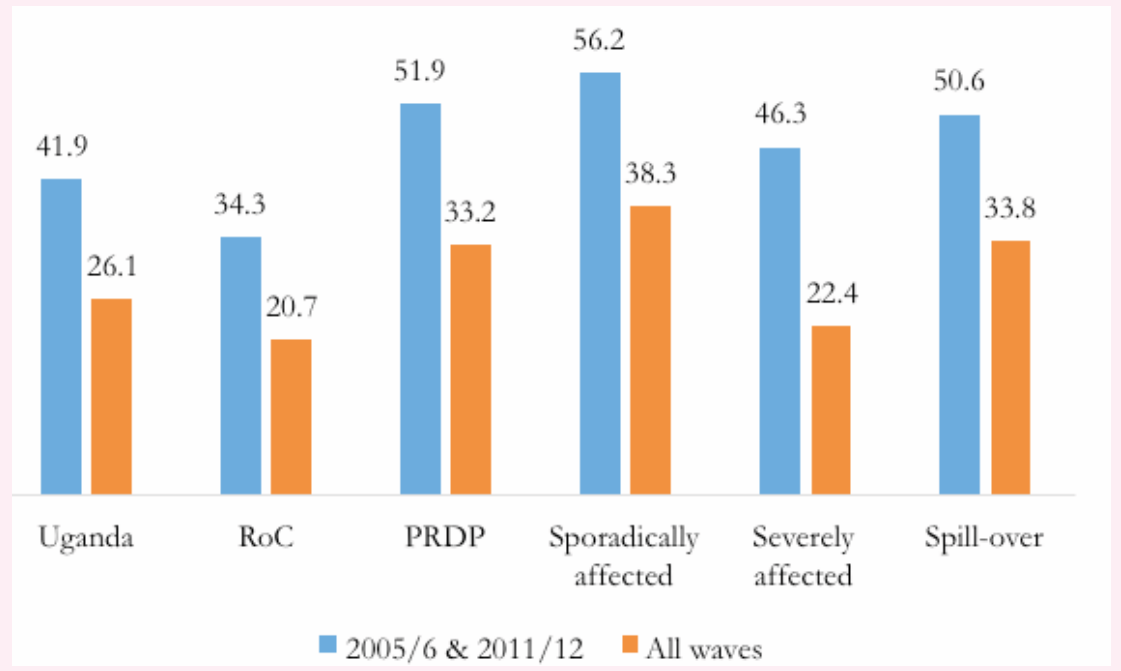
rebuilding their livelihoods. Despite the obvious role of agriculture as the most important source of income, reliance on it has steadily declined, while non-agricultural enterprises have steadily increased in popularity at the national level. The share of households that reported agriculture as the main source of income steadily declined (from 51.5 percent in 2005/6 to 43.3 percent in 2012/13) across the entire country. This is based on cross-sectional household survey data. Similar results are noted, based on panel household data (see Box 2.3). Correspondingly, this is mirrored by an opposite trend in the percentage of households that depend on non-agricultural enterprises as the most important source of income.

A similar trend is also observed in the *severely affected* sub-region, where the percentage of households relying on mainly non-agricultural enterprises for income doubled (from 14.7 percent in 2005/6 to 30.6 percent in 2012/13). The PRDP region has also seen a general increase in the percentage of households that rely on wage employment as their main sources of incomes and earnings (from 14.6 percent in 2005/6 to 19.4 percent in 2012/13). The key exception to this trend is seen in the *spill-over* sub-region, where the percentage of households depending on wage employment initially rose (from 11.9 percent in 2005/6 to 22.5 percent in 2009/10), but fell in 2012/13 (to 17 percent).

In the latter sub-period, the survey results imply that households switched back to agriculture from wage employment and non-agriculture enterprises. This finding points to agriculture as the backbone of households in the sub-region. The story differs for households in the *severely affected* sub-region. There was a significant increase in the share of households where agriculture is the most important source of income (from 33.5 percent in 2005/6 to 43.8 percent in 2009/10). In addition to the cessation of hostilities (that led to the return of peace), there were numerous interventions in the *severely affected* sub-region that could have led to the increased prominence of agriculture. The survey results further suggest the growing importance of wage employment and non-agricultural enterprises in the latter sub-period.

BOX 2.3: INCIDENCE OF AGRICULTURE AS THE MOST IMPORTANT SOURCE OF INCOME – A PANEL ANALYSIS, %

Figure below illustrates how the importance of agriculture as source of income varied spatially among the panel households. It illustrates how panel households depended on agriculture year-in-year out. Nationally, nearly four in ten households had agriculture as the most important source of income in both 2005/6 and 2011/12 but the figure falls to 26 percent of the households citing the same source in all the four consecutive panel waves. These findings are driven by the PRDP region, with a larger dependency on agriculture relative to the RoC. The heavy dependency on agriculture sector in the region exposes households to agro-climatic shocks and in turn food insecurity. This partly speaks to the observed reduction in households' income between 2009/10 and 2012/13 and hence the decline in the income index sub-component of the HDI.



Source: Calculations based on the UNPS data 2005/6, 2009/10, 2010/11 and 2011/12.

Employment

In Uganda, the employment-to-population ratio (EPR) for the working age (14-64 years), including subsistence workers, during the review period was 85.9 percent. Using the revised ILO (2013) 'employment' definition, which excludes subsistence farming, in the same year, the EPR declined to 47.7 percent, almost half the old (unadjusted) ratio. This is a clear indication that Ugandans heavily depend on subsistence production as a source of employment. The EPR in the PRDP region was 48.3 percent, mostly on account of trends in the *severely affected* sub-region (with a rate of 64 percent), followed by the *sporadically affected* sub-region (54.3 percent). Karamoja had an EPR of 71.0 percent, indicating that majority of inhabitants are not in agricultural production.

Most movements of labour in and out of agriculture are essentially seasonal, and depend on economic

and climatic conditions. The participation of females in subsistence production is almost twice that of their male counterparts. However, within the region, this gender gap narrows as one moves from youth to adulthood. In the *sporadically affected* and *spill-over* sub-regions, the share of female workers in subsistence production is lower among the older age cohort, while that of males is higher in the same age group.

In spite of the decreasing reliance on the sector as source of income, agriculture still remains the main source of employment in 2012/2013, with 67.6 percent of the working population engaged in agriculture. However, at the PRDP level the share stood at 77.1 percent well above that of the RoC at 60.8 percent. This re-confirms the importance of agriculture in the transformation of the PRDP region. Accordingly, agriculture remains a key sector in the reconstruction of the local economies as well as a pathway to sustainable development.

This is demonstrated through success stories that are making a difference in people's lives that are worth mentioning.

For instance, Mukwano industries have, so far, played a significant role in job creation in the agricultural sector. The number of farmers under contract farming, to support Mukwano's oil seed processing business, increased from 27,000 in 2007 to 63,000 in 2013 in 13 PRDP districts.²¹ This economic regeneration is reflected in the fact that households in some parts of the PRDP region are already venturing into new economic activities (for instance, by shifting away from growing annual crops to perennial crops, especially coffee.²² The large-scale investments in sugar plantations in Amuru district are likely to impact positively on the people's well-being.

For the working population, 59 percent are employed in the agriculture sector (Table 2, Panel A), with majority in the informal sector, while those employed in non-agricultural activities, are mainly in formal employment. However, for the PRDP region, the share of persons employed in the agricultural sector is higher (68.4 percent), with variations across sub-regions.

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A), with majority in the informal sector, while those employed in non-agricultural activities, are mainly in formal employment. However, for the PRDP region, the share of persons employed in the agricultural sector is higher (68.4 percent), with variations across sub-regions.

Considering employment type (Table 2 Panel B), the majority are in self-employment. The ratio for paid employment ranges from 14 percent for the *severely affected* sub-region to 17.8 percent for the *spill-over* sub-region. It is also worth noting that 4.5 percent of the working population are inactive (eligible to work but are not engaged in any form of activity for income). Finally, the spill-over sub-region had the highest share of persons working as "contributing family workers" (Table 2.2 Panel B). The analysis shows that the bulk of the human resource in the region is locked up in peasant farming (a low value economic activity). Besides, the inefficient use of the human resource in the region goes beyond peasant farming (and this is a general problem within Uganda). The critical human resource is stuck in low value-adding activities. This suggests that Uganda's and, in particular, the PRDP region's development potential is still locked-up in low-value economic activities.

TABLE 2.2: STATUS IN EMPLOYMENT OF WORKING POPULATION (14-64 YEARS) IN 2012/13, %

	PRDP sub-regions					
	Uganda	PRDP	<i>Sporadically affected</i>	<i>Severely affected</i>	<i>Spill-over</i>	RoC
Panel A: Sector of employment						
Agriculture	59.0	68.4	70.3	65.9	68.3	52.5
Manufacturing	6.1	5.7	5.3	4.1	6.7	6.4
Construction	2.7	1.8	1.9	2.1	1.5	3.3
Trade	10.7	7.0	6.7	7.5	6.9	13.2
Transportation	3.0	2.2	2.9	1.9	1.7	3.6
Services exc Trade &Transport	10.4	7.3	6.9	8.4	7.0	12.6
Not Stated	3.6	3.6	2.2	5.1	3.8	3.6
Not Working	4.5	4.1	3.8	5.0	3.9	4.8
Panel B: Employment type						
Paid employment	20.9	16.7	17.1	14.0	17.8	23.9
Self-employment	69.5	73.7	77.1	74.4	70.8	66.6
Contributing family workers	1.6	2.0	0.3	1.5	3.6	1.3
Not stated	3.5	3.4	1.7	5.1	3.8	3.5
Inactive	4.5	4.1	3.8	5.0	3.9	4.8

Note: Adopts the new ILO (2013) employment definitions.
Source: Calculations based on UNHS 2012/13.

Youth employment

The youth are generally believed to be vibrant and full of energy and have the potential to contribute significantly to Uganda's economic and political economy. However, owing to the current high levels of joblessness and under-employment, the youth remain marginalized and unable to realise their full potentials to contribute to national development. While youth unemployment is not unique to the post conflict PRDP region alone (it is prevalent in Uganda as a whole), the situation of the youth in the PRDP region, coupled with the fragile post-war environment, presents a serious political, economic, and social challenge to peace building in the region. Majority of the youth in the region grew up in IDP camps.

This largely affected their formative years, thereby affecting their human development as well as their eventual transition into adulthood. They missed out on education, and, with their low level of literacy and skills, cannot be employed in the formal sector. Worse still, children who were born in IDP camps or in captivity, and who form the majority of today's youth in the region, were not adequately socialised and nurtured, having grown up in an environment in which very few adults were engaged in any form of productive employment. As a result, their adjustment to gainful employment and their access to constructive livelihood options after resettlement is still a challenge. Thus, the inclusion of the youth in the development agenda is at the crux of realising both the SDGs and Uganda's Vision 2040.

Unlike youth in the RoC, who spent their childhood years in school, benefitting from adult guidance and learning the requisite skills for successful transition into productive adulthood, the youth in the PRDP region experienced migration, violence, loss of family members, intermittent school attendance and absent families. It is, therefore, not surprising that youth in the region have very low educational attainments. When using mean years of schooling as a measure of access to knowledge, no discernible changes are noted over the eight year review period. The national mean years of schooling improved, albeit marginally, from 5.6 years in 2005/6 to 6.0 years in 2012/13, implying that the majority of the youth do not possess even a primary leavers' school certificate. Low

education levels imply that most young people are low-skilled, making their long-term transition to the labour market difficult, and preventing their upward mobility towards more sustainable forms of employment.

The youth in Karamoja are worse off, with mean of years of schooling as low as 4 for males and 2.3 for females. This does not bode well for the region's sustainable development aspirations because, over time, individual educational attainment matters for both income and employment security. In 2012/13 the highly educated youth earned three times as much, and are likely to be in their preferred formal employment compared to the less educated ones. In addition, inadequate education, in terms of literacy and numeracy, prevents the youth from establishing themselves as fully productive adults, as well as from developing the capability to resist political and cultural manipulation, both of which are important facets of human development.

In a post-conflict setting, such as the PRDP region, access to economic opportunities and employment contributes to social and economic integration. Agriculture remains the major sector of employment for the youth in the region. Youth in the PRDP region are twice as likely to be employed in agriculture (69 percent) compared to their counterparts in the RoC (31.3 percent). Most of them are informally active in the labour market and the trend is not different from the RoC where informal employment accounts for more than 88 percent of the labour force.

Although a substantial proportion of the youth are participants in the labour market, the proportions of the "working poor" in the PRDP region are high. While national averages indicate a drop in the "working poor" youth, the PRDP region tells a different story. This is supported by the increase in the share of the employed "working poor" youth from 30.2 percent in 2009/10 to 32.6 percent in 2012/13. The situation is even worse in the *severally affected* sub-region, where close to half of the employed youth (49.2 percent) are classified as "working poor" (who do not earn enough to pull themselves above the poverty line). These are, in part, explained by the high levels of under-employment (skills-, time- and wage-related under-employment).

For example, wage and time related under-employment is higher in the PRDP region, compared to the RoC. On average, wage-related underemployment in 2012/13 was twice as high in the PRDP region (18.7 percent) as for the RoC (9.2 percent). In direct proportion to this, the mean national monthly earnings for the youth in RoC were US\$110,000 in 2012/13, compared to US\$66,000 in the PRDP region, and a mere US\$48,400 for the youth in Karamoja. Unsurprisingly, skill-related under-employment is lowest in the PRDP region, illustrating the fact that most youth in the region have very low levels of education, such that they are less likely to be overqualified for available jobs.

In Uganda, issues of jobless growth have attracted public debates and policy attention. Unemployment only includes “people, who have no job, are actively searching for a job and are available to take up a job if offered one”. As a result, this masks the majority of the population who are under-employed (whether skills-, time- or wage- related). Broadly, youth unemployment is higher than the average for the entire working-age population, with the exception of the RoC.

About 9.4 percent of the working age population in Uganda is unemployed (Table 2.3). Nationally, youth unemployment is higher among female than male youth (10.9 percent compared to 8.1 percent). Yet the opposite is noted for the entire PRDP region and its sub-regions, with the exception of the *spill-over* sub-region.

These numbers mask significant information about the real situation of the youth in the labour market. The new 2013 ILO conceptualisation of unemployment leaves out a substantial number of youth who have given up on the search for jobs (discouraged youth), herein excluding the idle youth (truly inactive) as well as those not engaged in any productive activity. Besides, unemployment rate is highest among the educated youth especially in the *spill-over* and *severely affected* sub-regions. Owing to the fact that the majority of the youth were brought up in camps and were not introduced to a working culture at the critical developmental stages of their lives, most of them are outside the labour force, neither searching for jobs nor taking initiative to start their own businesses, with little interest in taking up available opportunities.

TABLE 2.3: UNEMPLOYMENT RATE FOR SELECT CHARACTERISTICS (14-64 YEARS), 2012/13

	PRDP sub-regions					
	Uganda	PRDP	<i>Sporadically affected</i>	<i>Severely affected</i>	<i>Spill-over</i>	RoC
Population 14-64 years						
Sex						
Female	10.9	6.7	5.7	7.0	7.6	14.2
Male	8.1	7.8	8.9	9.3	5.3	8.2
Education level						
No formal education	8.0	4.6	4.2	3.9	6.6	12.4
Primary	9.6	7.2	7.9	10.1	4.0	11.5
Secondary plus	9.8	10.5	8.1	10.6	13.0	9.5
<i>Uganda (All)</i>	<i>9.4</i>	<i>7.2</i>	<i>7.3</i>	<i>8.1</i>	<i>6.3</i>	<i>10.8</i>
Youth (18-30 years)						
<i>All</i>	<i>11.1</i>	<i>9.7</i>	<i>9.0</i>	<i>10.1</i>	<i>10.1</i>	<i>12.0</i>
Sex						
Female	13.7	9.3	7.5	7.8	13.9	16.5
Male	8.9	10.0	10.3	12.7	7.1	8.3
Education level						
No formal education	5.8	4.2	3.4	3.5	7.7	8.2
Primary	10.5	7.8	8.8	10.5	4.5	12.4
Secondary plus	13.5	17.2	11.7	16.9	24.1	12.2

Note: Adopts the new ILO (2013) employment definitions.

Source: Calculations based on UNHS 2012/13.

Because of their inability to secure gainful employment, the youth are often termed as a “lost generation”, with most of them resorting to drug abuse, crime, gambling, and alcoholism. Given the violent history they endured in their formative years, there is need to put policies in place to ensure that these youth do not take advantage of the situation in South Sudan, to join rebel activities as a source of livelihood. The above considerations and labour market indicators suggest that the youth in the PRDP region are yet to be fully integrated into the economy, hindering their capacity to improve not only their personal human development but also to contribute effectively to the development of the region. The fact that a large number of young people are inactive in the labour market could undermine development interventions and ultimately threaten the recently established stability.

Specific interventions to tackle the unemployment dilemma in the PRDP region are skewed towards the educated. They rarely address one vital aspect of unemployment in the region, namely, mind-set change (and the psycho-social aspects of a population still reliving the devastating effects of the conflict). In addition, the uniformity in the design of interventions creates a large pool of labour skilled in only one aspect of entrepreneurship, only a few of whom the market can accommodate. Deliberate strategic efforts will be required to address the growing unemployment nationally, with unique designs for the interventions in the PRDP region, and more especially the *severely affected* sub-region.

Women economic opportunities

The war in the PRDP region had some unintended consequences that changed women’s fortunes and economic opportunities. The war in the region and cattle rustling in Karamoja disrupted gender relations and allowed some changes that helped women to join the economic and public sphere. Particularly, the loss of cattle in Karamoja left men less able to fend for their families and women had to look for alternative means of survival.²³ In Acholi and Lango, forced displacement into IDP camps made it difficult to adhere to some of the customary obligations. As men became less able to fend for their families, as traditionally expected, their self-worth became weakened by the constrained economic environment in the camps.

Women embraced informal income generating activities, such as brewing, selling of food, charcoal trade, and small scale retailing which they continued to do even after the war, especially in urban areas.²⁴ This partly explains the higher incidence of non-agricultural activities in the severely affected sub-region. Women in the PRDP region have been supported by several NGOs to acquire small loans to support their businesses.²⁵ Women have also taken on employment in civil service departments, parastatal organisations, NGOs, banks and factories.²⁶ The former male-dominated armed forces (the army, police, prisons and private security agencies) now employ a sizeable number of women at different ranks.

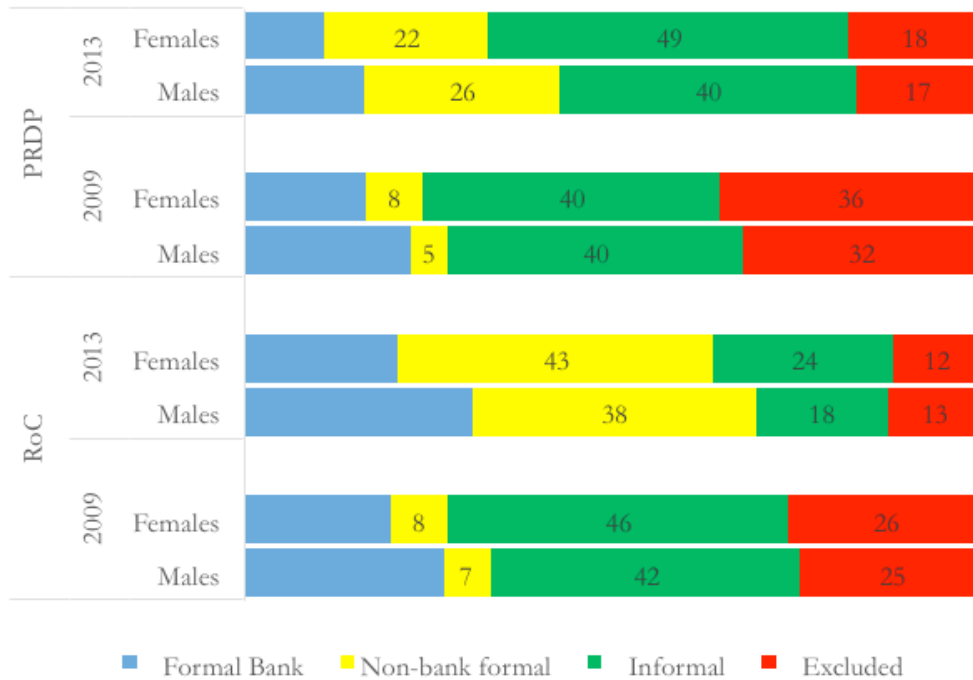
Even with their new economic roles, women continue to shoulder most of the domestic responsibilities. With the return of peace, they have returned to farming, albeit within a transformed production setting. This is partly due to the contract agricultural production arrangements for oil seed and other crops, including sunflower, soya beans, cotton, upland rice and maize, which they produce either as individuals or collectively.²⁷ Much of women’s work falls within the subsistence/informal category, inclusive of agriculture, and they are more likely to occupy low pay and low status jobs. To illustrate their low earnings, in 2012/13, the median monthly income for women in paid employment in the PRDP region was US\$60,000, compared to that of men (US\$80,000), with marked spatial variations. Women lack the professional skills (see Section 2.2.2) required to acquire gainful employment.

Notwithstanding these challenges, the growing number of commercial banks and NGOs in the region has helped women to obtain loan services and, to some extent, expand their businesses. However, most women have not been able to access the available credit facilities, especially from the commercial banks, owing to the lack of collateral (partly explained by the denial of customary rights to land ownership (see Chapter 6). This is not unique to the PRDP region. The other challenge women face is that there are few credible credit institutions, with a high level of heterogeneity in their setup and/or location, across the region.

Figure 2.7 shows that the females were more likely to be unbanked, compared to their male peers, and the gap is widening. It further shows a significant reduction in financial exclusion as well as a narrowing gender gap. The decline in financial exclusion is explained by their increased access to informal financial services. In 2013, 11 percent of the adult female population was using formal financial services, and about 22 percent was using non-bank formal institutions (but not the formal banking institutions), and 49 percent was using

only informal institutions (but not formal financial products and services). The culture of saving through informal savings schemes was partly promoted by the development partners and NGOs in some parts of the region especially in Lango and Acholi districts.²⁸ In all, limited access to financial services means that certain social groups have limited choices to get out vulnerability (see section 3.2.1) as they are excluded from accessing available economic opportunities

FIGURE 2.7: MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE USE OF FINANCIAL SERVICES BY INSTITUTIONS, %



Notes: i) Formal banks (Regulated by Bank of Uganda): These include commercial banks, micro-deposit taking institutions (MDIs) and Credit institutions; ii) Non-bank formal (other formal) other microfinance institutions (MFIs), Savings and credit cooperative organisations (SACCOs), Insurance companies, cell phone mobile money, non-banking financial institutions like foreign exchange bureau, money transfer services like Western Union; iii) Informal — all other institutions including village savings and rotating groups – Rotating, Savings and Credit Associations (ROSCAs), Village Savings and Lending Associations (VSLAs), Accumulating Savings and Credit Associations (ACSA), Non-government organisations (NGOs), investment clubs, savings clubs, services by employers and other village groups like burial societies and welfare funds. Others informal services include shops and investing through property like houses for rent, livestock and crop produce to be sold later or farm inputs to use at a later date. FinScope III also considers borrowing such as credit from a shop, school, health centre and individuals as informal access; and v) Financially excluded (unserved) are non-users of formal banks, non-bank formal or informal institutions. Products and services under financially excluded include saving in a secret place, shops or with friends/relatives; borrowing from friends or family members; or money transfers using individuals.

Source: Calculations based on FinScope data 2009 and 2013.

2.2.2 Education

Education provides knowledge, skills, values, attitudes and behaviours that are consistent with human rights principle. It is one of the major inputs into human development in terms of building human capabilities. Broadly speaking, Uganda has registered progress in this area, based on several educational indicators, although it has remained uneven and at times unsustainable. The progress is partly attributed to government policies such as the Universal Primary Education (UPE), and Universal Secondary Education (USE) among others, as well as affirmative action approaches.

The UPE and USE were put in place to support education for all as well as the attainment of the MDGs. These policies/programmes led to mass enrolment of both sexes, especially at the primary school level. Despite this progress, challenges still remain, especially in terms of equity, gender and quality. The education indicators of interest in this Report include: literacy rates, share of the population without formal education, enrolment rates at primary and secondary levels, mean years of schooling, expected years of schooling, quality of education at primary level and physical access.

Literacy

Literacy is defined as one's ability to read with understanding and to write meaningfully in any language. There is consensus that literacy is crucial for acquiring a range of learning skills and serves as a stimulus for further learning, and in so doing, plays a key role in poverty reduction. Broadly speaking, regardless of geography, Uganda has not been able to sustain progress in literacy rates since 2006. To illustrate this point, nationally, the adult population literacy rates increased from 67.1 percent in 2005/6 to about 70 percent in 2009/10 before falling to 65.5 percent in 2012/13 (Table 2.4). As expected, the rates in the PRDP region were well below those of the RoC regardless of the life cycle. The failure to fully implement government's adult functional literacy programs partly explains these

results. In addition, the community development function at the local government level is not well facilitated.

Table 2.4 shows marked sub-regional disparities, with a clear inverse relationship between the intensity of the war and literacy rates. The lowest literacy rates are reported for the *severely affected* sub-region (48.2 percent) in 2012/13. In terms of lifecycle, literacy rates are higher among the youth population, compared to the entire adult population. This is partly a reflection of historical trends that followed the introduction of the UPE initiative in 1997. With regard to gender, the literacy rates remain lower for females, compared to males. Among the youth population, female literacy rate stood at 71.9 percent, compared to 82.4 percent for males. The gender gaps show declining trends, although there are marked geographical disparities. The gap remains largest in the *severely affected* sub-region.

In terms of life cycle, the gap narrowed faster for the youth population relative to the adult population. This is partly explained by the government's education policy on primary and secondary education. There is also a wider gender gap in literacy for the PRDP region, compared to the RoC. At the disaggregated PRDP region level, the gap is highest for the *severely affected* sub-region (with the youth population's literacy rates for females at 44.1 percent, compared to 73.4 percent for males in 2012/13). This implies that more efforts are still needed to address the gender gap in the PRDP region, and more so in the *severely affected* sub-region. In response to the low literacy levels, the government has put in place the National Adult Literacy Policy 2014, and an Action Plan (2011/12 – 2015/16). However, the extent to which it is effectively addressing the low literacy rates in the PRDP region (towards the achievement of the 80 percent rate by 2020 set in NDP II²⁹) still remains a challenge.

TABLE 2.4: LITERACY RATES FOR THE ADULT POPULATION, %

	All adult population (18+ years)			Youth (18-30 years)		
	All	Females	Males	All	Females	Males
2005/6						
Uganda	67.1	56.2	79.4	75.9	69.7	83.4
RoC	72.5	64.6	81.1	80.9	78.0	84.3
PRDP region	56.1	39.8	75.6	65.2	52.6	81.5
<i>Sporadically affected</i>	60.7	42.8	81.8	69.6	56.2	87.4
<i>Severely affected</i>	50.3	30.7	76.3	57.9	42.0	81.8
<i>Spill-over</i>	54.6	42.7	68.0	64.8	56.4	74.3
2009/10						
Uganda	69.6	60.0	80.7	80.6	75.2	87.1
RoC	74.5	67.4	82.5	83.8	80.0	88.3
PRDP region	60.6	47.0	77.1	74.1	66.0	84.8
<i>Sporadically affected</i>	63.7	48.4	81.6	77.6	68.6	89.0
<i>Severely affected</i>	52.6	36.9	72.6	63.9	52.5	79.4
<i>Spill-over</i>	62.7	52.3	75.4	76.8	71.5	83.8
2012/13						
Uganda	65.5	56.0	76.7	76.6	71.9	82.4
RoC	73.8	67.2	81.3	83.5	80.8	86.6
PRDP region	53.2	39.5	69.6	65.7	57.7	75.5
<i>Sporadically affected</i>	57.3	42.1	75.4	68.3	59.4	78.5
<i>Severely affected</i>	48.2	31.4	68.5	57.5	44.1	73.4
<i>Spill-over</i>	52.5	41.8	65.4	68.2	63.9	73.9

Source: Calculations based on UNHS data 2005/6 and 2012/13.

The population with no formal education

There is uneven progress in reducing the share of the population with no formal education. The likelihood of not going to school at all can increase in an environment of conflict. It is not therefore, surprising that the adult population with no formal education is higher in the PRDP region than in the RoC. For instance, in the former, one in every ten youth is likely to have had no formal education. This share has remained the same during the review period. In terms of life cycle, there are differences in gaps across sub-regions, which seem to be widening over time (though the gaps are narrower among the youth than for the *senior* adult population).

Within the PRDP sub-regions, the share of the population with no formal education is highest in the *severely affected* sub-region and least in the *spill-over* sub-region. Again, this reflects the effects of the conflict on human development. With regard to

the gender dimension, the gender gap among the *senior* adults is almost 3-4 times that of the youth population. However, this gender gap is narrowing over time, regardless of age. These inequalities are definitely reflected in the inequalities in economic opportunities. Further analysis reveals that nearly a quarter of the working age *senior* adult population have no formal education in the PRDP region. In the *severely affected* sub-region, this figure stands at two-fifth. This partly reflects the extent to which unskilled labour is currently constraining socio-economic transformation. There are efforts especially by the non-state actors to address youth who missed out on formal education through provision of occasional training.

Gross and net enrolments

Primary education: Regardless of geographical location, there has been an increase in the enrolment of primary school children (in absolute numbers), though the increase has been uneven

over time. At the national level, enrolment in primary schools increased significantly (from 7.8 million children in 2005/6 to nearly 10 million children in 2012/13). This implies an annual growth rate of 3.5 percent. This growth was driven significantly by increased enrolment rates in the PRDP region. This is evident from the higher annual growth rates of 8.2 percent per annum within the PRDP region, with the number of children in school increasing from 2.7 million to 4.8 million during the period. Worth noting also is the fact that the growth in enrolment was faster for girls (2 percent) than for boys (1.6 percent) during the 2005/6 -2009/10 sub-period, though the average growth rate was the same (at 3.5 percent) for both sexes over the eight year review period. For Uganda to attain and sustain universal primary school coverage, growth in the enrolment rates has to be well above the population growth rate.

Unpacking the primary enrolment estimates reveals that there was an increase in the number of children who were outside the primary school going age than intended under the government's education scheme (from 2.7 children in 2005/6 to 3.5 children in 2012/13), implying an annual growth rate of 3.7 percent. To illustrate this point further, three in ten of the primary school enrolments were due to over-age pupils, whereas only 3 percent were under-age (aged 5 years). The corresponding enrolment estimates for the entire PRDP region increased from 1 million children to 1.8 million children, which translate into an annual growth rate of 8.7 percent. Spatially, the PRDP region contributed to half of the late entries into primary schools (mainly as a result of the conflict). Discernible gender gaps notwithstanding, there are also inter-temporal variations worth noting. For example, the likelihood of enrolling at an older age was more prevalent during 2005/6-2009/10 sub-period than during 2009/10-2012/13 sub-period. All in all, these findings point to a policy challenge, of ensuring that children enrol for schooling at the right age, regardless of location.

For primary schools, the gross enrolment rates (GER) remain higher in the PRDP region in comparison with the RoC because war caused a number of children to defer their school enrolment. Over the eight year period, the GER declined slightly both at national and RoC levels. Yet in the case of the PRDP

region, GER increased from 129.2 percent in 2005/6 to 134.1 percent in 2012/13, mainly as a result of the return of peace to the region. The high GERs in the region are to be expected, because of the years of schooling lost to the insecurity of the conflict.

The *severely affected* and the *spill-over* sub-regions mainly account for this increase. The observed progress is partly due to targeted school programmes by various non-state actors (such as the World Food Programme (WFP), UNICEF, etc.), as well as government-led expansive school infrastructure programmes. In spite of these improvements, the education system still needs to be adapted, in order to compensate for the years of schooling lost by a generation of children³⁰, who are consequently ill-equipped to deal with life beyond displacement camps.³¹

The PRDP region has registered increased physical access to primary schools in the region, but there have been only marginal changes in net enrolment rates (NER). The NER rates slightly declined (from 84.6 percent in 2005/6 to 81.6 percent in 2009/10), and thereafter increased to 83.1 percent in 2012/13³², which is short of the MDG target of universal primary coverage. Worth noting is the reduction in the NER for RoC from 85.6 percent in 2005/6 to 82.3 percent in 2012/13..

Meanwhile the NER for the PRDP region increased from 82.7 percent to 84 percent during the eight year period. Indeed, Uganda still has a long way to go if it is to both meet the universal primary school coverage goal and also sustain progress in the education indicators at all levels. Even with many years of the implementation of the UPE programme, cost remains a major determinant of school dropout levels. Additionally, gender disparities in enrolment rates can be ascribed to high teenage pregnancies and early marriages, both of which limit girls' educational opportunities.

There are notable disparities among the PRDP sub-regions, with the *severely affected* sub-region lagging behind the other two sub-regions. For instance, in 2012/13, the NER was 74.8 percent in that sub-region, compared with 84 percent for the entire PRDP region. However, this sub-region was the only one that was able to sustain progress in NERs during the eight year period. Several interventions, especially in Karamoja, partly contributed to this,

which raised the NERs in the sub-region. The NER for children residing in the *spill-over* sub-region was slightly higher than the averages for Uganda and the RoC. In terms of gender, there is near parity for all the sub-regions.

Secondary Education: Secondary school enrolment increased faster in the PRDP region than in the RoC. This was partly achieved through the special targeting of Universal Secondary Education (USE) programme within the PRDP region, which offered support to UPE graduates to access secondary education. At the national level, enrolment in secondary schools (including at the Ordinary and the Advanced certificate levels) increased from 0.9 million in 2005/6 to 1.2 million children in 2012/13. This represents an annual growth rate of 4.3 percent. The corresponding estimates for the entire PRDP region increased from 0.2 million children to 0.4 million children respectively, equivalent to an annual growth rate of 11 percent.

Despite the low enrolment levels, in absolute terms, the growth in enrolment was stronger at the secondary school level, compared to the primary school level in Uganda. The RoC registered marginal changes over the review period. Regardless of geographical location, the growth in secondary school enrolment was faster during the first sub-period than during the last sub-period. Furthermore, boys were more likely to enrol for secondary education than girls, as evidenced by the corresponding higher annual growth rates.

The trends in secondary school enrolment rates over time are similar to those seen for primary education, although significant gaps are noted in the magnitudes. On the one hand, NER increased from 15.6 percent in 2005/6 to 18.1 percent in 2009/10, before declining to 16.7 percent in 2012/13. On the other hand, the GER increased from 23.6 percent in 2005/6 to 25.6 percent in 2009/10, and remained unchanged three years later. These rates seem to be low in a country that aspires for a “lower middle income country” status by 2020.

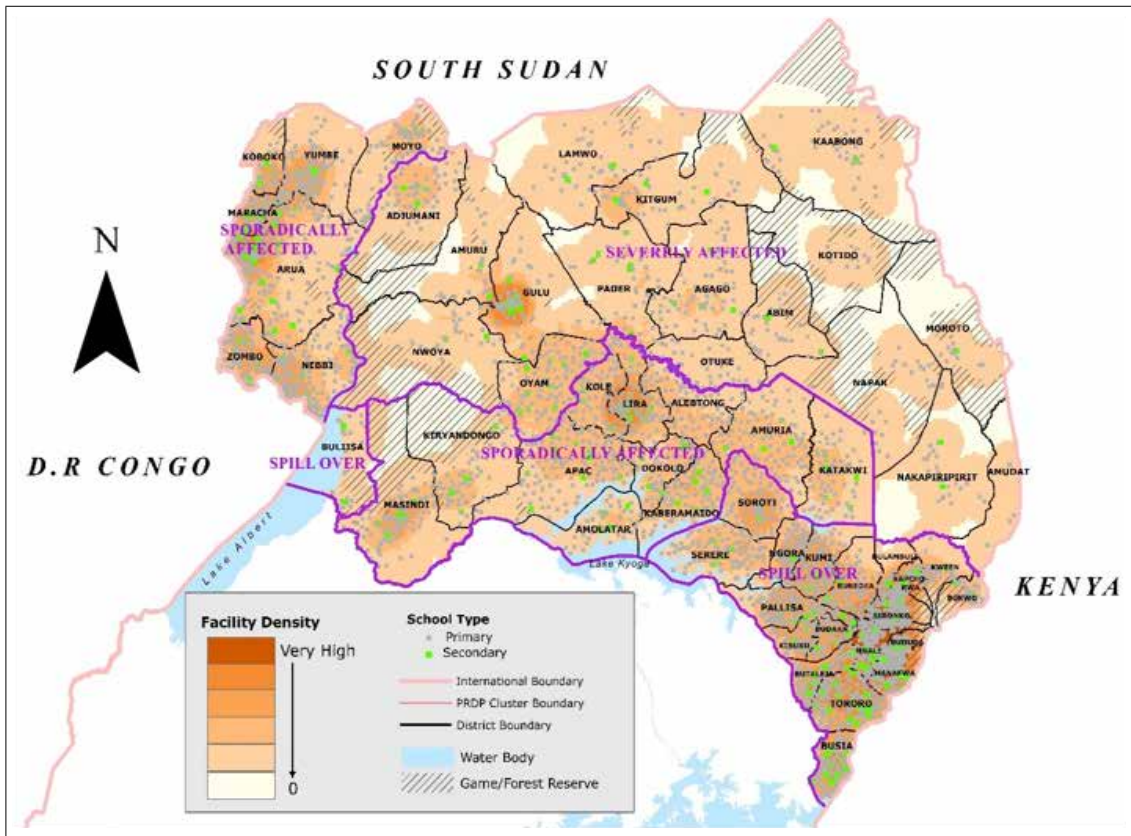
Similar trends are noted in the PRDP region and its sub-regions.

The increases between 2005/6 and 2009/10 could possibly be explained by the introduction of the USE programme in 2007, although, if this is the case, the impacts seem to have been short-lived. Evidently, the transition rate from primary level to secondary level remains low, but this development challenge is not unique to the PRDP region, but is a national issue. A lot more needs to be done, in terms of increasing enrolment in secondary schools, to accommodate the high enrolment rates at the primary level because of the UPE programme.

There is a wider gap in enrolment at secondary level than primary level between the PRDP region and the RoC. This is largely explained by physical access to secondary schools, as shown in Map 2, which reveals a higher presence of public primary schools than secondary schools. Some parts of the *severely affected* sub-region, in particular, Karamoja, have very few public secondary schools. In addition, there was a significant gender gap during the USE implementation period. In 2005/6, there was no marked gender gap among school children in the severely affected sub-region, but by 2012/13 the NER for girls was almost half that of boys. A similar observation was made for the *sporadically affected* sub-region.

The widening gender gap in net secondary education enrolment in these two sub-regions seems to have been caused by the widening gap between the PRDP region and the RoC. That said, the *spill-over* sub-region maintained gender parity over the period under review. The aforesaid low educational attainment in the PRDP region is not just a function of the conflict, but also a result of the rigidity of the education system, which made few adjustments to make schools more suitable to the needs of the region, both during and after the conflict. Additionally, though the GER at the secondary education level are almost similar between females and males, female youth remain less literate than their male counterparts.

MAP 2.1: PUBLIC PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS LOCATION IN THE PRDP REGION, 2012/13

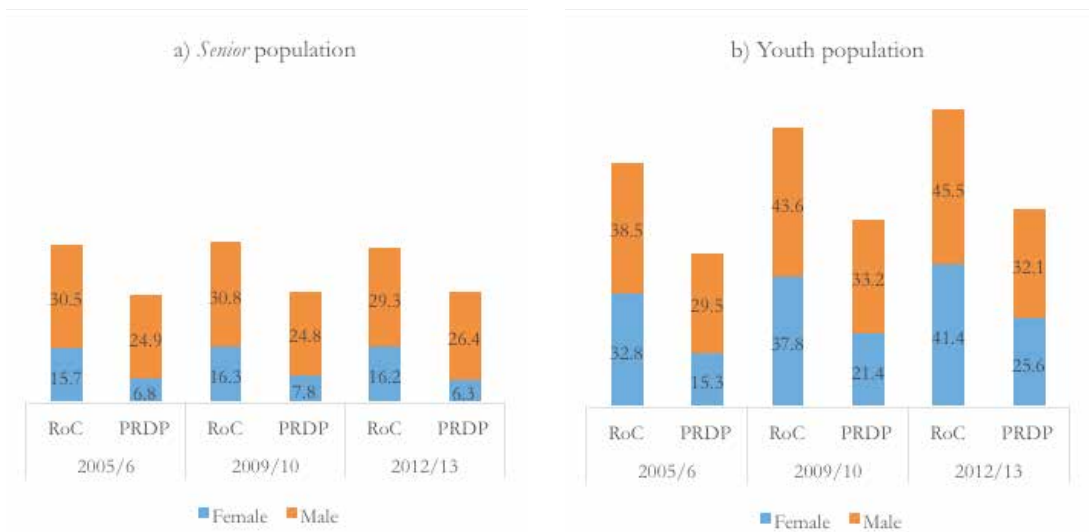


Source: UBoS 2015.

One of the sub-components in the construction of the Gender Inequality Index (GII) is the share of the *senior* adult population with at least some secondary education by gender. Taking the entire eight-year review period, at the national level, the share remained unchanged (at around 20 percent). However, significant changes were observed among the youth population, where there was an increase (from 31 percent in 2005/6 to 37.6 percent in 2012/13). Regardless of the life cycle, the gap between the PRDP region and the RoC remained largely unchanged – with the region’s share well below that of the RoC. Nonetheless, the gap was wider for the youth population (about 14 percentage points, compared to about 7-8 percentage points for senior adult population).

Regarding gender (see Figure 2.8), the gap was wider for the PRDP region, compared to the RoC.

The *senior* adult male population in the region was four times more likely to have some secondary education, compared to its counterpart female population, while that for the RoC was only two times. The gender gap for the youth population has declined, and the decline was faster for the PRDP region, (from 14.1 percentage points in 2005/6 to 6.5 percentage points in 2012/13). The corresponding figures for the RoC were 5.7 percentage points to 4.1 percentage points respectively. In the PRDP region, within gender, among the youth population, progress was faster for females (from 15.3 percent in 2005/6 to 25.6 percent in 2012/13), compared that for males (from 29.5 percent to 32.1 percent). No similar progress is observed for senior adults. In other words, the gender dimension in this sub-component seems not to have influenced the observed progress in the GII over time.

FIGURE 2.8: SHARE OF THE ADULT POPULATION WITH AT LEAST SOME SECONDARY EDUCATION, %

Source: Calculations based on the UNHS data 2005/6, 2009/10 and 2012/13.

Furthermore, at the sub-regional levels, there is a gender gap, with females being less likely to have attained some secondary education, compared to their male counterparts. This finding is significant, and holds true across the three survey periods. The only exception is for the youth in the *spill-over* sub-region, where the gender gap was in favour of girls in 2012/13. Again, gender gaps are more pronounced in the *severely affected* sub-region, compared to the other two sub-regions. Also, girls are likely to miss out on achieving secondary education. This has serious implications for their effective participation in decision-making, when they become adults.

Mean years of schooling

This is one of the sub-components in the computation of the above composite human development indices with marked disparities by gender, geography and life cycle. At national level, the mean years of schooling for *senior* adults is estimated at about 5 years. On average, males are likely to have three more years of schooling than females. Overall, the low mean years of schooling paints a gloomy picture about the knowledge economy.

People living in the PRDP region are more likely to have lower years of schooling (4 years) compared to their counterparts in the RoC (about 5 years).

These low levels are driven mainly by those people residing in the *severely affected* sub-region (of 3.3 years in 2012/13). This is partly due to lack of secondary schools, as well as lost years of schooling caused by conflict, attitude, family obligations and low interest. Regardless of sub-grouping, females were more likely to have lower mean years of schooling, compared to their male counterparts. This is because of early drop-out rates and pregnancies of the girl child (see Section 2.3). By implication, females will be unable to take on economic opportunities, such as better-paying jobs; are likely to get married earlier, and produce many children. This has negative implications for their health and their children, thereby negatively affecting human development in the region.

As expected, the youth have higher mean years of schooling, compared to that of the senior adult population, with a gender gap in favour of males. Nonetheless, the gender gap is narrower among the youth, compared to the *senior* adults. The higher educational attainment among the youth population presents a vast potential that needs to be harnessed. It is noted, therefore, that inequalities in mean years of schooling remains a challenge, in terms of gender and geography, with a gender gap that is wider across sub-regions, but narrower by lifecycle. The gender gap is widest in the *severely affected* sub-region. Inequality in education is

higher in the PRDP region, driven largely by the *severely affected* sub-region. Late entry into formal education because of the conflict explains the low educational achievement in the PRDP region. Consequently, there is need for “catch-up” education programmes, as well as vocational training, to bridge this gap now.

Expected years of schooling

Expected years of schooling is one of the indicators in the composite human development indices and, in Uganda, it is expected to be at least 12 years. This implies that a child who is currently 6 years has 12 years’ worth of enrolment (up to Senior Five). Although a declining trend is noted for the RoC, there is an improving situation for the PRDP region. Within the PRDP region, the *spill-over* sub-region has the highest expected years of schooling (even slightly higher than the national and RoC averages), while the least years are recorded in the *severely affected* sub-region. To illustrate this point, a 6 year old has 10 years’ worth of enrolment relative to a counterpart in the *spill-over* sub-region who would have about 13 years’ worth of enrolment. Encouragingly, the expected years of schooling has increased significantly in Karamoja (from three to eight years). When gender is considered, there is a consistent gap between females and males, with the former having lower expected years of schooling, compared to their male counterparts. By 2012/13, it stood at about 11 and 13 years respectively, implying that there are more limited future opportunities for girls, compared to boys, if no policy actions are taken.

Quality of, and physical access to, education:

While these issues are not directly captured in the human development framework, there are important in sustainable human development. There is no doubt that physical access to schools has improved, but challenges of quality remain. For example, data from the Education Management Information System showed that the pupil-teacher ratio in public primary school in 2010 was 75 in North Eastern and 65 in Northern Uganda, compared to the national average of 57.³³ Similarly, the pupil classroom ratio for the PRDP region was about 80 compared to the national average of 67. As such, a large number of interventions in the region have focused on constructing new classrooms as

well as teacher houses, to attract teachers to hard-to-reach areas. During the 2009-2013 period, at least 2,545 new classrooms, 3,640 pit latrines and 2,504 teacher houses were constructed in the PRDP region.³⁴

The Uganda education system has public and private schools, but with marked spatial differences. Broadly speaking, there are fewer private schools in the PRDP region compared to the RoC. Nearly nine in every ten children in the PRDP region attended public primary schools, with the region benefitting from public funding and expansion in public school coverage. Nearly 76.3 percent of the households in the PRDP region, compared to 28.8 percent in the RoC, lived in communities where the most common private primary schools were more than 3km away in 2012/13. This means that household choices in the PRDP region were limited.

At policy level, there has been more focus on universal education coverage but less on quality and expansion of school infrastructure was not matched by corresponding increase in textbooks. The quality of education remains low, based on the analysis of the 2013 Uganda Service Delivery Indicator (USDI)³⁵ data. Teacher absenteeism remains a big challenge. While nearly 42.7 percent of teachers in the RoC were likely to be in class, in the PRDP region the figure was only 30.3 percent. The absenteeism rate (measured as the share of teachers not in schools as observed during one unannounced visit) is lower for the RoC (20.0 percent), compared to that in the PRDP region (33.1 percent).

However, the rate for the *sporadically affected* sub-region is striking, with two in every five teachers being absent from school on any school day, well above the average for the PRDP region. Interestingly, even when teachers are at school, they may not be in their classrooms, teaching learners. This problem of being in school but not in the classroom is more pronounced in the *severely affected* sub-region (45.4 percent). Putting all this together, at the national level, 52.5 percent of the teachers were absent from their classrooms (absent from school plus those in school but not in classroom) on any school day. The rate for the RoC was 46.8 percent, while the rate for the PRDP region was 66.9 percent (with a sub-region range between 61.7 and 69.8 percent).

These findings indicate that the quality of education received by a child in the PRDP region may be inferior to that of a counterpart in the RoC. This is reflected in the region's poor overall performance in primary school leaving examinations. In spite of this, several communities in the region rated their satisfaction with public primary schools relatively higher, than for the RoC in 2013. Specifically, 45.6 percent of communities in the PRDP region rate public schools as good, compared to 15.7 percent in the RoC. The corresponding rate for private schools is 49.4 percent in the PRDP region and 32.9 percent in the RoC. However, the trends and differences in education attainment, quality and performance between the PRDP region and the RoC illustrate that while the introduction of UPE has, in fact, had a relatively "equalising effect in terms of education access, it has not had the same equalising effect in terms of education quality and performance".³⁶ Also, while universalisation of primary education boosted enrolments, the outcomes have been disappointing (measured in terms of literacy and numeracy skills).³⁷ This calls for effective partnership between key stakeholders to improve learning outcomes.

Secondary schools are normally located much farther from communities than primary schools. So, despite 93.8 percent of the households in the PRDP region residing in communities with at least a public primary school within 3km in 2005/6, 53 percent of the households are more than 5km from a government secondary school. There was, however, some improvement in physical access to secondary schools in 2009/10 (from 56.4 percent compared to 47 percent in 2005/6). This was partly explained by the USE, and Skilling Uganda programmes. Notwithstanding this progress, the long distances to public secondary schools remain a hindrance, especially to the adolescent girls.

The share of children attending government secondary schools within the PRDP region increased regardless of geographical location (from 48.6 percent in 2005/6 to 71.2 percent in 2012/13). Corresponding estimates for the RoC were from 37.1 percent to 57.1 percent respectively. The improved physical access to public primary and secondary schools demonstrates GoU's commitment to universal school coverage, although, translating this progress into higher

enrolment rates remains a challenge. Communities in the PRDP region were less likely to report the presence of a private secondary school within a 5km radius, compared to their counterparts in the RoC. This partly explains the higher enrolment in government secondary schools. In 2013, 57 percent of communities rated their level of satisfaction with government secondary schools as good compared to 30.8 percent in the RoC. The rating of community satisfaction for private secondary schools was not as good as that for private primary schools.

2.2.3 Health

This section provides insights into the health dimensions of human development, assessing patterns in life expectancy at birth, and trends in mortality (child and maternal) as well as access to health services. Uganda is committed to ensuring a healthy population through the provision of improved health services, especially in the war and conflict-affected sub-regions. These have received substantial amounts of funding from government and other agencies towards human development.³⁸ Broadly speaking, there are notable gains in the health indicators during the eight year period, though challenges remain.

Life expectancy at birth

Life expectancy focuses on how long a new born infant would survive if the existing age specific mortality pattern in society remains unchanged throughout the infant's life. It summarises the mortality situation that prevails across all age groups, children, youth, adults and the elderly. Uganda has continued to register improvements in life expectancy at birth during the review period. It increased by 4.4 years for the entire population (from 53.3 in 2005/6 to 58.7 years in 2012/13), and by 6.1 years for females and 4.7 years for males. Women have higher life expectancy, though with high maternal mortality rates, as discussed below. Life expectancy also varies across the sub-regions within the PRDP region, with the *spill-over* sub-region leading (at 55.6 years), and the *severely affected* sub-region lagging (at 53.4 years).

Child mortality

The computation of the Multi-dimensional Poverty Index (MPI), discussed in Section 2.1.4, includes proxies for child health indicators, whose improvement during the review period partly

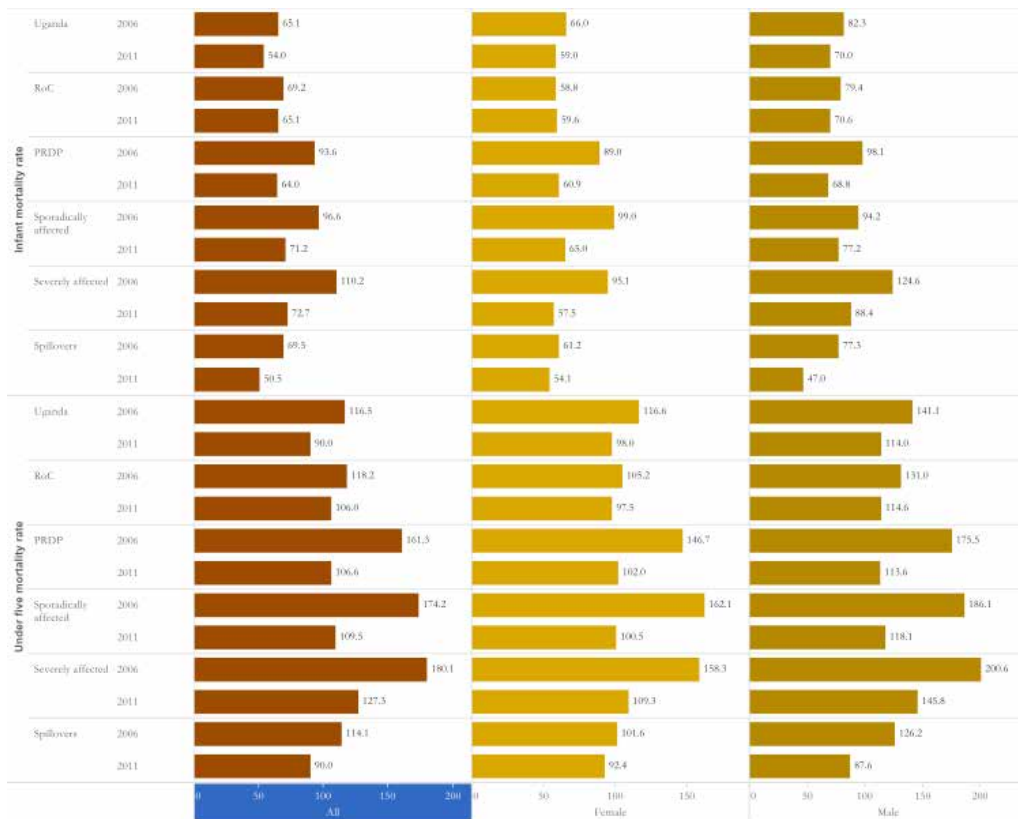
explains the observed reduction in the MPI. Despite this improvement, the PRDP region lags behind the RoC. At the national level, infant mortality rate (IMR), the ratio of children that die before their first birth day, declined from 65.1 to 54 per 1000 live births between 2006 and 2011). The corresponding decline in IMR for the PRDP region was from 93.6 to 64 per 1000 live births, while it declined from 69.2 to 65.1 per 1000 live births for the RoC. The reduction was significantly faster for the PRDP region relative to the RoC, thereby significantly narrowing the gap.

Progress in the PRDP region was mostly on account of improvements in the *severely affected* sub-region, where the IMR fell from 110.2 to 72.7 per 1000 live births in the same period. This is partly explained by the reduction in the prevalence of malaria among children (from 45 percent in 2009 to 19 percent in 2015). Indeed the narrowing of the gap was faster for the *severely affected* sub-region relative to the

sporadically affected sub-region, mainly on account of declines in IMRs for females (Figure 2.9). Despite the significant declines, IMRs in the *sporadically affected* and *severely affected* sub-regions remain above the averages for the PRDP region and the RoC. There is a strong negative correlation between mother’s education (especially improvements in primary school graduation rates) and IMR.³⁹

The trends in the under-five mortality mirror those of the IMRs, with faster reductions in the PRDP region relative to the RoC, but with a significant gap remaining, albeit closing, by 2011. The trend was mainly due to the significant reduction in female mortality rates. The *spill-over* and the *sporadically affected* sub-regions registered significant improvements, which were better than for the RoC. All in all, the *spill-over* sub-region has relatively better child mortality indicators, compared to the other sub-regions.

FIGURE 2.9: INFANT AND UNDER FIVE MORTALITY RATES PER 1000 LIVE BIRTHS



Source: Calculations based on the UDHS data 2006 and 2011.

Child nutrition

Child nutrition is one of ten indicators used in the computation of the MPI. A study on the cost of hunger in Uganda,⁴⁰ underscores the effects of under-nutrition on child mortality. That study found that 15 percent of child mortality was associated with under-nutrition. It also examined the effects of under-nutrition on educational achievements (in terms of repetition rates, and years of schooling), as well as on the workforce. The study concludes that the elimination of stunting is necessary for Uganda's sustainable development. There is no doubt that conflict had a negative impact on children nutrition in the PRDP region. Nationally, the percentage of stunted children declined from 38.1 percent in 2006 to 33.4 percent in 2011, while the averages for the PRDP region during the reference years were 42.8 percent and 29.4 percent respectively. Improvement in the PRDP region was the main reason for the change in the national average. Similar results were noted for the underweight and wasting indicators. These findings imply that the gap in child nutrition indicators had significantly narrowed by 2011 between the PRDP region and RoC, but was still below the MDG target. The *severely affected* sub-region has the worst indicators, followed by the *sporadically affected* sub-region. There seems to be a positive correlation between level of formal maternal education and child nutrition indicators. Karamoja and West Nile have the worst indicators, yet the cause is quite different. In the former, it is a problem of low crop production, while in the latter is access to hygiene, access to clean water and disease.

Maternal mortality rates

Improving women and girl's health is enshrined in the global MDG 5 (improving maternal health) and Goal 6 (combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases). Maternal health is determined by various sexual and reproductive health issues, including child bearing and teenage pregnancy, family planning and contraceptive use, HIV and AIDS infection, as well as access to, and the utilization of, quality sexual reproductive health services.

At the national level, the government intends to reduce the maternal mortality rate (MMR) per 100,000 live births, from the current level of 438

to 320 by 2020. While there were no significant changes between 2006 and 2011 at the national level, this presumably conceals the situation at the disaggregated level. However, owing to the small number of observations, it was not possible to compute the MMR figures at regional and sub-regional levels. But, working from the assumption that adolescent mothers and their infants face a higher risk of fatality during and immediately after child birth, the expectation would be for mortality rates in the same time frame to be highest in the *spill-over* sub-region, in line with studies that in part attribute high MMRs to high adolescent pregnancies (see Figure 2.10 in Section 2.3).

The effect of people leaving IDP camps and returning to their communities (where basic social services had been destroyed, or had not existed to begin with), had a negative impact on MMR, and should not be underestimated. Leaving the camps meant that the vast majority of people were returning to homes and communities in which they did not have access to basic education and health facilities previously provided in the IDP camps. The performance in the delivery of these services became more difficult and harder to track as the IDP population dispersed.

The use of antenatal services, measured by the share of women (aged 15-49 years) who gave birth during the previous 5 years (and who made at least one antenatal visit during their last pregnancy and this) has an impact on MMRs. While remaining mostly unchanged nationwide, the use of antenatal services dropped in the *severely affected* sub-region (from 50.8 percent in 2006 to 47.9 percent in 2011). More women in the *sporadically affected* sub-region utilised antenatal services, which increased by about 3 percentage points (from 50.6 percent in 2006).

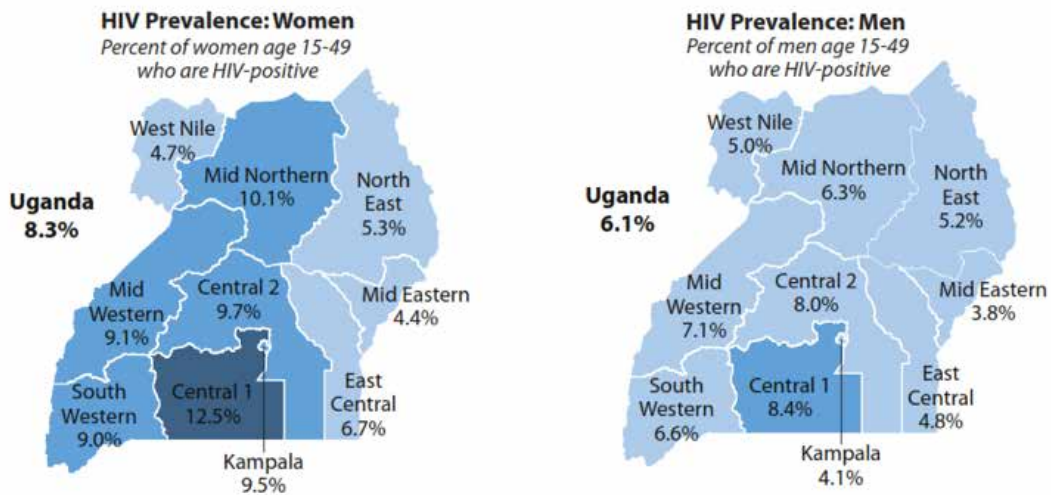
The unchanged trends in MMRs over time, even in the face of increased antenatal service usage, indicates that professional care was predominantly utilised during pregnancy and not during the actual childbirth process. Furthermore, the analysis based on the USDI data reveals that mothers' drugs were missing in the health units. This, again, might be linked to the limited improvement in MMR. The problem was more pronounced in the PRDP region relative to the RoC, and in the *spill-over* sub-

region relative to other sub-regions. There are ongoing initiatives (such as Maternal and New-born Health (MNH) initiative) to address areas lagging in improvements in child and maternal health indicators in Uganda. In the PRDP region, the areas of focus include Karamoja, Acholi and Lango. To date, there is positive progress in these areas, as is discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

The HIV/AIDS prevalence has partly also affected maternal health in the region. In 2011, HIV prevalence was higher among females compared to their male counterparts, with the exception of the *sporadically affected* sub-region (in particular West Nile). The

HIV prevalence is highest for women in the *severely affected* sub-region (in the Mid Northern at 10.1 percent). This is partly attributed to the effects of war, including the long period of staying in IDP camps, which exposed them to increased (Sexual and Gender-based Violence (SGBV), namely, to acts such as rape, defilement and forced marriages, and to the presence of soldiers that transmitted the disease to young girls. According to the Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) conducted in the PRDP region, the HIV/AIDS prevalence is on the rise. But there is massive sensitisation on HIV/AIDS and maternal health both at Parliament (especially in justifying for an increased budget) and local levels.

MAP 2.2: HIV PREVALENCE BY REGION AND SEX, 2011



Source: MoH 2012.

Access to health centres is often cited as one of the key issues affecting maternal mortality⁴¹. This is determined by the extent to which an individual is impeded, or enabled, when accessing healthcare from the available providers. Access comprises of the geographic, financial, social and organisational considerations that determine both the consumers’ and providers’ use and administrating of services.⁴² The PRDP region is predominantly rural, thereby posing significant physical difficulties in delivering and accessing health care.⁴³ The building of more facilities only solves the aspect of accessibility, but, as new facilities often lack the human resources and equipment to actually become fully functional,⁴⁴ their impact on MMR is not perceptible. Supply-side barriers, such as inadequate drugs, irregular

working hours, long waiting times and lack of skills,⁴⁵ also contribute to undermining access to healthcare in the PRDP region and other parts of Uganda. Issues of human resources are very alarming – for instance one of the key informants reported to have witnessed a midwife delivering five (5) women simultaneously.

Financial access is often mentioned as one of the other major barriers to health services for expectant mother.⁴⁶ On a positive note, there are initiatives in some parts of the region to reduce these costs (such as “mama kits”). With higher poverty and fertility rates than the RoC, the PRDP region appears to be at most risk for high maternal and infant mortality. As such, women’s access to healthcare is important,

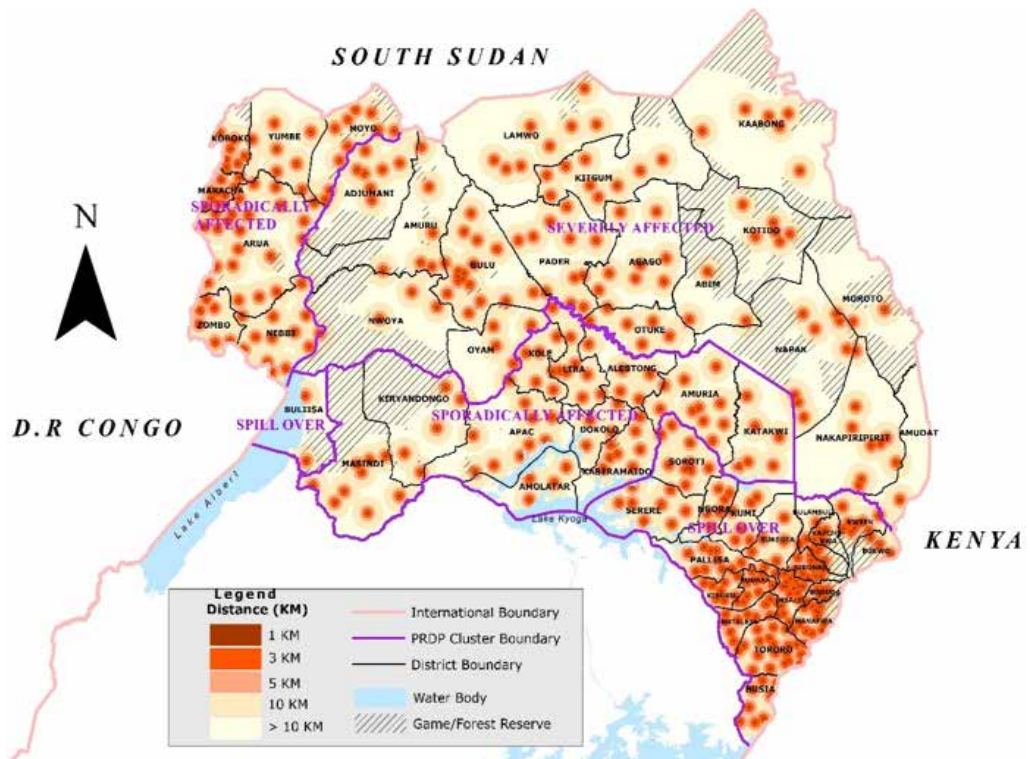
not only for themselves as users, but also because they are essentially the primary health care givers at family and household level.⁴⁷ While child care can be vastly improved through direct measures, such as deworming, vaccinations/immunizations, and the provision of insecticide-treated bed nets, maternal health is more dependent on secondary factors, which require a 'fully functioning health care system which has capacity for referral and emergency management'.⁴⁸

Utilisation of, physical access to, and quality of health facilities

The various household surveys gather information on service provider, both public and private. The rate of utilisation of government health facilities is well below that of government schools. At the national level, the demand for public health facilities increased from 28.2 percent in 2005/6 to 43.5 percent in 2012/13. Unpacking the trend in demand reveals spatial variations. The demand increased faster for the PRDP region (from 34.8 percent to 55.3 percent), compared to the RoC (from 24.4 percent to 35.5 percent). Further disparities are

noted within the PRDP sub-regions: the highest demand for government health facilities is reported for the *severely affected* sub-region (increasing from 48.4 percent in 2005/6 to 71.2 percent in 2012/13); while the lowest demand was reported for the *spill-over* sub-region. The low demand pattern seems to reflect the sub-region's level of development and the low availability of private providers. Regarding the latter, less than half of the households are residing in communities with access to private health providers located within a radius of 5 km. There are spatial disparities in the concentration of public health centres in the PRDP region, as illustrated in Map 2.3. Access to government health facilities (within a 5km radius) has improved over time, but the quality of services still remains a major concern. In 2012/13, nearly 20.8 percent of health service users in the RoC (compared to 37.7 percent in the PRDP region) rated public health facilities to be good. In contrast, the health services provided in health units owned by NGOs was rated as good by 56 percent of users in the RoC and 50.7 percent of users in the PRDP region. This finding demonstrates a rather worrisome quality gap between government and private providers.⁴⁹

MAP 2.3: DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC HEALTH CENTRES IN THE PRDP REGION



Notes: The darker the shade the closer the facility is within 1km radius. The lighter the shade the more inaccessible the health centre is. Source: UBoS 2015.

Turning to the quality of health service provision, absenteeism of health workers remains a key obstacle to healthcare services. Even though health workers are urged to attend work regardless of the availability of medicines and drugs, absenteeism is still a significant problem in the region.⁵⁰ The USDI findings seem to suggest that this problem is not peculiar to the PRDP region, but a national problem. Absenteeism at the facilities stood at 46 percent, and there were no significant differences among sub-regions, or between RoC and the PRDP region.

The issues of capacity and staffing are major hindrances to the ability to provide essential services, and many health centres are not functional because of the failure to both attract and retain qualified staff. Poor remuneration rates, geographical location, physical infrastructure, preconceived notions and biases about the region, partly explain this state of affairs. This highlights a very important factor in the overall human development: agenda, namely, that so many of the indicators are inextricably linked with other social issues, as improving one requires improvement in the others, in order to achieve effectiveness. For example, staffing schools and hospitals with qualified personnel requires other socio-economic improvements and developments to attract workers to the region and retain them.

2.2.4 Participation and decision making

The constitution of Uganda provides for equal rights for men and women in political decision making. Women's equal participation in governance and decision making is not only a demand for simple justice but a necessity for gender equality. In the PRDP region, women's participation in decision making at household and community levels is limited, owing to prevailing socio-cultural norms and practises that exclude women from leadership opportunities. The low literacy rates and educational attainment among women in the region (see Sub-section 2.2.2) partly influence their confidence and abilities to take on leadership responsibilities in the public space. Yet, gender-inclusive political participation, through voice and decision making, are fundamental tenets for political and economic development. On the other hand, the conflict disrupted some of the traditional

and social fabrics of the communities, by exposing women to opportunities of power, especially among the Acholi and Langi. This created for women some degree of independence in decision making, especially concerning income.

Political participation, measured by the share of seats in the national parliament, is one of the new sub-components in the construction of the GII (see Sub-section 2.1.3). A member of parliament is supposed to legislate, appropriate, and play an oversight role on behalf of Government. Overall, the government policy on affirmative action has contributed to the increasing numbers of women in politics and decision making in the PRDP region. The affirmative action in the Local Government Act 1997 provides for women's representation by reserving one-third of the seats for women at all local council levels. Despite its lower performance on some of the human development components, the PRDP region has a higher participation of women as members of parliament, and is well above the averages for Uganda and the RoC. By 2012/13, the share of women parliamentarians stood at 39.7 percent for the PRDP region, compared to 34.5 percent in the RoC. The higher participation rate in the PRDP region is largely influenced by the women participation rate for the *severely affected* sub-region (42.5 percent).

This finding might not be surprising, since the region has 55 out of the 112 districts – automatically amassing the 55 compulsory women representatives. But, that said, women in the region are also more likely to engage in competitive politics, compared to their counterparts in the RoC. What remains unclear however, is the extent to which this significant improvement in women's engagement in formal politics has supported human development in the region. For instance, on the one hand, at local council level, women in the Pader and Agago districts reported that elected women are known for their "3S" role, namely, seconding, supporting and signing.⁵¹ This was partly attributed to the strong Acholi cultures and norms that thrive on women's subordination, a culture that also obtains in Lango.

On the other hand, women members of parliament hailing from the PRDP region are strongly attached to their regions. They have made substantive contributions related to raising PRDP region's issues

of national concern on the floor of parliament.⁵² For example, they raised issues of sexual abuses that have had a negative toll on the education of girls, the nodding disease, war child mothers, female returnees, sexual crimes committed during the

LRA conflict- the effects of which continue to be experienced in the PRDP region-, and persistent Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) practices (see Box 2.4).

BOX 2.4: VOICES OF THE PRDP REGION WOMEN MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

Case 1: PRDP District Women Members of Parliament presenting their specific issues

MS GRACE OBURU (NRM, Woman Representative, Tororo)

Thank you, Madam Speaker. I rise on an urgent matter of national importance. Last weekend I attended Women's Day celebrations in Paya sub-county and among the reports that I received from the LC III chairman was that from January to 28 March, 124 girls had been defiled. This is in one sub-county, and those are just reported cases but there are cases which go unreported. The officers in the parliamentary research office are carrying out a study on the dropout rate of girls and this was among them - teachers are engaged in defiling girls. When a child leaves home, the other parent to that child is the teacher but now the teacher is the one defiling this girl. What is this teacher instilling in this girl as a person of moral authority? I am requesting that when these cases get reported, they are dealt with without fear or favour. Now they get reported, people get arrested but it just ends there; they are not followed up and people go scot-free. So, that is why there is a lot of defilement going on. People know that after all, there will be nothing done to them. I am requesting government to actually ensure that those who defile children are punished accordingly. Thank you.

Source: Parliament Hansard, 2012, Uganda

At the household and community levels, women's participation in decision making remains limited, mainly due to prevailing socio-cultural norms and practices that deny women leadership opportunities. The low education and high poverty levels may also influence women's confidence and ability to take on leadership responsibilities in the public space. For example in Acholi and Lango, leadership is traditionally a male preserve. Culturally, men dominate leadership through chiefdoms that are headed by chiefs called "Rwot", whose role was the "won lobo" (owner of the land) and the won ngom (owner of the soil). Communities are culturally organised under the clan system, and

headed by male dominated clan leaders. These still remain powerful institutions in these parts of the PRDP region.

Table 2.5 shows that men in the PRDP region continue to influence decisions over the incomes earned by their wives, though at a declining rate. However, women's independent decision making concerning their own health is still very low. Less than a quarter of women across all the PRDP sub-regions are able to make independent decisions over their health care needs, particularly reproductive health. Also, few women are able to make independent decisions over visiting their families and relatives.

TABLE 2.5: WOMEN'S INDEPENDENT PARTICIPATION IN KEY HOUSEHOLD DECISIONS IN 2006 AND 2011

	Uganda		RoC		PRDP		Sporadically affected		Severely affected		Spill-over	
	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011
How to spend own earnings	55.2	53.8	62.7	55	40.7	50.7	53.7	55.3	42.7	50.9	22.8	45.8
Own health care	22.3	23.5	22.1	23	22.5	24.4	22.9	22.1	26.1	23.9	19.8	27.3
Large household purchases	15.1	16.1	12.1	15.4	19.5	17.3	22	17.3	31.1	21.7	9.3	13.9
Visits to family and relatives	20.6	23	19.7	23.8	21.9	21.6	17.3	20.1	36.9	29.4	16.5	16.9

Source: Calculations based on UDHS data 2006 and 2011.

Although the youth have the numerical strength, they are less likely to use this to their advantage, in terms of youth representation and political participation. They do not have financial resources to campaign effectively. Structures to promote and foster young people's voice are in place in Uganda, such as the youth councils and district-level officers. While these are meant to promote local and decentralized youth participation, they have failed to provide active and practical space for the promotion of young people's interests and involvement in local governance structures. Mostly, these councils have remained inactive, and the government has failed to provide appropriate financial resources to allow for their functioning, which could have facilitated the absorption of the educated youth at the district level.

Meanwhile, the five youth Members of Parliament (four regional and one national) are often too centralized to provide young people political space in their respective local contexts. Moreover, the involvement of youth in the existing structures always requires a certain level of education. Yet, young people in the *severely affected* sub-region, and Karamoja in particular, often do not possess sufficient educational and literacy levels to fully grasp the opportunities for political involvement. Young people with average levels of education that have been politically active usually leave their local context for bigger urban areas, and are unlikely to return to their rural areas.

2.3 POPULATION DYNAMICS AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Population dynamics has implications for sustainable human development. Uganda is one of the least developed countries that still has high population growth rates. The provisional results of the 2014 National Population and Housing Census (NPHC) suggest that this growth rate is 3.03 percent. The PRDP region accounts for 38.4 percent of the national population. The higher population growth rate implies a youthful population structure. This has implications for the provision of social services and also the need for sound economic options, so that strong and inclusive growth can create productive and decent employment opportunities for all.

The highest proportion (77 percent) of the population in Uganda is aged 30 years and below, while the working age youth alone represents almost 40 percent of the total working population (14-64 years). As such, the dependency ratio will remain high, given the current age structure and population growth rate. Majority of the youth population is female and resides in rural areas, although the share of urban youth has been growing over the last decade. In 2012/13, the PRDP youth represented 38 percent of the total youth population, with the majority residing in the *spill-over* sub-region (41.1 percent), followed by the *sporadically affected* (35.2 percent) and the *severely affected* (23.6 percent) sub-regions. The distribution of the youth population matches that of the sub-regional population shares.

The majority of youth are either engaged in subsistence farming or are informally employed (see Sub-section 2.2.1). The youth unemployment remains a major policy concern, and this is exacerbated by the skills mismatch and broadly the inability of the economy to create jobs. The situation for the female youth in the PRDP region is exacerbated by their low literacy levels. The low quality of education in the region (see Sub-section 2.2.2), raises concerns about the quality of the future labour force. In turn, this raises concerns about the labour productivity required to enable the region move from a recovery onto a transformative path. The local economy needs to expand substantially, to stimulate growth in demand for labour. It is also necessary to have in place the right policies to harness this demographic dividend. Otherwise, further growth in the labour supply is bound to exacerbate the already high unemployment and underemployment rates in the country.

Urbanisation is the other key demographic process that has continued to attract attention from development practitioners. The PRDP region's share of urban communities increased from 8.7 percent in 2009/10 to 14.8 percent in 2012/13⁵³, compared to that of the RoC, which increased from 18.9 percent to 28.4 percent respectively. This implies urbanisation was faster in the PRDP region, driving the national average from 15 percent in 2009/10 to 22.6 percent in 2012/13. However, this stronger urban growth has to be interpreted with caution, as the growth is partly explained by the

creation of new districts from old ones in this part of the country. But also, many former IDP camps in Acholi have become rural growth centres, and have been critical to spur urbanisation in the region. This notwithstanding, the implications in terms of pressure on social service delivery should not be overlooked. Furthermore, urbanisation is going on without proper planning.

Fertility rates

Uganda's high total fertility rate is a major source of the observed high population growth rate. The high fertility rate is partly attributed to poverty, as well as to limited access to family planning services, and social norms and practices that value women for their child-bearing roles.⁵⁴ Figure 2.10 shows that the rate declined from 6.7 children per woman in 2006 to 6.2 children per woman in 2011, but with disparities across regions. The period 2006-2011 was marked by a reduction in Uganda's total fertility rate, although these remained high relative to her partner states in the East African Community. Predictably, fertility rates in the PRDP region were higher than those in the RoC, largely because of the emergence of the child mother phenomenon.

Fertility was at its highest in 2006, coinciding with the end of the conflict, and was highest in the severely affected sub-region. In 2011, there was a significant reduction in the total fertility rate in the region, with the exception of the spill-over sub-region. This decline is associated with the higher secondary school enrolment rates between 2005/6 and 2009/10. Furthermore, the UDHS data reveal increases in the percentage of women aged 15-49 years that were using any form of contraceptive method. This caused a reduction in fertility rates, with the PRDP region registering a higher increase, compared to the RoC. Nonetheless, a lot needs to be done if the region is to attain the national target of 4.5 children per woman by 2020.⁵⁵

The war disrupted the social systems that strengthened discipline among children before the war. That disruption partly contributed to the increased moral degeneration, leading to high teenage pregnancy in the PRDP region⁵⁶. During the war, the social practices regarding courtship and marriage were disrupted and became less formalised in the IDP camps. To illustrate this point, the Acholi and Langi systems

of socialisation encouraged old men and women to share life and folk stories with the young ones, often seated around a fire place (*wang oo*). This included imparting good morals to the younger ones, a practice which declined during the war.⁵⁷ At the same time, casual sexual relations became common among young people and, in the absence of reproductive health education, the teenage pregnancy situation was exacerbated.

Child marriage also increases teenage pregnancy, which poses health risks to young mothers and their offspring, as well as contributing to population growth. This is because such child brides start giving birth at a very early age. Early pregnancy limits the access of young women and girls to educational, health, and economic opportunities and empowerment. It is argued that teen mothers and their children are more likely to have poor health, and generally end up with less education and skills, which are necessary for employment opportunities.⁵⁸ Teenage pregnancy also creates identity loss, as young girls grapple with the challenge of motherhood before they become mature. The children who beget children are socially undefined, because they are neither women nor children.

The high rate of teenage pregnancy is a major setback to girl's school retention and completion in the PRDP region.⁵⁹ This implies that girls who reach the onset of puberty (in most cases those in Upper Primary) find school awkward and uncomfortable, causing them to drop out. The adolescent fertility rates (AFR) vary widely across sub-regions. In the severely affected sub-region, between 2006 and 2011, the AFR declined from 183 to 142 per 1000 women driving the overall reduction in the entire PRDP region. Indeed, the AFR here is lower than in the other two sub-regions. Yet, an increase for the *spill-over* sub-region from 171 to 185 per 1000 women is a cause for concern. Evidence from the 2013 UNHS reveals pregnancy to be the second most cited reason for dropping out of school in the *spill-over* sub-region. Broadly speaking, the high teenage pregnancies continue to aggravate school dropout rates for girls.⁶⁰ It should also be noted that inequalities in educational achievements are partly associated with the adolescent fertility rates in the *spill-over* sub-region.

FIGURE 2.10: TOTAL FERTILITY RATE PER WOMAN AND ADOLESCENT FERTILITY RATES



Source: Calculations based on UDHS data 2006 and 2011.

Migration

Migration contributes to the population dynamics in a given society. As mentioned earlier, the PRDP region’s geography presents opportunities as well as challenges. Focusing on the challenges, the region has suffered from inward migration from the neighbouring countries, especially South Sudan. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the influx of these migrants from these countries has affected the provision of services. Furthermore evidence also alludes to the out migration of the educated youth to other parts of the country, which seem to have more job opportunities.

2.4 CONCLUSIONS

While Uganda has achieved strong economic growth and reduction in income poverty, progress in human development outcomes has remained low. More needs to be done to move

the country from the “low” to the “medium” human development category. Yet, this can only be achieved if there is even human progress across the country. Progress is curtailed by the low improvement in human development-related infrastructure in the PRDP region, with deeply rooted sub-regional disparities. There is some improvement in factors that influence such components of the human development indices as education, health and living standards, but this may not be sustainable over time. The inability to sustain progress is due to many factors, some of which are listed here. First, the rate of economic growth has not been sufficient to support the required public investments aimed at addressing the obstacles in human development in the region. Second, most government interventions in the region are less cognizant of the heterogeneity among sub-regions and districts. Third, deeply-rooted cultural and social norms and population dynamics complicate the environment for effective interventions.

The interventions to increase opportunities to the entire population of the PRDP region by State and non-state actors seem to have brought positive changes in human development with varying magnitudes by geography, life cycle and gender. Indeed, there are convergences in some key indicators, including education and incomes, between the PRDP region and RoC; and within the PRDP sub-regions. Improvements in physical access to primary education, through expansive programmes (e.g. construction of school infrastructure) and incentive programmes (such as food for school in Karamoja) have, to some extent, reduced inequalities in access, but with persistent quality concerns.

The inequalities in education are indicative of wasted human potential, with the PRDP region still home to majority of primary school going age children not attending school, while even those attending do not get the desired quality of education. Quality of education in the PRDP region is far worse than that in the RoC. With regard to secondary education, performance remains well below that observed at the primary education level. This is partly explained by delayed age-appropriate enrolment, access constraints, as well as quality challenges. The PRDP region has registered limited progress in health services, compared to education, although the picture is not different from the national one.

CHAPTER 3:
**VULNERABILITY AND HUMAN
DEVELOPMENT**

CHAPTER 3: VULNERABILITY AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

The previous Chapter has demonstrated the nature and extent of inequalities, both within the PRDP region as well as between the PRDP region and the Rest of the Country (RoC). It has also demonstrated how these inequalities impact human progress. At the policy level, there is growing consensus that Ugandans are becoming more vulnerable to poverty. This calls for more insights into how vulnerability affects the growing inequalities. This Chapter, therefore, seeks to provide more insights into how different dimensions of vulnerability impact human progress in the PRDP region.

This chapter argues that whereas all parts of Uganda experience the problem of human vulnerability, the situation in the PRDP region is quite distinct. Vulnerability in the region is distinct not only because of the unique factors that cause it but also the complex nature of the categories that the interaction of these factors has produced. Unlike in the RoC, first, the PRDP region has suffered from decades of systematic marginalisation that has its roots in the colonial era. Second, no other part of Uganda has experienced a long period of armed conflict like the PRDP region. Third, the region's geographical location (in semi-arid region) puts it in a unique and unfavourable position facing natural disasters at a scale not experienced in the RoC. Human vulnerability in the PRDP region is therefore as a result of the several factors that interact in ways not comparable in the RoC, entrenching the region in chronic vulnerability.

3.1 HUMAN VULNERABILITY

Human vulnerability foregrounds two major aspects, namely one's status vis à vis a particular risk (exposure), and one's readiness (abilities and choices) to respond to a particular shock (resilience). Exposure implies the state of being liable or susceptible to risks while resilience relates to one's ability and available choices to remain "afloat" in the event of a shock. Resilience is especially relevant where individuals have made progress in improving their quality of life. The 2014 Global Human Development Report, stresses that achievements in human development should not only be measures terms in of gains made but in how secure these gains are or how likely they are to be lost when under pressure.

When considering human vulnerability, three major questions need to be addressed: *who* are the vulnerable, *what* are they vulnerable to, and *why* are they vulnerable? Table 3.1 presents the categories of vulnerable persons, along with the key dimensions that characterize their relationships with the rest of society. Human vulnerability in the region tends to be so chronic that even if people in the RoC face a similar risk, communities in the PRDP region are persistently presented with fewer choices to effectively confront these risks. If these vulnerabilities remain unaddressed, they might perpetuate the observed inequalities.

TABLE 3.1: UNDERSTANDING HUMAN VULNERABILITY IN THE PRDP REGION

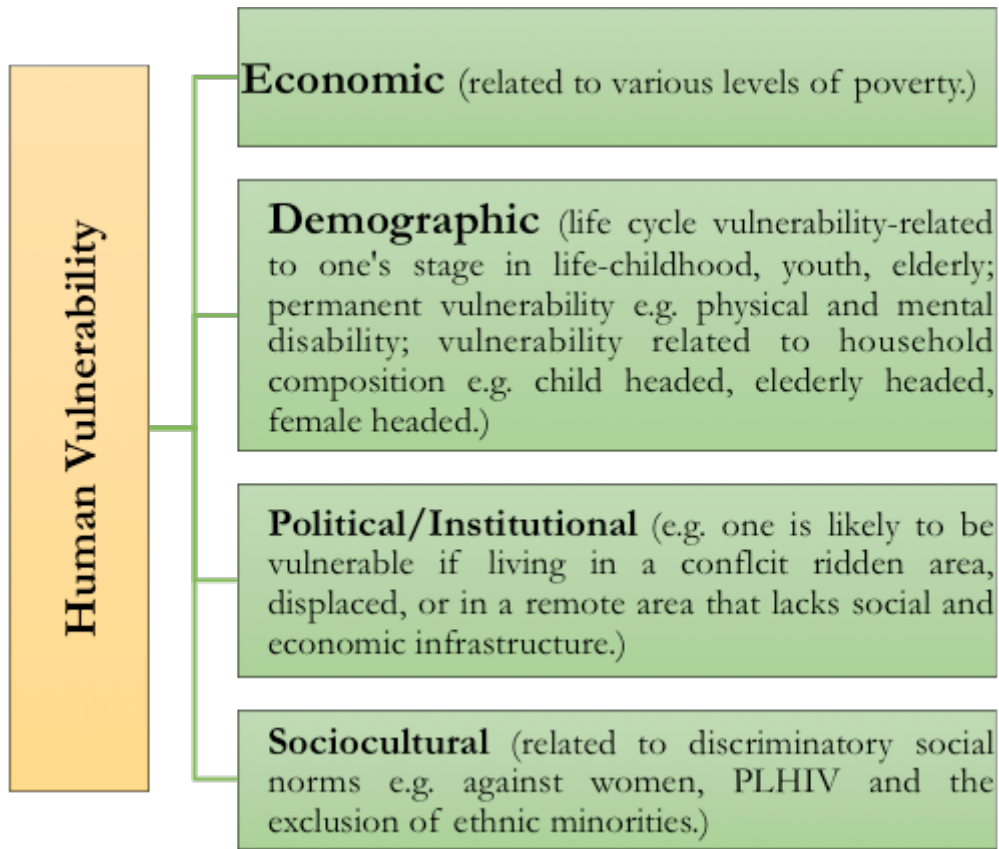
<i>Who is vulnerable</i>	<i>Vulnerable to what (Risks & Shocks)</i>	<i>Why (Predisposing factors)</i>	<i>Existing Interventions</i>
The poor of the poorest, widows, female heads of households, PLHIV, PWDs, Formerly abducted persons	Extreme and intergeneration poverty, violence over land ownership, debilitating sickness and death	Discriminatory social norms, limited capabilities (e.g., education), natural disasters, armed conflict	Social protection, affirmative action programmes, women empowerment, social service provision
Children, young adolescents, youth	Early school dropout, debilitating sickness, death, violence and exploitation (child marriage, child labour, sexual violence, FGM, child trafficking)	Life cycle risks, limited capabilities, weak social safety nets, natural and man-made disasters (e.g., floods & armed conflict)	Social protection including, child protection and educational programmes
The elderly	Extreme and intergeneration poverty, violence over land ownership, debilitating sickness and death		Social protection including cash transfer programmes
Whole communities, districts, region	Armed conflict, natural and human induced disasters, extreme and intergeneration poverty, violence over land ownership, debilitating sickness and death	Structural asymmetries, weak state institutions, poor governance (limited political participation, corruption), natural disasters, armed conflict)	PRDP; Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in social services, life skills & IGAs for women and youth, child protection programmes, agricultural inputs, civil rights awareness programmes

Source: Adopted from UNDP, 2015 with some modifications.

3.2 DIMENSIONS OF HUMAN VULNERABILITY

Human vulnerability in the region stems largely from the consequences of years of conflict and displacement, which have been exacerbated by natural hazards, such as droughts and floods. The Joseph Kony's Lord's Resistance army (LRA) conflict had a serious impact on the lives of people across the PRDP region, and severely retarded development. The conflict led to: the killing and maiming of thousands of civilians; the abduction of over 25,000 children; various forms of Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV), including rape, sexual slavery and forced marriages; the loss of livestock and the destruction property; the spread of HIV/AIDS; and, the destruction of the moral

and social values of the community.⁶¹ Because of the armed conflict, the physical infrastructures for delivering key social services, such as education and health, were destroyed. Also, landmines made rural work and movement dangerous, and the decreased movement created idleness, which led to increased alcohol abuse, together with domestic and sexual violence.⁶² This section focuses on *why* question (in section 3.1) by tracing the causes of human vulnerability in the PRDP region and it argues that structural factors manifested in the decades long economic disparity between the PRDP region and RoC, discriminatory social norms and geo-physical factors explain human vulnerability in the region. Figure 3.1 classifies human vulnerability in the region as economic, demographic, political, and socio-cultural.⁶³

FIGURE 3.1: DIMENSIONS OF HUMAN VULNERABILITY BY CAUSATION

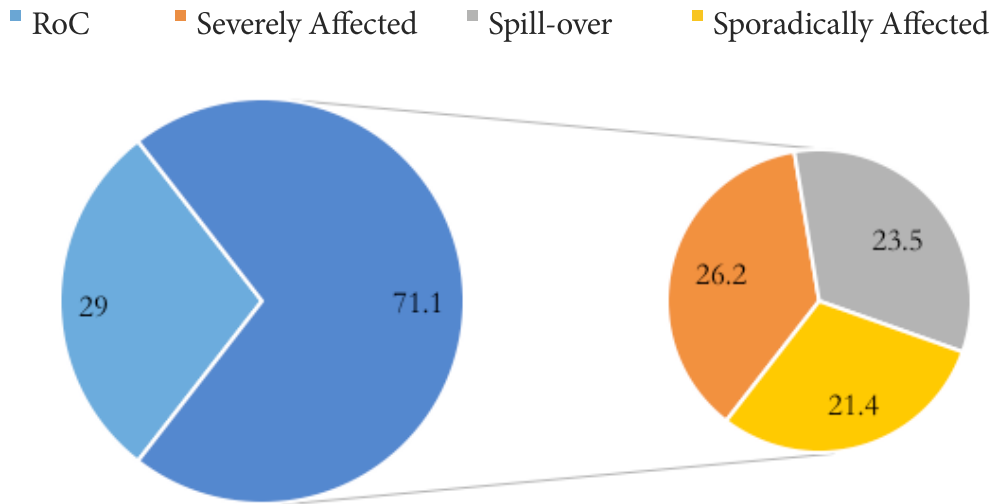
Source: Adopted from Devereux, Ntale and Sabates-Wheeler 2002.

3.2.1 Economic vulnerabilities

Economic vulnerabilities relate to poverty that can be classified as: 'currently poor' (which refers to people living below the poverty line); or 'potentially poor' (which refers to people who face the risk of falling below the poverty line if they encounter adverse changes in the macroeconomic context, regulatory framework or human induced and/or natural disasters). The PRDP region is largely inhabited by chronically poor households. Notably, nearly 1 in every 10 households in the RoC remained chronically poor in four consecutive years, compared to nearly 3 in every 10 households

within the PRDP region. The region's situation is largely dominated by the households in the *severely affected* sub-region, where nearly 6 in every 10 households are chronically poor. As shown in Figure 3.2, the PRDP region contributes 71 percent of the households who remain chronically poor, though its contribution to the overall population of Uganda is only 38 percent (see Section 2.3). Future poverty interventions in the PRDP region need to pay special attention to the poorest of the poor, and to the situation in the *severely affected* sub-region.

FIGURE 3.2: HOUSEHOLDS THAT REMAINED IN POVERTY DURING THE FOUR CONSECUTIVE YEARS, %



Source: Calculations based on UNPS data.

Average incomes in the PRDP region remain well below that for the RoC, as has been discussed in Section 2.2.1. The income gap remained unchanged, even though a convergence in average incomes was noted for the sub-regions. This is partly explained by the narrow growth base that is dominated by low value crop agricultural production (especially cotton and tobacco). Nevertheless, agriculture remains the main source of employment (77.1 percent in 2012/13) as well as the most important source of income in the region. The narrow growth base is worsened by the agro-climatic conditions, limited access to markets, and poor access and connectivity to quality infrastructure.

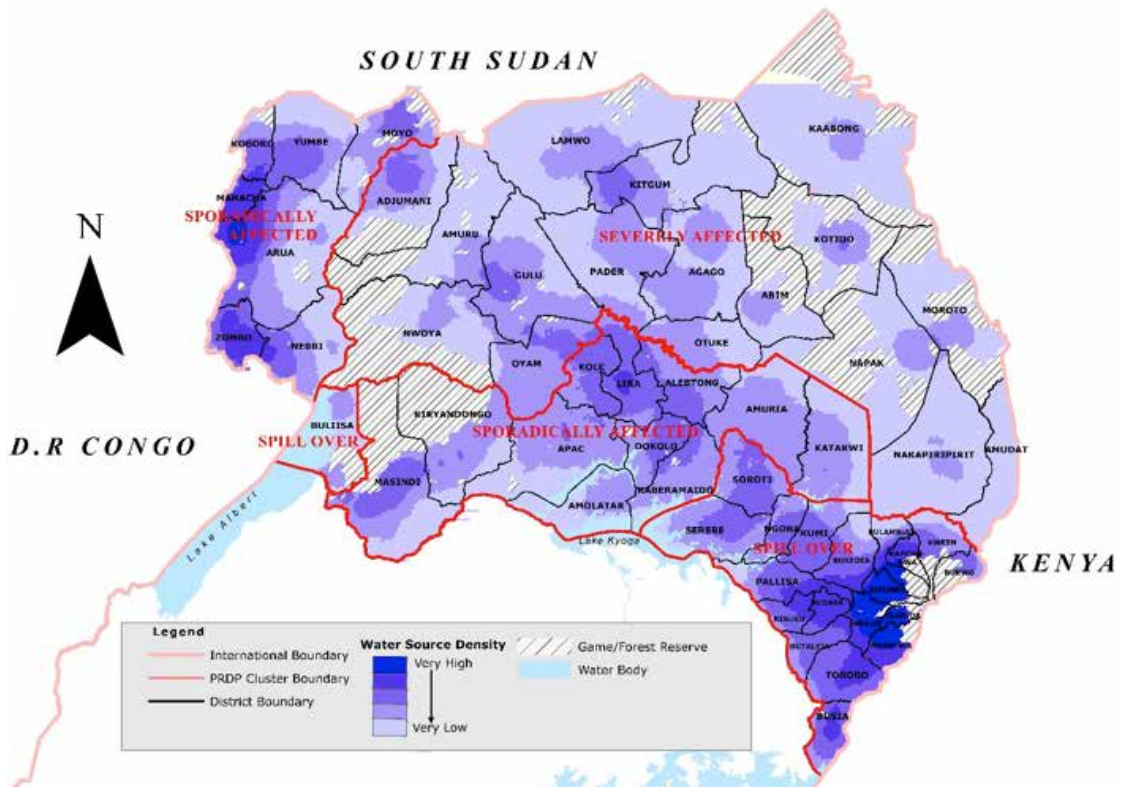
Given the predominantly uni-modal rainfall pattern in the PRDP region, water scarcity is a serious challenge. This affects crop and livestock production, a key livelihood strategy of smallholder farmers. The region has continuously suffered climatic shocks such as drought and floods (PRDP region is topographically a stretch of flat land that makes it more susceptible to extensive flooding). To illustrate this point further, of those panel households that experienced any shock during the previous 12 months prior to the 2012/13 survey interview, 78 percent cited agro-climatic conditions. Out of these, 63.9 percent in 2009/10 reported its negative impact on household food production. Sub-region variations indicate that

the highest impact was experienced in the *severely affected* sub-region (78.3 percent), while lowest was experienced in the *spill-over* sub-region (52.9 percent). While there are government efforts to rehabilitate the irrigation dams in the region, through its water for production interventions (see Chapter 5), the process has been slow, and the dams few. There is need to expedite the process and construct more dams, if agriculture is to be embraced as a key sector in the reconstruction of the local economies.

While the region benefited from cross-border trade (see Chapter 5) prior to the new insurrection and war in South Sudan, as partly illustrated with significant income growth during the 2005/6 to 2009/10 period, this phenomenon was short-lived thereafter. The re-location of the British American Tobacco (BAT) from Uganda, the on-going campaigns against tobacco, and volatilities in world cotton prices, among others, have adversely affected the incomes of households, and, in turn, their well-being.

To sum up, unstable income constrains the extent to which an individual or a household can access education and/or health services. For instance, the earlier discussion has indicated that cost remains a binding constraint to accessing these services.

MAP 3.1: INTENSITY OF SAFE DRINKING WATER POINTS



Source: UBoS 2015.

3.2.2 Demographic vulnerabilities

This category of vulnerability derives from population characteristics, specifically people's physical or health status, which can predispose them to risks, and undermine their ability to respond to shocks. This form of vulnerability is also called "permanent vulnerability"⁶⁴ and relates to certain fixed personal characteristics (gender, lifelong physical or mental disability), to specific life-cycle stages (the very young, adolescents, pregnant and lactating women, the elderly); and to certain forms of household composition (single-parent, child-headed and elderly-headed households, especially widows living alone).⁶⁵ The PRDP region is a home to vulnerable groups that do not exist in the RoC including the formerly abducted persons, former combatants and war traumatised communities.

Life cycle vulnerabilities

Orphaned children are on the lowest ladder rung of those affected by lifecycle vulnerabilities. Orphans may live outside of a protective family environment due to the loss of one or both parents.

They are, therefore, subject to multiple deprivations that can, overtime, become responsible for the persistence of poverty across generations. Uganda has a population of over 2 million orphans (about 13 percent of the total children population), and yet the proportion of the children population who are orphans in the PRDP region is 17 percent. The annual growth in orphanhood was 4.3 percent for the entire region, with highest growth rate in the *severely affected* sub-region (5.8 percent) and the least in the *sporadically affected* sub-region (2.3 percent).

The Youth: A recent survey of the well-being of youth in the PRDP region concluded that a significant consequence of the LRA conflict has been its disastrous effect on young people in the region.⁶⁶ Missed opportunities for formal education have translated into youth unemployment, and, consequently, to high levels of poverty.⁶⁷ Youth who are formerly abducted, have disabilities, or are living in female-headed and widow-headed households, are especially vulnerable. They have

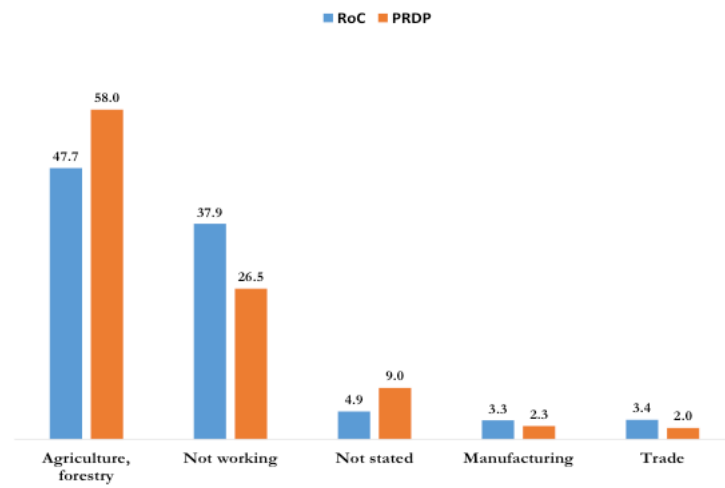
a high likelihood of being trapped in chronic vulnerability, if their livelihood conditions do not change as they enter into early adulthood.

The Elderly: In Uganda older people (aged 65 years and above) constitute about 3.3 percent of the population, corresponding to about 1.1 million people.⁶⁸ At least 485,000 of the elderly are resident in the PRDP (43 percent of the total). In spite of their age, older people are often compelled to work, owing to the absence of predictable sources of income, and the limited reach of social protection schemes. As a result, the elderly make up about 7 percent of Uganda’s workers and 6 percent of the employed population. The elderly from the PRDP are more likely to work compared to counterparts in the RoC. Figure 3.3 shows the nature of economic activity for the elderly in 2012/13 and it is indicated that persons from the PRDP are less likely to report not working i.e. 26.5 percent compared to 38 percent for RoC. However, the PRDP elderly are

over represented in the agricultural sector which is a vulnerable sector.

Furthermore, 64 percent of older people have old-age related disability, 11 percent live alone, 55 percent are women, and 63 percent of the older women are widows (compared to only 15 percent of older men who are widowers⁶⁹). Furthermore, the elderly face increased vulnerability because their age imposes a limit beyond which they cannot perform certain functions, to support themselves and their dependents. Their challenges include: reduced ability to engage in productive work, limited ability to walk to access markets and health care and, in some cases, limited ability to provide security for self and property. The most vulnerable elderly are those who play the role of caregivers to others, mostly orphans; those with fewer or no assets; those who suffer from poor health; and those who live in rural and remote areas with limited access to basic social services.

FIGURE 3.3: ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF THE ELDERLY IN 2012/13, %



Source: Calculations based on UNHS data of 2012/13

Vulnerabilities related to household composition

Households headed by the elderly are susceptible to human vulnerability, mainly because their households comprise dependants that they support without a predictable and steady source of income. Between 2005/6 and 2012/13, the PRDP region registered a significant increase in the population of households headed by the elderly

(from 12 percent to 13 percent). In contrast, no changes were noted for the RoC (11 percent). There were notable disparities across the sub-regions. While the share remains highest in the *spill-over* sub-region, there has been reduction over time, while, the other two sub-regions registered a 2 percentage point increase during the same period. Notably, the increase in the *severely affected* sub-regions was driven by Karamoja, with a significant increase from 11 percent to 14 percent in 2012/13.

Regarding households headed by widows, vulnerability was highest in the *severely affected* sub-region (17.4 percent in 2012/13, well above the PRDP region average of 13.7 percent). While older people are supposed to be recipients of care, many (especially widows) are caregivers to orphans, some of whom lost their parents to HIV/AIDS. For households with female heads, again the *severely affected* sub-region registered the highest share of vulnerability (38.8 percent) and lowest share was recorded in the *spill-over* sub-region (29.1 percent) in 2012/13. Loss of men in combat related circumstances (including abduction), sexual violence and the presence of young unmarried mothers, some of who are not sure of the father of their children, are part of the reasons explaining the high incidence of widow and female headed households in *severely affected* sub-region, and to some extent generally the PRDP region.

Labour supply is a critical factor for agricultural production, especially for rural households. A household is defined as "labour-constrained" if it does not have persons aged between 18 to 64 years. Undoubtedly, the LRA conflict and HIV/AIDS partly aggravated labour shortage, and consequently, poverty in the PRDP region. Unsurprisingly, the region is home to the majority of labour-constrained households. This partly explains its high incidence of child labour. Nationally, the number of households classified as labour-constrained grew by 5.2 percent per annum over the review period (increasing from 238,000 in 2005/6 to 344,000 in 2012/13). The PRDP region's share increased from 38 percent to 47.2 percent during the same period.

Growth was fastest in the *sporadically affected* sub-region and slowest in the *severely affected* sub-region. This trend is attributed to several factors, including the decimation of the working age population, through war and HIV-related deaths, which increased the number of child-headed households. In addition to this, migration of some of the working population to urban centres and mineral mining regions has left several households labour-constrained. This is reflected in increased dependency on remittances, particularly in the *severely affected* sub-region. Against these facts, there is need for targeted social protection interventions, to ensure that no one is left behind.

3.2.3 Political/institutional vulnerabilities

Political vulnerabilities relate to the inclusiveness of governance regimes and include risks to personal safety and security that accompany political conflicts between groups, characterised by displacement, injury and disability.⁷⁰ Regional geopolitics also affects the PRDP region, with cross-border violence between the Turkana and Pokot of Kenya and the Karimojong in Uganda, together with other groups from South Sudan. For a long time, there was no deliberate government policy or programme to reverse the historic marginalization of the PRDP region (especially the *severely affected* and *spill-over* sub-regions).

During the colonial period, under the British the north was regarded as the unproductive part of the country, and the south as the productive zone. According to the political scientist, Mahmood Mamdani, the southern part (Buganda, Busoga and Ankole) was largely viewed as cash crop growing areas, and the PRDP region (excluding Karamoja) mainly as a labour reserve. Therefore, the region provided soldiers, policemen and factory and plantation workers for factories and plantations located in the south.⁷¹ This separation created a virtual north-south divide, which has become one of modern Uganda's persistent development challenges.⁷²

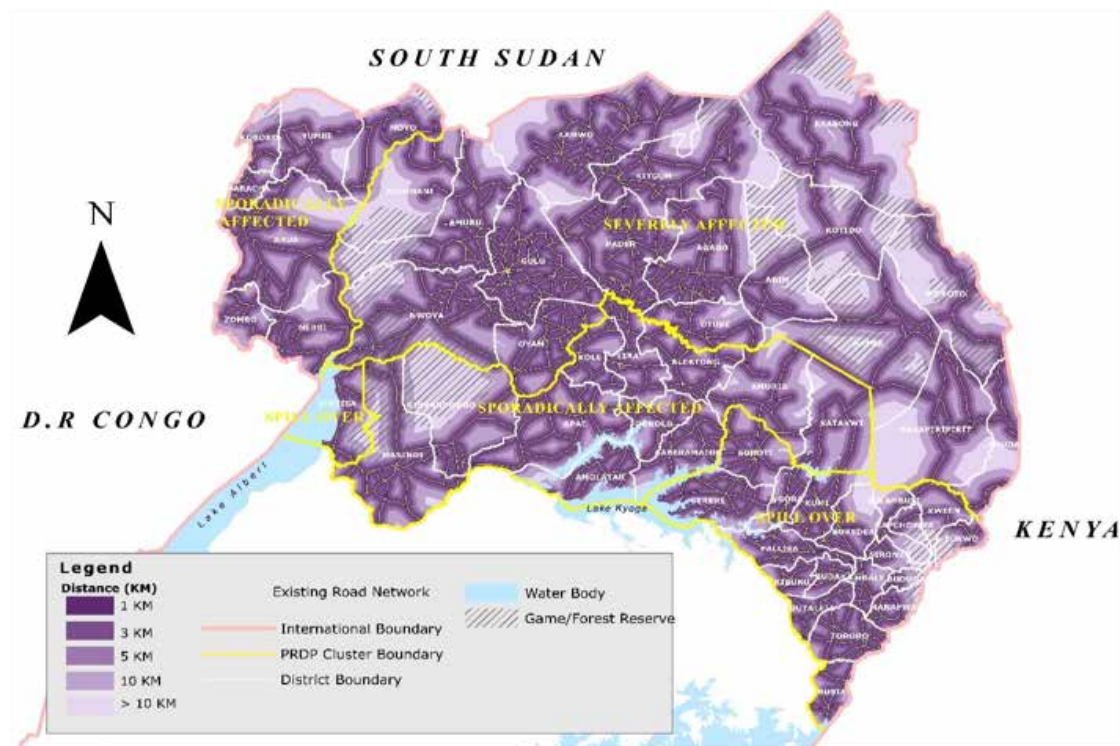
It is an important fact that the north-south divide is a factor in political participation in Uganda, especially where conflict becomes the major way of laying claim to political participation and economic inclusion. This is manifested in armed confrontation between those perceived to be "in" and those perceived to be "out".⁷³ A recent study argues that the unequal level of development, and the inequitable access to, and distribution of, power and national resources between the PRDP region and the RoC is a manifestation of what it calls the 'north-south fault line'.⁷⁴ A deeper comparative political economy analysis of northern Uganda and the RoC reveals that for the last 20 years, the south (of the country) has had better social and economic infrastructure, more representation in government and, by implication, a stronger voice and participation in decision-making regarding human development in the country.⁷⁵

Marginalization and conflict have also affected the distribution of infrastructure for health, education and economic activities. Poor access to these, in turn, yields poor human development indices. For instance, a poor road infrastructure increases the remoteness of most areas in the PRDP region, turning such areas into “hard-to-reach” areas, and discouraging highly qualified professionals from serving there. This is because very few are willing to work in difficult areas, despite the availability of some basic physical infrastructure, such as hospitals.

In Chapter 2, Map 2 and Map 4 depict the distribution of social infrastructure in the region. In this Section, Map 6 illustrates the distribution of the road infrastructure, showing the proximity of households to the road network in the PRDP region. It is evident that some areas are very remote, compared to others. Remoteness of some districts in the PRDP region has influenced the

development of social and economic infrastructure, especially for those districts with game reserves. While physical access has improved over time, more needs to be done in terms of staffing levels and overall quality of service. Indeed, the abolition of cost sharing in public health facilities, as well as the introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE) and Universal Secondary Education (USE), are yet to lead to significant reduction in out-of-pocket expenditures (OOP). In 2012/13, OOP as share in current education expenditure was about 70 percent. The share of the PRDP region in total OOP increased from 16 percent in 2005/6 to 22.3 percent in 2012/13. There is growing demand for public facilities, but at the same time, significant increases in OOP, which raises a policy challenge. Given their low income base, households resident in the PRDP region might not afford such services, thus widening the gap between the region and the RoC, in terms of access to social services.

MAP 3.2: HOUSEHOLDS' PROXIMITY TO ROAD INFRASTRUCTURE



Source: UBoS 2015.

The institutional capabilities to respond to risks, in the form of emerging diseases in the region, also constitute manifestation of political/institutional vulnerability. The PRDP region is affected by a number of neglected tropical diseases that are not common in the RoC. During 2011/2012, the region was affected by the outbreak of the “nodding disease syndrome” which predominantly affected children aged 3-18 years. The region is vulnerable to other disease, such as Plague (mainly in Arua). It also falls within the Meningitis belt, because of which there are periodic outbreaks of meningitis. Estimates in 2013 in three districts (Kitgum, Lamwo and Pader) showed that at least 6.8 percent of children aged 5-18 years were affected by the nodding disease.⁷⁶ In response to the outbreak, the Ministry of Health (MoH) allocated specific resources to deal with the training of health workers, the screening and treatment of affected children, as well as surveillance and social mobilization.

For instance, in March 2012, the MoH requested a supplementary budget of US\$ 3.5 billion to address the “nodding disease” outbreak. More recently, in 2013/14, the MoH allocated US\$ 2.1 billion for “nodding disease” interventions. However, the resources earmarked for this particular public health challenge were inadequate in relation to the need, as evidenced by the continuing high prevalence of the disease among children. The above health challenges disproportionately affect the PRDP region, and if these health issues are not addressed, social and economic development will be slowed down. Research in Uganda has shown that ill-health is both a cause and a consequence of poverty.⁷⁷ Other diseases include Hepatitis B, which has become rampant.

3.2.4 Socio-cultural vulnerabilities

The fourth category of human vulnerability focuses on the socio-cultural environment and the risks it presents. These risks include the socially-sanctioned discrimination and exclusion from free social interaction of certain groups (such as ethnic minorities) and, at the individual level, the abuse of children and women, including domestic violence.⁷⁸ Socio-cultural norms determine one’s position in society (social status) and sets guidelines and boundaries for social interaction. Across the PRDP region, as in most of Uganda, women

are culturally excluded from the control of land through inheritance (whether from their fathers or husbands). In a condition where such women are already vulnerable (such as being FAPs, PLHIV, female-headed household heads or widows), this exclusion adds another layer of vulnerability. This is because it further narrows the choices and weakens the abilities of the excluded to afford a decent life. Collectively, communities find it hard to circumvent such socio-cultural barriers, to take care of its vulnerable. Thus, some sections of society are left without adequate social protection. Yet, the majority of Ugandans, most especially in the PRDP region, are not covered by formal social protection schemes (since very few are employed in the formal sector). This further exacerbates the vulnerability of this category of persons.

Sexual and gender based violence (SGBV)

Sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) is a manifestation of social-cultural vulnerability, in that it violates women and girls’ rights and slows down progress in achieving sustainable human development. During the LRA conflict, both men and women in parts of the PRDP region experienced various forms of SGBV, including rape, defilement, sexual slavery, forced marriages and forced prostitution. Also incidences of killings and committing suicide are common in the region. The effect of these forms of vulnerability has continued to be a major issue of concern in the post conflict era.⁷⁹

SGBV has persisted in most parts of the PRDP region (especially in the districts of Acholi, Lango, Karamoja, Teso and Elgon). This is because of the norms and practices surrounding female genital mutilation (FGM), child marriages and child labour, which force girls to abandon schooling too early.⁸⁰ Karamoja stands out in this regard, with a wide gender disparity regarding reporting SGBV to the relevant authorities. While 61.8 percent of men are likely to report, only 38.2 percent of women are likely to do so, showing that men are more confident than women to report violence. Poverty has been found to be the most prominent reason for SGBV in the Acholi and Lango districts. This is followed by alcohol consumption and drug abuse, as well as the psycho-social and economic effects of the war.

Women's changing roles and responsibilities, including their increasing economic independence from their husbands, was seen to have resulted in growing tension at the household level. Another factor is the negative perception by society that the increasing assertion of women's rights has come with reduced respect for men by their wives. For instance, family conflicts tend to increase as partners struggle to control the proceeds of their work during the post-harvest season. In Acholi, culture accords husbands the right to chastise their wives and, while many women and men have lived to accept the norm, this acceptance is on the decline, with younger women rejecting these beliefs.⁸¹ There is also a perception that was cited during the Key Informant Interviews (KIIs), that an economically empowered woman is unruly and hence breaking the cultural norms.

The persistent high SGBV in the region can also be attributed to the effects of war on male ego. For example, the war has frustrated men's ambitions to achieve their gender-based aspirations. Before the war, most cultures in the region, as in many other patriarchal societies, expected men to create a family, provide for and protect that family, and preserve community values of dialogue rather than aggression. During the war, men were unable to do this, and were, therefore, portrayed as 'less of men', in the traditional sense. This wounded their egos and fractured their masculine identities.

Their inability to achieve culturally-based aspirations generated further levels of interpersonal violence, self-harm and anti-social behaviour. These included sexual and gender based violence against women, presumably to reclaim their lost masculine identities. However, this behaviour is not particular to the PRDP region, but common to most if not all post-conflict conditions. For example, men and male children born after the Second World War were perceived to have lost their masculine identity in the post-1945 Europe.

Survey data shows that the leading justifiable reason for wife beating in all the PRDP sub-regions is when a woman neglects her children, with the highest proportion of women in the *spill-over* sub-region (60.5 percent) supporting this belief. Other reasons included: instances of a woman moving out of her marital home without telling

her husband; as well as arguing with or refusing to have sex with her husband. The burning food attracts the least justification for wife beating in all the sub-regions. While there has been a reduction in women's beliefs that condone wife beating in the PRDP region, since 2006, there has been a significant increase in those beliefs in Karamoja. In Acholi, the larger part of incidents of domestic violence appears to have been carried out by men on women, although the reverse also happens.⁸²

Domestic violence has increased, especially in Karamoja, with men often 'punishing' their wives for disrespecting them and undermining culture, presumably after learning about their rights through NGOs.⁸³ The increasing SGBV poses a contradiction in enforcing women's rights and freedom to live decent and dignified lives, as the laws of Uganda and the government's international commitments provide for this. The high sexual and physical violence that peaked during the conflict period continues to act as deterrence to women's political and economic participation, as well as a violation of their personal dignity. For men, the war period in the PRDP region destroyed the more positive masculine identities, leaving the majority of men clinging to destructive identities as their defining characteristics.⁸⁴ Similarly, in Karamoja, disarmament and the loss of animals has fractured masculinities and patriarchy in general. These negative changes have contributed to persistent gender based violence, as a means of asserting men's culturally-defined identities, and compensating for the conflict-induced emasculation and disempowerment.

3.3 CONCLUSIONS

The historical depth given to the causes of human vulnerability in the PRDP region has undermined the understanding of human vulnerability in that region. Long-term development initiatives that address the root causes of vulnerability have not benefited from a deeper analysis of issues that explain the consistent vulnerability in the PRDP region. Human vulnerability in the PRDP region has been strongly linked to the LRA conflict, which in many ways is true. However, this chapter has shown that the conflict exacerbated, vulnerability, rather than caused it. Therefore addressing

vulnerability as an outcome of the LRA conflict is far from addressing the root causes of vulnerability and falls short of achieving the PRDP goal of correcting disparities that exist between in the PRDP region and the RoC.

There is no doubt about the asymmetries between in the PRDP region and the RoC. Understanding of human vulnerability squarely brings to the fore the urgency of people's capabilities and choices and realizing their potential to live better lives. The case of in the PRDP region lies squarely within the realm of what the 2014 Global Human Development Report refers to as structural vulnerabilities - as vulnerabilities that have persisted and compounded over time as a result of discrimination and institutional failures.

CHAPTER 4:
**KARAMOJA - TOWARDS A
DEVELOPMENT PATH**

CHAPTER 4: KARAMOJA - TOWARDS A DEVELOPMENT PATH

In the previous chapter it was noted that the progress on most of the human development indices in the *severely affected* sub-region is partly accounted for by the slow progress registered in Karamoja. The underlying causes of armed conflicts in this sub region are quite different from those observed in the rest of the *severely affected* sub-region. The armed conflicts in Karamoja were associated with cattle rustling. The Karimojong were both victims and tormentors. They were victims of raids by rustlers from neighbouring communities in Kenya and Sudan, but were also tormentors to their neighbouring communities in Acholi, Lango and Teso, where they deprived households of a livelihood. For these areas, it was a double tragedy: the LRA rebels, on the one hand; and, the Karimojong cattle rustlers, on the other.

4.1 THE DEVELOPMENT CONTEXT OF KARAMOJA

The Karamoja area is made up of seven districts, namely: Abim, Amudat, Kaabong, Kotido, Moroto, Nakapiripirit and Napak. The area has a combined population of about 1 million people (2.8 percent of the national population). While Karamoja has remained the poorest by all standards, recent interest by development actors offers a window of opportunity for transformation. It receives PRDP and KALIP funding on top of the normal central government transfers to local governments. This is an affirmative action in recognition of the fact that Karamoja needs extra support considering the poor indicators. The progress envisaged in the norther region will be realised, in part, as a result of the extent to which development challenges in Karamoja are addressed through coordinated interventions. As one of the key informant points out:

UNICEF engagement in Karamoja has always been problematic. Why? Because all our indicators show that Karamoja is ten times worse off than everywhere else and we don't

know what to do for it, we have done everything, and there are many more things we continue doing. First, the problem for Karamoja has always been too many interventions beyond PRDP and KALIP. Second, you have got all this parallel funding that goes into Karamoja. I think it is affirmative action for Karamoja because of the poor indicators. And now we are going to have a problem with Karamoja, if you think of how big Karamoja is, it is just below one million. The whole size of Karamoja has always been over estimated (KII 2015).

4.1.1 Income poverty trends

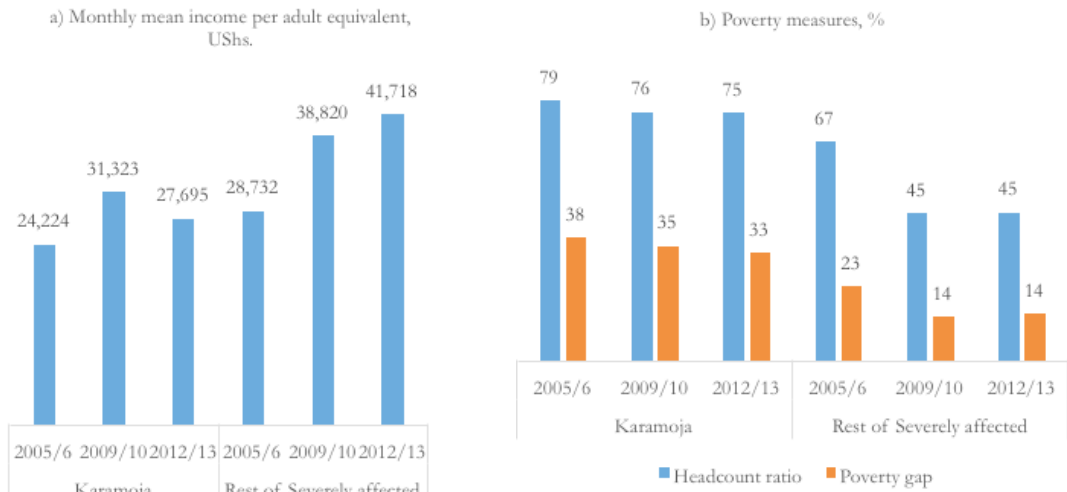
Unpacking the average income in the *severely affected* sub-region reveals limited progress in income poverty reduction in Karamoja (as illustrated in Figure 4.1). This is because of marginal growth in household income. The mean “per adult equivalent” income increased from US\$24,224 in 2005/6 to US\$27,695 in 2012/13. This is equivalent to an annual rate of growth of 1.9 percent. This growth is significantly lower than that observed for the rest of the *severely affected* sub-region (5.3 percent per annum). Indeed, the gap in average incomes widened between Karamoja and the rest of the *severely affected* sub-region. Incomes in the latter were higher than incomes in the former in 2012/13. Nearly 65 percent of the households in Karamoja reported that their incomes had been unstable in the previous 12 months prior to the survey interview. This further demonstrates how precarious the income situation is for most Karimojong households.

Despite recent public investments in social, economic and physical infrastructure, growth in public infrastructure is yet to translate into improved livelihoods for the majority of the Karimojong. Structural factors keeping the Karimojong in poverty include over-reliance on rudimentary form of livestock farming as the main source of livelihood. Full agricultural potential has also not been realised because of the loss of

livestock and concentration of crop farming in the hands of women. Even though crop farming is the main focus of support from Government and development partners, it remains predominantly

rain-fed, and, therefore, vulnerable to climatic shocks and hazards. Support to the livestock sub-sector is still very minimal, emphasising the fragility of the current livelihood options in the region.

FIGURE 4.1: AVERAGE INCOME AND POVERTY MEASURES WITHIN THE SEVERELY AFFECTED SUB-REGION



Source: Calculations based on UNHS 2005/6, 2009/10 and 2012/13.

4.1.2 Food insecurity

Historically, Karamoja has always suffered from food insecurity, partly because of its climatic conditions (a semi-arid area, with only one rainy season). According to the FAO, food security can be defined as a situation in which “all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life”.⁷⁹ At the national level, 6.3 percent of all Ugandans face some form of food insecurity at one point or another during the year, but in Karamoja, this category accounted for 56 percent in 2014. The severity of this is illustrated in the finding that 36.9 percent of children in Karamoja exhibited significant stunting due to insufficient food.⁸⁶

It will be almost impossible to speak of improving the lives of the Karimojong if access to the recommended basic minimum food intake cannot be ensured. Findings of a 2014 ‘Food Security and Nutrition Assessment’ revealed that only 13 percent of households were able to meet their needs for cereal, tuber and vegetable from their

own cultivation. Livestock are traditionally the most reliable fall-back coping mechanism for the Karimojong, and they supply valuable protein elements to the diet. However, livestock numbers have reduced by half, and yet most state and non-state development programmes do not focus their interventions to address livestock production constraints.⁸⁷

An internal impact assessment carried out by the Danish Refugee Council/Danish Deming Group (DDG,) one of the WFP’s livelihood programme implementing partners in Moroto, revealed that the proportion of those who could only afford one meal per day among its beneficiaries had declined (from 40 percent in 2012 to 27 percent in 2013). In addition to this, 47 percent of the households were supported to earn some income, 41 percent were able to use their income to meet their basic needs (with 50 percent being able to save a proportion of their income). Notwithstanding sustainability issues, the latter shows that opportunities exist for scaling up successful initiatives in food and nutrition security.

Various interim strategies have been used by different development partners to support the livelihoods of the agricultural population. These include: 'Cash-for-Work'; (CfW); 'Food-for-Work' (FfW); and 'Vouchers-for-Work' (VfW). In these schemes, beneficiary households are paid to participate in crop farming activities, sometimes involving cultivation in their own gardens. For most of the participants in these schemes, their main interest in indulging in crop farming is the 'digging wage' and, if the cultivation eventually resulted in a fruitful harvest, the harvest was usually viewed as a bonus. Such an attitude is not liberating or empowering. This is because it does not free the population from their dependency, as most of the time, their involvement in cultivation ends with the phasing out of the project.

A food security and nutritional assessment carried out by the WFP and UNICEF in 2014 revealed that food was accounting for 70 percent of the typical household's expenditures. It also noted that 49 percent of households reported debts, and that 70 percent of these debts arose because of the need to meet food requirements. Savings were not invested in income generating activities or crop farming. This is why the food- or cash-for-work assistance was not having a sustainable impact on household poverty. As is the practice in most pastoralist communities (communities who have no attachment to land as a factor of wealth) or communities living in arid areas, buying food has always been a coping mechanism of the Karimojong, who traditionally dug the fields of the Iteso and other neighbouring communities, sold firewood/charcoal or livestock, or became involved in mineral extraction, in order to raise money to purchase food during times of hardship.⁸⁸

4.1.3 Peace and security

Peace and security in Karamoja are targeted at the safety of communities and their livestock, mainly cattle. The cow is central to the value system of the Karimojong. Cattle, in particular, and livestock, in general, enjoy major social and cultural significance. The entire fabric of the Karimojong society revolves around the cow and livestock ownership as life security, and it is an indicator of wealth. The Karimojong are predominantly pastoralist and historically have engaged in cultural

livestock rustling, both within their area, as well as targeting their neighbours in both Uganda and the neighbouring countries of Kenya and South Sudan.

Livestock raiding is motivated by the desire to own more cattle, or to replace the stock lost through theft, drought or disease. It also serves some social functions (such as demonstrating warrior bravery, or initiating boys into manhood), and is an important avenue through which young grooms-to-be can obtain livestock to be used for paying bride price for their prospective wives. In pre-colonial times, the weapons used for raiding were mainly spears, bows and arrows; but because of interactions with foreigners (first, with Arab and Abyssinian ivory traffickers and traders, and subsequently with Europeans at the turn of the 19th century), the gun was introduced into Karamoja. This was done through barter trade and exchange, as well as through cross border raids.

Policies of land appropriation from the Karimojong, which were adopted in the colonial and immediate post-colonial period, greatly undermined their survival. The Karimojong lost fertile grazing lands, because of the drawing of internal and international boundaries. Also, significant fertile areas were gazetted by the government, as wildlife conservation areas and forest reserves. These protected areas account for 52.4 percent of Karamoja's total land area. This process restricted the territory used by the population for livestock grazing. It increased not only disputes and armed conflicts, over livestock grazing rights, but also heightened the loss of livestock as a result of the fast spreading of diseases in herds, whose movement was restricted to a smaller total land area. As a consequence, raiding increased, as people sought to replenish herds lost to diseases and armed conflicts.

Small arms and light weapons proliferation increased in Karamoja throughout the 1960's and 1970's, and particularly in 1979, after the overthrow of Idi Amin, when the Karimojong looted firearms and ammunition from the Moroto Army barracks, which had been abandoned by the fleeing Amin soldiers. The proliferation of guns made the endemic cattle rustling more lethal. Positive political interest in Karamoja continued to be minimal, even after Independence in 1962, and, by the 1970s, conflicts within and between

Karimojong clans and neighbouring tribes, virtually made the region a “no-go” area. As if the conflicts were not enough, human suffering was amplified by a number of severe droughts, which occurred across the region in the 1970’s and 1980’s.

Unlike previous governments that marginalized Karamoja, the National Resistance Movement government made a clear commitment to reversing the marginalization of the area. Its initial ten-point programme, which guided its political actions for the first five years of government, included a commitment to redressing historical injustices suffered by the Karimojong. The Government initiated a number of programmes focused on bringing peace and development to Karamoja.

Insecurity in Karamoja was never directed at regime change. Rather, it affected the districts bordering Karamoja, as well as communities in neighbouring countries. This is why it became a national concern. A consistent disarmament campaign began in 2001 with voluntary disarmament, which was soon found unsustainable. In 2004, a three-stage disarmament campaign was launched. It involved the voluntary handing in of weapons in the first phase, then the forceful hunting out seizing of weapons (which culminated in ‘cordon and search’ operations). Initial resistance to forceful disarmament gave rise to the loss of many human lives and livestock during ensuing gun battles. However, through the incremental successes of gun collection, by 2009 armed livestock raiding had greatly scaled down, and security was significantly improved in Karamoja.

By 2005, the government had realised that lasting peace meant not only the absence of conflict but also the presence of livelihoods development. Upon this realisation, the Government of Uganda (GoU) embarked on a participatory process to develop the Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Development Programme (KIDDP), which was finally approved by Parliament in October 2007. The KIDDP considered disarmament activities alongside other development interventions, such as infrastructure development, production, health and education. By 2010, most of Karamoja was relatively peaceful, and the kind of support provided by development partners began transitioning from humanitarian assistance to development programmes.

The Uganda Police Force was greatly strengthened, and it took over the role of Law and Order enforcement from the Uganda People Defence Force (UPDF), leaving the army to deal with the remnants of cattle rustling, cross border livestock raiding and illicit arms trafficking. A number of other interventions have since been undertaken to consolidate peace in Karamoja. This includes the construction of Police stations in all districts, the building of a court house/chamber in Moroto, and the rehabilitation of the Moroto Prison. Cattle branding was initiated, using electronic boluses. Also a bylaw was adopted, which stated that if stolen cows were found in a community, that community had to pay back double the number of stolen cows.

4.1.4 External assistance

Karamoja has been a recipient of humanitarian aid for over 50 years and the community have realised that, whenever the situation becomes critical, the Government, UN agencies and NGOs step in to help. This has created a dependency culture. Of course there are increasing cases of households breaking out of this dependency culture, and working hard towards self-sustenance. Not all the blame for dependency should be placed on the Karimojong. Some State and non-state actors have partly contributed to keeping the ‘Aid Train’ moving.⁹⁰ With peace now restored and the opportunity for long-term development initiatives present, development actors, are beginning to appreciate the need to support communities adopt self-sustaining livelihood options.

As part of the goal of developing a global partnership for development, MDG 8 target 8b called for addressing the special needs of least developed areas. The GoU has achieved and is on course to surpass this target, both in terms of the development of relevant policy and legal instruments, as well as actual development interventions. While the PRDP sought to address the low development indicators in the entire PRDP region, there were more Karamoja-specific interventions.

The livelihood aspects of the KIDDP were developed under the USD40-million Karamoja Action Plan for Food Security (KAPFS) and launched in 2009. The Karamoja Livelihoods Programme

(KALIP), funded by the European Union's 10th European Development Fund (EDF), was dedicated to Karamoja and its particular development needs. A lot of support has also come from bilateral and multi-lateral development partners, as well as national and international NGOs, national CSOs and faith-based organizations. This sustained support has had mixed impacts on human development, as discussed in the subsequent sections.

4.2 PROGRESS IN HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

This section discusses the progress in human development in Karamoja. It does this from three perspectives, namely: progress in education; progress in health; and, interventions to empower women and youth.

4.2.1 Education

Karamoja has registered significant progress in education since 2006. This has been made possible because of targeted interventions in the region by both government and non-state actors.

Primary education

Table 4.1 presents enrolment rates for Karamoja as well and for the rest of the *severely affected* sub-region. Encouragingly, the net enrolment rate (NER) for primary education increased from 30.7 percent to 54.9 percent for Karamoja, between 2005/6 and 2012/13. However, there are gender gaps worth noting. The increase in female enrolment (from 32.8 percent in 2005/6 to 57.4 percent in 2009/10) is explained, among others things, by interventions that were undertaken by development partners such as the World Food Programme (WFP). The boys were often left to herd smaller livestock, while most of the girls were sent to school; and remained in school for as long as relief was provided, or until they were ready to be married off. However, the interventions to support girl child education scaled down towards the end of 2012/13.

A similar pattern was observed with gross enrolment rates (GERs) for primary schools, which almost doubled between 2005/6 and 2009/10. The increase has been attributed to the massive National Campaign of 'Go-to-School', 'Back-to-School'

and 'Stay-in-School', as well as improvements in the teaching and learning environment in school.⁹¹ This had a significant impact on school attendance rates.⁹² When this support was reduced to just supplying porridge, starting in 2013, school attendance dropped. The drop in girls' enrolment between 2009/10 and 2012/13 adversely affected gender parity in primary schools in Karamoja. It is unlikely that all Karimojong children will be in position to complete a full primary education cycle (seven years) by 2015. Lastly, it is evident from Table 4.1 that the low enrolment rates partly pulled down indicators for the entire *severely affected* sub-region.

Secondary education

As illustrated in Chapter 2, physical access to secondary education (Map 2.1) in Karamoja remains a challenge. While significant inroads have been made in reducing gender disparity in primary education, there are still challenges at the secondary level, which undermine the efforts to achieve gender parity at all levels of education by 2015. While the NERs at the secondary school level have remained below 20 percent Uganda, the observed rates for Karamoja (Table 4.1 Panel B) remained in single digit. The NER increased from 2.9 percent in 2009/10 to 3.5 percent in 2012/13. Similar trends are observed among boys, but a reverse trend was reported for girls, thereby worsening the gender gap. This shows that Karamoja lags well behind the *severely affected* sub-regional levels.

The same trend was observed in secondary school gross enrolment rates (GERs). The averages were 7.9 percent and 13.7 percent, respectively, in 2005/6 and 2009/10 for the entire sub-region. This reflects the impact of investments in education and the "back to school" messages since 2006. In Karamoja, the GERs remained almost constant (at about 6 percent between 2009/10 and 2012/13). As was the case for the national and the PRDP region, the results in Table 7 confirm that Karamoja also suffers from a low transition from primary to secondary education. However, there are efforts to change the current status, including supporting education beyond secondary education (Box 4.1). There is increasing appreciation of the role of education among the youth and adolescents in Karamoja, although the NER and GER for both primary and secondary levels are still lower than those for entire country and for the PRDP region.

TABLE 4.1: PRIMARY AND SECONDARY LEVEL ENROLMENTS IN THE SEVERELY AFFECTED SUB-REGION

	Net enrolment rates			Gross enrolment rates		
	All	Female	Males	All	Females	Males
Panel A: Primary education:						
2005/6						
Severely affected sub-region	73.6	70.2	76.6	113.6	107.0	119.6
Karamoja	30.7	32.8	28.5	39.9	40.4	39.3
Rest of the sub-region	82.1	78.1	85.7	128.3	121.1	134.7
2009/10						
Severely affected sub-region	73.5	74.2	72.8	110.6	106.1	115.2
Karamoja	55.9	57.4	54.4	81.9	80.5	83.5
Rest of the sub-region	82.7	83.4	82.0	125.6	120.2	131.0
2012/13						
Severely affected sub-region	74.8	72.2	77.4	119.2	111.4	127.1
Karamoja	54.9	50.4	59.1	84.8	75.1	93.8
Rest of the sub-region	85.1	82.9	87.6	137.1	129.0	145.7
Panel B: Secondary education:						
2005/6						
Severely affected sub-region	5.0	5.1	5.0	7.9	5.7	10.2
Karamoja	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Rest of the sub-region	5.8	5.9	5.6	9.1	6.5	11.7
2009/10						
Severely affected sub-region	8.2	4.9	11.0	13.7	10.1	16.8
Karamoja	2.9	3.0	2.8	6.4	5.2	7.9
Rest of the sub-region	10.2	5.7	13.7	16.6	12.5	19.7
2012/13						
Severely affected sub-region	8.5	4.4	12.3	12.5	5.4	19.1
Karamoja	3.5	2.8	4.3	6.2	4.4	8.0
Rest of the sub-region	10.6	5.1	15.5	15.3	5.9	23.5

Source: Calculations based on UNHS data of 2005/06, 2009/10 and 2012/13.

BOX 4.1: CAPACITY FOR DEVELOPMENT WITHIN KARAMOJA

With secondary education so low in Karamoja, there are few Karimojong who are continuing to tertiary levels of education. This is epitomized by the situation in Kaabong, Amudat and Napak Districts, which in 2013, sent no students to the government universities. The result of this situation is that the majority of professional staff in schools, health facilities, NGOs and even local governments come from outside of Karamoja, especially from the districts of Teso, Lango, Acholi and Bugisu. It is noble that such people are willing to make the necessary sacrifices to come and serve in what are often remote and difficult locations across Karamoja, but their presence creates some tribal uneasiness within the region, a reduced ability to relate professional experiences to the local contexts and less ability to inspire young Karimojong into such careers. The Government is trying to encourage Karamoja children to continue to higher levels of education through scholarship schemes, especially with an initiative from the Office of the Minister of Karamoja Affairs to support girls to enter universities. The other consequence of this poor level of qualified Karimojong is the difficulty local governments face in filling and retaining staff across Karamoja. This has resulted in many local government positions remaining vacant and limiting the capacity of local governments to act effectively.

Source: Frank Emmanuel Muhereza, 2015.

Support to the improvement of education in Karamoja is being provided by Irish Aid, Save the Children in Uganda and UNICEF. With the slow progress in the education indicators as discussed above, UNICEF has put in place some initiatives

that involve the locals to boost progress in human development (see Box 4.2). Such initiatives partly show that to successfully transform Karamoja requires participation of the locals.

BOX 4.2: UNICEF’S STORIES OF CHANGE IN USING LOCAL KARIMOJONGS

Low levels of education in Karamoja will keep them backward. In 2006, UNICEF had child survival strategy; that engaged the Karimojong. Because we believed in bringing these educated ones, come and study in Makerere University, after graduation they get a job with us and they stay around here in Karamoja. So we took new graduates from Makerere University to Karamoja as interns. That program was very interesting because we told them to please go and stay with your parents. “Where do you come from?” I come from Kabong, go and stay with your parents and we will pay you a little allowance. We gave these 12 interns motorcycles and it looked like fun but to me it was a very good initiative. They could come to Moroto and go back with a small allowance and they felt it was a small project they were taking on. They could understand the language, they were home children, they were models and that is what we need to do for Karamoja. We need to incentivise them to appreciate where they come from.

For the Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), when we went to the field, there was a very interesting case of a young Karamajong girl, she is educated, she graduated from Makerere University and she is a social worker with a UNICEF supported program. But because we have child training space where the girls coming are being kept, they are trying to protect them from FGM and child marriage. So they congregate there. Do you know parents hand over their girls to this young lady because they trust her and they want their daughters to be like her. So she is a role model and based in the sub-county and she rides a motorcycle and she is working with them. So we need to change the way we do things, the Karimojong have an inner level of trust (KII 2015)

4.2.2 Health

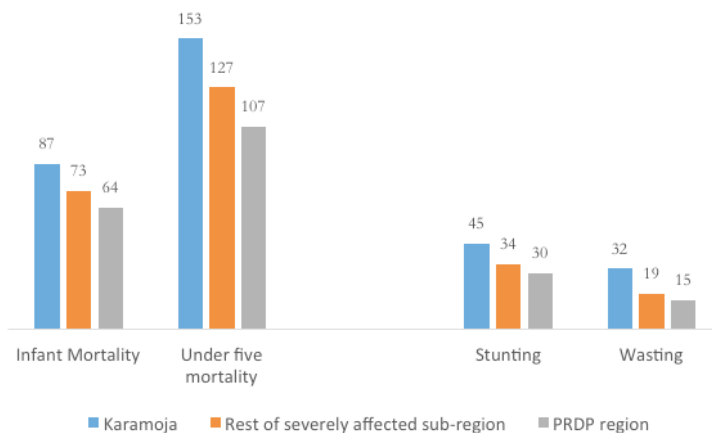
This section presents the health-related indicator trends and patterns for Karamoja, within the context of the trends in those indicators that have been observed in the PRDP region, as well as in the other parts of the *severely affected* sub-region.

Child mortality and nutrition

Figure 4.2 presents the infant mortality (IMR), under five child mortality (U5MR) and child nutrition indicators in 2011. It is evident that the number of

deaths per 1000 live birth is higher in Karamoja, compared to the rest of the *severely affected* sub-region and the entire PRDP region. This is true for both IMR and U5MRs. The nutrition indicators for children in Karamoja are also worse, compared to those of the *severely affected* sub-region as well as that for the entire PRDP region. Child wasting in Karamoja is twice and stunting almost one and a half times that of PRDP region. The poor nutrition in Karamoja is partly due to insufficient crop production and low purchasing power.

FIGURE 4.2: CHILD INDICATORS



Source: Calculations based on UDHS 2011 data.

Maternal health issues

Access to reproductive health services (e.g. family planning) remains a significant challenge in Karamoja. In the 2011 Uganda Demographic and Health Survey (UDHS), use of contraceptives of any form among married women was highest in Kampala (48 percent) and lowest in Karamoja (8 percent). In the latter, there are significant cultural imperatives that constrain the ability of women to access reproductive health services. As a result, women have little control over decision making regarding their sexual and reproductive health.

The percentage of Karimojong women aged 15-49 years who made at least 4 antenatal visits during their last pregnancy increased from 48.1 percent in 2006 to 55.5 percent in 2011. Attendance of antenatal services among women aged 15-49 in 2006 was higher than the national figure (47.3 percent). This success is attributable to food relief items being given to expectant mothers who make

antenatal visits. In the 2011 UDHS, Karamoja had the highest percentage of mothers with live births who delivered at home, with 71 percent compared to only 6.7 percent in Kampala. This situation is further worsened by the fact that only 29 percent of deliveries were attended by a health professional, compared to 58 percent nationally.

Some of the reasons cited for the poor health centre attendance during delivery in Karamoja are: the distance of health facilities from settlements; the pressure on women to remain at home to continue daily chores; and the fact that Karimojong women traditionally give birth in a squatting position (while in Health centres they are made to lie - in the 'lithotomy position'). To address the latter issue, in 2012, UNICEF and Medical Charity Doctors with Africa (CUAMM - Italian Aid) started promoting the use of special 'Birth Cushions' (Figure 4.3) that are sensitive to the Karimojong culture, in order to encourage mothers to give birth at health facilities.

FIGURE 4.3: AN ILLUSTRATION OF A BIRTH CUSHION



Source: Birth cushion at Nadunget Health Centre III, Moroto District, 2015. Photo credit: Madina Guloba. EPRC

Other innovations to encourage mothers to come to health centres to deliver included: the provision of solar lighting units to all Health Centre maternity wings; the distribution of solar maternity suitcases (by UNICEF) to support home deliveries and village health teams; the supply of *Maama Kits* to new mothers (see Box 4.3); the provision of the ZAMBIKES ambulance trailers (which can be pulled by *boda bodas*, motorcycles, bicycles or

by hand); as well as, voucher schemes to reward people (motorcycle drivers, or others) who referred expectant mothers to health facilities. In 2014, 7,941 vouchers were issued for this latter service within all districts of Karamoja.⁹³

There is also a shortage of qualified midwives in Karamoja, with the Amudat, Kaabong and Kotido districts having 1 midwife for every 700

deliveries. This falls far below the national average of 1 midwife for every 450 deliveries, and the WHO target of 1 midwife for every 175 deliveries. As an unintended consequence of the return of peace, villages in Karamoja are slowly spreading across the plains once again, moving expectant mothers and children farther away from healthcare facilities.

Maternal mortality relates to ‘the death of a woman while pregnant or within 42 days of termination of pregnancy, irrespective of the duration and the sire of the pregnancy, from any cause related to or aggravated by the pregnancy or its management, but not from accidental or incidental causes.’ Uganda’s maternal mortality ratio was 438 deaths per 100,000 live births in 2011, while the MDG target is 131 deaths per 100,000 live births by 2015. At the national level, this target is unlikely to be achieved, and it is certainly not feasible within that time frame in Karamoja, where the rate in 2014 was 750 deaths per 100,000 live births.⁹⁴

The high maternal mortality rates in Karamoja are made worse by the continued practice of female genital mutilation (FGM) in some communities (such as the Tepeth, Pokot and Kadam ethnic groups) in spite of anti-FGM legislations. In addition to promoting reproductive health, the UNFPA is also supporting a campaign targeting this vice, which reduces the chances of mothers of having safe deliveries.

Although the Moroto Referral Hospital should be the main health unit in the Karamoja, the quality of services in its facilities are far behind those offered by the Catholic Mission, St. Kizito Hospital Matany, in the Napak District. The Matany Hospital handles the most difficult medical cases from across the region, including those referred from the Moroto Referral Hospital. This partly contributes to increases in mortality rates in Karamoja.

BOX 4.3: COST OF MAAMA KIT BEYOND THE REACH OF THE KARIMAJONG

The cost of Maama Kit - offered to all mothers who give birth at a government health facility since 2003 - is beyond means of some Karimojong expectant mothers. The kit costs about USD2 (February 2015), which the GoU and development partners feel is affordable and a sustainable government support provision - the actual cost is about \$7.5 per kit. But the fact remains that USD2 is largely unaffordable for most expectant mothers in Karamoja. This was complicated in 2011 when UNICEF supported the provision of an “expanded” Maama Kit, which cost \$35 each, and were much appreciated by mothers whilst stocks were available, but once initial supplies ran out, the cost was beyond what the government could afford. The regular Maama Kit was offered to mothers, but they now felt that they were being cheated due to the fact that it contained much less than the expanded kit; this has actually acted as a disincentive for mothers to come to health facilities to give birth.

Source: Lemokol James (2015), presentation at MNH Performance Review, Moroto.

Incidence of Malaria

At the national level, the target for MDG 6C was to halt, by 2015, and reverse, the incidence of malaria and other major diseases. Malaria prevalence among children aged 0-59 months in 2014 was 48.6 percent in Karamoja, 25.7 percent in Northern Uganda and 19 percent nationally.⁹⁵ This is an area of concern because, historically, Karamoja was not a region of major malarial incidence. Further investigation needs to be made into this worsening situation and, perhaps, its links to climate or life-style changes established. The main mechanism being used for the prevention and control of malaria is the use of Insecticide-Treated mosquito Nets (ITNs). The national rate of ITN usage is 90.2

percent, while in Karamoja it is 97 percent. In spite of this, Karamoja fared poorly when looking at the rate at which children with malaria are taken to health centres for treatment (61.3 percent compared to the national average of 82 percent). It suggests that this is an area which can easily be improved upon, as basic acceptance of the practice is good, with over half of the children being taken for treatment.

Water and sanitation

Access to improved water sources (which in rural areas is defined as protected springs, deep boreholes fitted with hand-pumps, rainwater harvesting facilities and piped water supplies⁹⁶) has

generally improved. This is because of investments made by the Ministry of Water and Environment (MoWE), Ministry of Karamoja Affairs, and support from development partners such as UNICEF (which is the lead agency supporting the government in the provision of safe drinking water across Karamoja). Through UNICEF-Japan Corporation, UNICEF has been able to put up water boreholes and solar panels for running hospital targeting rural growth towns of Karamoja. Other partners like MTN, a telecommunication company, have joined these efforts.

While most parts of Karamoja are water-stressed, the Abim district has managed to halve the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water, thereby surpassing the related MDG (Target 7C). By 2014, 89 percent of the population that district had access to safe drinking water. The other districts in Karamoja that have made progress in increasing the proportion of their population with access to safe drinking water include Napak (with 49 percent), Nakapiripirit (with 47 percent), and Kotido (with 46 percent).

Regarding sanitation, Karamoja had the lowest sanitation coverage in the whole country, with an average of 27 percent in 2012/13.⁹⁷ This was notably worse than the 2012/13 national latrine coverage, which was at 83 percent. The most significant improvement in latrine coverage has been achieved in the Abim district, which improved its coverage from 2 percent in 2007 to 50.3 percent in 2014, thereby surpassing the relevant MDG (Target 7C) of halving by 2015, the proportion of people without basic sanitation. In the rest of Karamoja, the situation has not improved. Some cultural beliefs limit adoption of pit latrines. For instance, it is believed: that “initiated” elders should not mix their excreta with those of the “uninitiated”; and that pregnant women can lose their babies while squatting on pit latrines. There is also a general dislike for the discomfort of locking oneself in a small and foul-smelling room. Encouragingly, there is some improvement in coverage to 38.2 percent based on the preliminary analysis of the War to Peace Survey conducted in 2015.

4.2.3 Women and youth empowerment

Women

The level of gender equality and women’s empowerment are key indicators of the progress a society is making in realising human development. Cattle rustling disrupted gender relations and allowed some changes that helped Karimojong women to join the economic and public sphere. Particularly, the loss of cattle left men less able to fend for their families and women had to look for alternative means of survival.⁹⁸ Based on the proportion of married women who reported taking independent decisions in key areas as an indicator for gender equality and women’s empowerment, it was reported that in Karamoja between 2006 and 2011 the number of women who made independent decisions on how to spend their own earnings increased from 39.3 percent to 68.9 percent respectively, compared to an increase from 42.7 percent to 50.9 percent in PRDP region.

The influence of NGO, towards women and girls’ empowerment interventions could have also contributed to this situation. Although this appears to be a very positive situation for Karamoja, it cannot be celebrated, as it is unsustainable because it is the result of predominance of livestock production as a source of livelihood. Tending to livestock keeps the men away from their homes in the grazing areas, looking after cattle and, in so doing, leaves women with significant autonomy in the homes. However, with the diminishing cattle rustling and reduction in livestock per capita the situation is changing, as men are being encouraged to adopt settled crop agriculture. Unfortunately, there is already evidence of backlash in form of increased domestic violence affecting women, as men seek more control over resources in areas such as crop farming, where women have previously exercised most of the control.

Youth

Traditionally, the role of boys in Karamoja was to look after the herds of cattle, sheep and goats when younger, and then cattle as they became teenagers. As adolescents (18-25 years) they were expected to take on the roles of acquiring and defending the wealth of the community, both of which roles are focused on cattle. Whenever there

were good harvests, young men would be initiated into adulthood. Initiation ceremonies and other traditional rituals were controlled by the elders who exercised traditional authority.

The proliferation of firearms led to the erosion of the authority of elders, as youth who had access to guns no longer listened to the wisdom of the elders. Even with disarmament, through which illicit firearms were collected from the youth, the elders have not regained their control over the youth, who have rebelled against authority, in both the traditional and the modern sectors. However, without any formal education, the majority of Karimajong youth possess skills that they cannot put to good use outside of the livestock production sector. Male youth are less likely to engage in crop agriculture in future. Consequently, a large number of the young men in the 'new' Karamoja are at a crossroad partly due to cultural norms that are quite conservative. The role of the female youth has remained largely unchanged, with a mix of supporting household development and ultimately caring for their families. Many aspects of this existence are also not ideal, and the opportunity to do more exists, but at least their immediate role is known to the female youth. To accentuate this argument, a key informant asserts that:

Would the youth in Karamoja that have been used to weapons take on crop agriculture? Some of them will and hopefully there will be model farms and people demonstrating that you can buy a boda-boda you can buy a car if you are a good farmer and then youths could then be attracted to that new way of life. But let's be realistic a big portion of youth will not find their future in agriculture and they will migrate out of Karamoja and they will come to Kampala or they will be attracted to other sorts of radicalisation (KII 2015).

Yet, a number of national programmes are now directly addressing youth employment within Karamoja. These include: the GoU's USD6 million 'Youth Opportunities Programme', part of the Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSAF), and funded by the World Bank; the USD10 million Youth Venture Capital Fund (YVCF), run by the government in partnership with commercial banks; and, the USD100 million Youth Livelihoods Program (YLP) (part of the Uganda Vision 2040). However,

it is noted that, among the Karamoja districts, only the Abim district benefited from the latter fund. These different targeted interventions and programmes in the region vary in terms of scale and effectiveness, and it is not yet clear whether they adequately are people-centred.

4.3 THE NATURAL RESOURCES POTENTIAL

This section discusses the natural resources potential of Karamoja and how such potential could be turned into an opportunity to transform the area, given its current low level of human development.

4.3.1 Minerals

The full mineral wealth and potential of Karamoja is not yet known, because airborne geophysical survey and geological mapping have not been undertaken. However, the sub region is estimated to contain over 50 minerals of economic importance, including gold, marble and limestone. Large-scale mineral extraction has been taking place near Moroto since 2012, including marble stone quarrying and gold mining. Most mineral extraction is still carried with informal and unregulated market chains. Potentials exist for commercial production and marketing of minerals for industrial use, and for shifting the production focus from raw materials to semi-processed or final products. This will generate greater employment opportunities and wealth creation within Karamoja, but only to the extent that the right institutional framework is in place to guide the industry.

Many Karimojongs are engaged in the artisanal and small-scale mining (ASM) sub-sector to generate income, using rudimentary technologies. The sub-sector is not only informal and unregulated in nature, but it often thrives only as a seasonal fall-back activity, to supplement agricultural livelihoods. However, immense opportunities exist to develop it further, to become a major source of income for many communities.

Medium-scale mining has been taking place since 2010. As a result, some economic benefits have been generated in the areas where operations are underway. Various business opportunities have emerged for those who service the mining activities

by providing food and general merchandise. Those who work in the mines spend money on clothes, medical care, and food, and such expenditure has stimulated the local economy.⁹⁹ According to the Mining Act (2003), the national government takes 80 percent of royalties and district, sub-county and land-owners take 10, 7, and 3 percent respectively. However, these latter shares are seen as insufficient compensation for the local stakeholders.

Besides, these accruals are still insignificant because of the low scale of mining operations. With improvement in peace and security and increased infrastructure investments, royalties are likely to increase, and translate into increased resources, which if well utilised can transform the human development conditions of the communities there.

One of the main challenge is how to attract the mining companies to establish mineral processing plants in Karamoja, for local value addition that has potential to create multiplier employment and economic effects in the area. Furthermore, with the development of large scale mineral extraction operations in Moroto, little attention has been given to their impacts on the local populations or on the environment. This has created friction between investors and local communities. Many issues remain unresolved. They include those related to: human rights; loss of land; poor remuneration and working conditions; low returns to artisanal miners; disputes over equity regarding the distribution of benefits from the extraction of minerals; and, the challenge of environmental restoration after the minerals are extracted. At the socio-cultural level, the use of dynamite to blast rocks is detested, because the Karimojong believe that it disturbs the peace of their ancestors. Furthermore, the local leaders in the region argue that:

Government should walk the talk. Government is promoting value addition to boost local economies and create jobs. If this holds, then why is raw limestone ferried from Karamoja to Tororo? And why does the final product branded Tororo Cement? There is total absence

of corporate social responsibility by the mining firms to the local population and no weigh bridges to ascertain the quantities of limestone extracted. Furthermore, the regulatory bodies have not come up to explain to the local population what is going on. Why shouldn't the manufacturing of cement be done in Karamoja? Ferrying of raw limestone to a great extent destroys the roads in Katakwi district and those of the neighbouring districts where trucks pass. Yet, these districts do not have direct benefits (Gulu, KIIs 2015).

4.3.2 Tourism

There is enormous potential for the further development of various forms of tourism in Karamoja. Like the Masai of Kenya and Tanzania, the Karimojong have maintained their traditional dress and many other aspects of traditional life. These include: homesteads (*Manyatta/Ere*); hairstyles; embroidery; facial and body scarification; song, dance, drama and poetry; art and crafts; traditional religion; cultural institutions; customary ceremonies; and, tribal marks on cattle. The first Karamoja Museum, opened in Moroto in November 2012, the Karamoja Cultural Day was launched in July 2014, and a 'Miss Tourism Karamoja' pageant has been initiated (but not yet realised), to assist in national and international promotion of tourism.

Karamoja is also home to wildlife species that exist nowhere else in Uganda. The Kidepo National Park boasts of the second most diverse bird population in Uganda, with 475 bird species. It also has herds of buffaloes that exceed 2,000 in number. A tented camp now exists at the Pian Upe Game Reserve, which is the second largest protected wildlife area in Uganda, and where Cheetah and Roan Antelopes can be seen. There is also the opportunity to develop trekking, climbing, and other adventure activities, within the mountain ranges of the region. However, significant investment is required to realise this potential and there are of course scepticism of tourism being a driver of change of Karamoja local economy as illustrated in Box 4.4:

BOX 4.4: PERCEPTIONS ON THE FUTURE ROLE OF TOURISM TO LONG-TERM DEVELOPMENT OF KARAMOJA

I don't think the Kidepo Valley will generate jobs from tourism to address these unemployment numbers. This is a place that is isolated and the jobs that are there are very few and they will remain quite limited. That is why Muzungus appreciate the nature and then we will go to some of the villages outside the park and visit some of the Manyattas but all that is not sustainable livelihoods for the community people living in those areas. It would be very useful and it should be encouraged, but to say that tourism is the future of Karamoja, I don't believe that perception, agriculture is the future, mining is a risk, and if managed very well it will benefit some of the locals. (KII 2015).

4.3.3 Renewable energy

Renewable energy sources in Karamoja include biomass, solar and wind. Biomass is the main fuel in Karamoja, while trade in firewood and charcoal contribute significantly to the local economy. The improved security environment, together with the high differential between charcoal prices in Karamoja (US\$17,000 per sack) and Kampala (US\$80,000 per sack) means that environmental degradation, which is already clearly apparent, could become irreversible. Electricity and Liquid Petroleum Gas (LPG) are expensive, and, where wood is used for cooking, energy efficient cooking stoves need further promotion.

Karamoja also provides immense potential for the development of Solar Photo-Voltaic and Solar thermal power systems. Karamoja has a high solar energy potential, with a mean solar radiation of between 5.6 and 6.8 kilowatt hour per square metre (kWh/m²) per day on a horizontal surface. This is available for most of the year. Karamoja also has a wind speed average of 3.5 meters per second (m/s), which is the highest in Uganda. Biomass/gas could be generated from sorghum waste and cow-dung, while pilot biofuel production with *jatropha* already exists in Nakapiripirit. Prospects for oil and gas discovery also exist in the Kadan – Mount Moroto basin, and this is currently being assessed.

4.3.4 Karamoja's woodland biodiversity

Karamoja's vegetation is mainly being utilized to meet the subsistence needs of the local people, for building poles, fuel-wood and medicines for humans and livestock. *Acacia senegalensis* leaves are used as fodder for livestock; its seeds are preserved as drought emergency food for humans; while the resin is used for sealing pots and repairing broken wooden implements. The flowers of *Acacia Senegalensis* are a source of pure crystal-white

honey, and bee-keeping is seen as an opportunity for livelihood diversification across Karamoja. Internationally, the gum from *Acacia senegalensis* is known as 'Gum Arabic', and it is used as an industrial food additive.

The major source of global *Gum Arabic* is South Sudan/Sudan, but an effort has been made by the Karimojong entrepreneurs to organise a Uganda *Gum Arabic* Co-operative Society, which has demonstrated that the Karamoja gum is of excellent quality. However, marketing avenues are yet to be established. *Aloe secundiflora* is a native plant of Karamoja and its extract, Aloe vera, is used by international food, medical and pharmaceutical industries. Some effort has been made to farm and collect *Aloe secundiflora* from the wild, but Ugandan buyers have proved unreliable, and so the industry is still in its infancy.

4.3.5 Livestock

The Karimojong are a cattle keeping people and cattle plays an integral part in their culture and everyday life. Livestock rearing in areas where rainfall is limited and/or erratic, is a strategic livelihood option practised throughout the world. Livestock are more resilient to the vagaries of climate, and will provide meat, milk, blood and other products even when crops have failed. However, times have changed and, in modern Uganda, the Karimojong cannot continue the traditional practices of roaming to find water and pastures for grazing. This changing context has made it necessary for the Karimojong to reconsider their traditional norms for cattle keeping, and for the government to invest in water and range-land improvements that can support Karimojong livestock within restricted grazing areas. It is necessary to invest in the improvement of the productivity of land and livestock, and to promote the diversification of livestock-based livelihoods.

Investments are needed in enhanced water availability, rangeland pasture improvement, livestock disease control, livestock extension services and livestock and livestock product marketing. A number of livestock diseases are endemic within Karamoja, such as; Contagious Bovine Pleuro-Pneumonia, Contagious Caprine Pleuro-Pneumonia, foot and mouth disease, *Peste des Petits Ruminants* and brucellosis. However, the number of qualified government veterinary service providers is very small (perhaps one or two qualified staff per district). These are complemented by Community Animal Health Workers (CAHWs), numbering about 500, who have received training and equipment through the FAO and other organisations, but whose support is still insufficient. There are also significant weaknesses in livestock value-chains in Karamoja, including the underdeveloped facilities for handling post-slaughter processing and preservation. There are also a number of social norms and cultural practices in Karamoja that are inhibiting livestock value chain development, such as bleeding and scarification marks for cattle identification which significantly reduce the value of hides.

4.3.6 Infrastructure

In order to stimulate development in Karamoja, a number of investments are being undertaken to provide necessary physical and economic infrastructure. The need for road infrastructure that links Karamoja and the neighbouring districts to promote exposure and trade among communities cannot be over emphasised. All-weather national roads are being constructed throughout Karamoja by the Uganda National Road Authority (UNRA). Also, most community access roads have been re-opened (by District local governments, as well as under the KALIP and NUSAF II projects). Construction of the first ever tarmac road from Moroto to Nakapiripirit (93km) is due to be completed in 2015¹⁰⁰, and plans are underway for the second stage from Nakapiripirit to Muyembe (94km), as highlighted in the National Budget Speech for 2015/16. Apart from providing access to Karamoja, these roads are also part of a longer term plan to provide effective marketing links to the key agricultural produce markets in South Sudan.

Karamoja is now also connected to the national electricity grid through lines from Sironko to

Amudat (157km), from Soroti to Moroto (255km), through the Rural Electrification Scheme, and from Pader to Abim, through a private power distributor. However, electricity connection is still poor across Uganda, with only 13.9 percent nationally using electric light, while in Karamoja the figure is 2.8 percent.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, availability of electricity has stimulated the growth of tourism, trade and service sub-sectors. In addition, the infrastructure in the district is also being improved, to enhance the capacity of local governments to deliver basic social services.

KALIP has provided fully furnished office accommodation to 30 Sub-counties/Town Councils and District Production offices, one regional laboratory, seven police posts and one police station throughout Karamoja. Construction of production offices at Sub-County level has allowed government extension agents to come closer to the farmers they serve, and for the general presence of the State to be felt in all parts of Karamoja, and not just in the urban centres, as was the case previously. Support has also been provided in education and health sub-sectors in Karamoja. In 2013, the Karamoja Primary Education Project (KPEP) kicked off, with funding from Irish Aid. Its aim is to improve 21 primary schools. The MoFPED has also released USD0.5m for the renovation of the Moroto Referral Hospital, as part of its nationwide scheme to modernise these facilities.

4.3.7 Sustainability

Assessment of sustainability entails determining the extent to which the benefit streams of the programmes being implemented for the socio-economic transformation of Karamoja will continue beyond their operational periods. Security across the region continues to be enhanced through construction and equipping of police posts and the training of police officers in community policing. This will promote sustenance of peace and stability in the sub-region. Programmes implementing these actions have offered employment for the Karimojongs, and this is building the skill base in Karamoja that will underpin future development. However, the local government capacity is still low, owing to the poor levels of salaries and the difficult working conditions. This may hinder further implementation using these officers.¹⁰²

Development programmes have targeted organizational strengthening and the capacity building of local communities and governments. Institutions built at the community level (e.g. community gardens, community assets management committees, village savings and lending associations (VSLAs) and Agro-pastoral Field Schools (APFS)) will support future initiatives and community-based monitoring activities that will increase ownership and sustainability. These approaches are suited to the socio-cultural background of the region, as Karimojong society was traditionally communal in many respects. Vulnerability to adversity dictated that, in the absence of formal systems of social security and risk management, individuals relied on social insurance schemes based on customs and tradition. The Karimojong individually learnt through adversity that *'I am because you are, and because you are, therefore I am'*.

4.3.8 The growing presence of the private sector

Apart from humanitarian and development interventions, the Government has also welcomed commercial investors into Karamoja, to open up large scale farms in the greenbelt areas, and carry out mining activities. However, these have been welcomed into the region with little prior interaction with the host communities, and hence, new forms of livelihood insecurities may become manifest, because of loss of land for crops and livestock.

4.4 CHALLENGES ENCOUNTERED IN UNDERTAKING DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS

Karamoja has benefited from national, PRDP region and area-specific policies, interventions, and programmes. However, a number of challenges have been encountered that have undermined the achievement of sustainable human development outcomes. These include challenges related to food and livelihoods, agriculture, land and the environment, local capacity development, and the continued threat of insecurity. This section analyses some of these challenges.

4.4.1 Food dependency by a different name

One of the challenges to achieving food security in Karamoja is the inability to enhance food self-reliance among Karimojong households. While the decreasing numbers of Karimojong who depend on food aid is being celebrated, available evidence seems to point to an increase in other forms of dependence. However, strategies used by various development partners as discussed in 4.1.2 are still different ways of donating food to the Karimojongs, and they have not been successful in creating food self-sustainability and a culture of self-reliance among the beneficiaries. Many interventions do not address the underlying factors responsible for creating vulnerability to shocks and hazards, which include the prolonged droughts and annual food shortages, which have been exacerbated by the increased sedentarisation of the Karamajong.¹⁰³ Settled agriculture is also not part of the Karimojong culture.

4.4.2 Promotion of crop agriculture as an alternative to livestock

The uni-modal rainfall received in Karamoja means crop farming is only possible for a limited period in a year, even in the green belt areas. As a result, the tradition of the Karimojong is to plant and harvest only once in the year. Sorghum is the main crop grown across the region because of its resistance to drought and the erratic rainfall. However, if the dry period comes soon after germination, even sorghum may die and when this is the case, then the field is not normally replanted, as the Karimojong believe that the time for planting is over, even if the possibility of sufficient future rains exists. Other common crops grown in Karamoja are: maize in Amudat and the Namalu area of Nakapiripirit district, and within the mountain zones; pearl millet in Kaabong; cowpeas as a green leaf crop; sunflower (inter-planted in sorghum fields) and beans; groundnuts; and, increasingly, cassava in the wetter western zones, especially in Abim.

Promoting interventions that put more emphasis on crop farming, at the expense of livestock production, undermines the capacity of the majority of ordinary Karimojong to cope with adversity in the harsh and fragile climate of Karamoja. This is because resources needed for the

survival of the population and their herds are scarce and opportunities for livelihood extremely limited. Livestock, more than crops, make it possible for the Karimojong to survive the harsh semi-arid environments, where resources are scarce all the time, and where opportunities for earning a livelihood are greatly limited (and when they occur, are far apart). Many development programmes have not been well adapted to the critical survival needs of the majority of the people, as they undermine their capacity to survive prolonged periods of scarcity. There is also limited availability of water or attention to the improvement of rangelands to enhance livestock production, and water conservation for irrigation and stable crop production.

4.4.3 Unsustainable livelihoods

Improved livelihoods is the aim of most development programmes operating in Karamoja, but in seeking to achieve this, a number of challenges have been encountered. These range from constraints of using cash transfers to create sustainable livelihoods, to those pertaining to the achievement of food self-sufficiency and the inability to end dependency in its entirety (see Box 4.5). The level of cash transfers is unlikely to sustain livelihoods after the CfW programmes end, owing to the limited levels of cash available. The WFP paid US\$ 3,200 per day; NUSAF II (World Bank) paid US\$ 4,000; and KALIP paid US\$ 7,000.¹⁰⁴ Even when multiple days' work or tasks were done, still the larger proportion of incomes generated was used to meet basic family needs, primarily food. Only 30 percent of CfW beneficiaries and only 30 percent of their incomes was placed in some form of savings scheme.¹⁰⁵ CfW beneficiaries also moved from

one public works project to another. As a result, they had no time to carry out own-production of food, locking them into the perpetual need to buy food. Cash transfers target those most affected by food shortages, who are likely to be the poorest, and these are usually not the most enterprising, in terms of taking investment risks and decisions. Those who are targeted with cash transfers normally use the cash to meet their basic needs and have survival as a primary objective. Only a small proportion of Karimojong beneficiaries of cash transfer and food assistance have been able to accumulate savings, through VSLAs. When this happens, then the savings will be used to meet the non-food requirements of households, such as school fees, medical expenses and, very rarely, investment in farm-based assets. There has not yet been direct linkage between cash transfers and increased food production in Karamoja. Instead, evidence seems to suggest that cash transfers have undermined food production.

The livelihoods of the Karimojong revolve around livestock. More than crops, livestock make it possible for the Karimojong to survive the harsh semi-arid environments, where resources are scarce, and livelihood options are limited. Many programmes being implemented in Karamoja have not been well thought through, and they yield short-term dividends to a few beneficiaries, instead of creating long-term changes for the majority. This is particularly clear from the fact that the majority of such programmes do not incorporate livestock interventions, even though this has been the major coping strategy for the Karimojong since time immemorial. Even then, promoting crop agriculture and livestock production faces serious land and environmental challenges in the area.

BOX 4.5: DEPENDENCY AMONGST THE KARIMAJONG

Life in Karamoja can be tough, but this is no different from many other areas where people are living in risk prone environments or in areas afflicted by virulent armed conflicts. In such situations, humanitarian help needs to be offered so that the innocent do not suffer and the weakest members of society are not placed in life threatening situations. Karamoja has been the recipient of such support over many years and it has no doubt saved many lives, but in so doing has created a strong 'dependency syndrome' amongst many of the Karimojong. Dependency is the opposite of 'self-determination' and, whereas in other areas of Uganda a few support elements - seeds, farm tools, building materials, etc - can be provided to start self-determined development, this has been proved not to be the case in Karamoja. In Karamoja a request for more of the same assistance often follows. Projects have tried to break this dependency by moving away from the free provision of food and inputs, through tying this support to community based actions - labour intensive works - or by providing cash, which can then be used to buy what the beneficiaries feel is most important. But continuing effort to maintain the assets constructed and even to dig their own fields might only happen when further payments are offered and hence the break in dependency has not been made. The truth is the same when vouchers, food or Maama kits are offered as rewards for mothers coming to health centres or children attending schools. Once these incentives are removed the old ways return and the poor development indicators remain. Cultural constraints to the underlying issues need to be carefully assessed, ideas presented about ways of addressing the barriers and, in some cases, these might need to be supported with carefully instigated enforcement. This approach worked very well with disarmament, and the Karimojong have seen that raiding and weapons are not an essential part of their lives, although the success of this needs continuing follow through - such as finding role/work opportunities for the male youth.

Source: Frank Emmanuel Muhereza 2015.

4.4.4 Land and environmental degradation

Environmental and land degradation is becoming ever more visible as crop cultivation spreads and grazing becomes more concentrated, especially around larger water sources such as valley tanks and dams. The quality of the soil is also being impoverished, following repeated cultivation using tractors and ox-ploughs, which exposes it to the risk of increased surface run-off and soil erosion, after torrential rains and flash floods.

In most areas where limestone, marble and gold mining is taking place (Nakabat, Katikekile, Kosiroi and Acerer), vegetation and surface landscape have been destroyed irredeemably. Yet there are no clear mechanisms in place to act as part of the restoration activities. The clearance of surface vegetation leads to the exposure of sub-soils and parent rocks, which increases surface run-off during the rainy season. The resulting erosion and siltation contaminates water that drains into the temporary streams and rivers on which the lives of farmers and pastoralists depend when the rains start. Large and deep pits have formed in many areas. Most have not been covered or back-filled after mining activities have moved on to other areas.

This is problematic because stagnant pools of water in mining pits are breeding grounds for malaria-carrying mosquitoes and water-borne diseases. Abandoned pits also pose risks of injury

and drowning to children and animals, including livestock and endangered species. Previously-mined sites are often unstable for agriculture, forcing people into other habitats to serve their needs, and the aesthetics of the landscape are affected by the resultant creation of wastelands or barren land. Neglecting to backfill after mining aggravates the negative effects of erosion, by making topsoil reconstruction very difficult. Also, the re-establishment of original vegetation has not yet come into focus.¹⁰⁶ Enforcement of existing environmental policies regarding natural resources by the mandated authorities and local government is weak, as the Environmental Protection Police Force has no presence in Karamoja.

4.4.5 Local capacity development challenges

Local capacities for sustaining developments undertaken in Karamoja are still weak. In the local government strategies in Karamoja, poor pay and difficult working conditions make it difficult to attract and retain skilled manpower, which hinders the implementation of development programmes.¹⁰⁷ Many development programmes have targeted the organizational strengthening and capacity building of local governments as well as local community institutions and structures. These include: community assets management committees; village savings and lending associations (VSLAs); and, Agro-pastoral field schools (APFS). While challenges still abound,

the situation has not been helped by the fact that donor-funded development programmes in Karamoja give preference to international NGOs in the implementation of interventions, thereby denying national NGOs and community-based organizations the needed opportunities to strengthen their resident capacities.

The decision to remove direct implementation from local governments, following the leakage of resources under PRDP I and NUSAF I, was a drawback to capacity building in the public sector. As of now, it is only a handful of local NGOs/CBOs in Karamoja that are involved in implementation of Karamoja's development programmes. The involvement of international NGOs not only increases the cost of implementation, but also undermines sustainability, local ownership and the institutional capacity building that these development programmes would have generated if more local NGOs were directly sub-contracted as implementing partners. On a more positive note, some local government technical staff are being engaged by the international NGOs for backstopping, monitoring and evaluation.¹⁰⁸

Considering that the local NGOs will remain long after the international NGOs have left, given their understanding of local contexts, they are more likely to have a longer lasting impact, and are likely to work more cost-effectively. International NGOs have higher administrative overheads and operating costs because of their huge head office costs, expensive vehicles, and relatively higher staff salaries (intended to ensure quality staff retention). These costs reduce the proportion of programme resources reaching target beneficiaries. In instances where international NGOs used local capacity (within local NGOs and/or government offices), the interventions undertaken were more cost-effective. To illustrate this point, KALIP contracted the Directorate for Water Development under the MoWE, to construct valley tanks and, in so doing, was able to deliver twice the number of valley tanks, compared to private sector options usually preferred by International NGOs. Despite the good work done by the NGOs, the key informants noted that their role in Karamoja has shifted focus from humanitarian aid to long term development as illustrated in Box 4.6.

BOX 4.6: PERCEPTIONS ON THE FUTURE ROLE OF NGOS IN KARAMOJA

The NGOs have done an excellent job in Karamoja. A lot of progress that we have seen in Karamoja would not be there including service delivery; simply doing things that government was incapable of doing was the niche, so that should be recognised. But as we move from emergency to issues of long term development, the role of the NGOs should also change; they should step out of service delivery as the State comes in and takes care of strengthening health services etc. They should step up their focus on all the issues that the local authority need to be held to account, where the government needs to account. I mean let's not forget Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) scandal was about misuse-thankfully all money or some money has ascended to Northern Uganda. So nobody can argue with the need to keep a close eye. All beneficiaries need to know that resources have been set aside for this post-war development programme and they need to be there and watch and criticise if not delivered. All NGOs that are there should shift focus. Instead, the development partners should engaged and support the capacity of local government to deliver services. The idea behind this is to ensure that local governments are able to coordinate the action of stakeholders in their geographical area.

An alternative view is that there are many NGOs in the region doing similar things. This is especially so with women related issues. The NGOs have failed to have coordinated efforts so as to transform the region. This is partly explained by the nature of NGO with different funding sources and promoters. The NGOs activities need to be integrated in the local government planning processes to avoid overlap but promote complementarities.

Source: Kils, 2015.

4.4.6 Continuing insecurity

While the security situation in Karamoja has generally improved, forms of insecurity continue to undermine the overall stability achieved. Studies have reported an upsurge in new forms of violence, targeting not only non-livestock assets

in households (such as food either harvested or received as food aid, clothes, saucepans, bicycles, or radios, among others), but also the most vulnerable sections of the population, usually the elderly, women and children. Women and young girls are usually targeted when they travel away from the safety of their homesteads in search of

firewood or while foraging in the wild. The extent of fear created by increased incidents of thefts is so widespread that, in some communities, people are afraid of acquiring any durable items for fear that the ownership of such items puts them at risk.

Cattle raidings have not stopped in Karamoja despite government efforts to take away the guns. People make “*Amatida*”, the local gun, and it is marketable. Unfortunately, one can still buy bullets in an open market in Karamoja - it looks like it is part

of life that can hardly die away because from the side of South Sudan, people can still access guns. This activity continues and the UPDF cannot just come-up and take away guns, usually it is a difficult thing and they have failed to disarm people other than those from the low lying areas

Such incidents are a sign of the worsening insecurity situation within Karamoja and, as in other areas of Uganda, they need to be controlled by an effective police presence and the arrest of those involved.¹⁰⁹

BOX 4.7: CULTURAL BARRIERS TO DEVELOPMENT IN KARAMOJA

In Karamoja, tradition remains strong and this has potential of attracting tourists who would wish to experience the traditional way of life - housing, clothing, music and dance. Many of the arts and crafts are very beautiful and, with some additional support to modernise and improve the way in which they are made could be sold successfully to tourists and others. However, there are a number of other traditional elements to Karimojong life which are barriers to development interventions. Fortunately the tradition of cattle raiding, and the associated insecurity, is now a thing of the past - thanks to the Government's disarmament programme and various peace promotion activities. This has opened up Karamoja to tourists, investors and to development programmes that look to longer term interventions. However, there are still other negative cultural traditions which are direct barriers to the achieving of the MDGs including the on-going practice of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) amongst the Tepeth, Pokot and Kadam ethnic groups. FGM is illegal in Uganda and, apart from being a degrading and life-threatening exercise, also has direct link to maternal mortality. In 2011, at least 5 percent of women in Karamoja reported having experienced FGM compared to 1.4 percent across Uganda.

Another negative cultural issue is the reluctance of Karimojong people to use latrines because of initiated elders not supposed to mix excreta with other members of society and women fearing that they might lose unborn children into the pit. Such cultural beliefs are deep rooted and hard to change, but not impossible when clever thought is put to the problem as in the case of the Karimojong preference for giving birth in the squatting position. This is perfectly OK from a health perspective but facilities need to be developed to support this preference and so the “birthing cushion” was developed and attendance at health centres for delivery has increased. Children herding animals - especially boys, early pregnancy/marriage of girls need to be addressed to keep children in school, but need to be tackled from cultural and facilities perspectives.

Source: Frank Emmanuel Muhereza 2015.

4.5 CONCLUSIONS

There is evidence that some change is taking place in Karamoja. The socio-economic dynamics of Karamoja are complex and changing, creating the need for continuously adapting national development priorities to the evolving needs of the local people. The first step is to clearly identify what the current human development needs and priorities specific to Karamoja are, relative to what they have been in the past. Government and its development partners need to rethink the approach to building sustainable livelihoods in Karamoja, where the context of the physical environment and

climate change make total dependence on crop farming extremely precarious.

However, it is worth noting that livestock production is frustrated by significant bottlenecks, which can only be overcome with massive support from outside Karamoja, in order to enable the Karimojong to cope with the challenges they face. Development interventions that disrupt the traditional synergies between crops and livestock will create discriminations and inequalities, which will lead to the exclusion of large sections of the Karimojong from the benefits of the economic progress taking place in Karamoja.

**CHAPTER 5:
BUILDING RESILIENCE - FROM
RECOVERY TO SUSTAINABLE HUMAN
DEVELOPMENT**

CHAPTER 5: BUILDING RESILIENCE - FROM RECOVERY TO SUSTAINABLE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

The levels of resilience exhibited by communities affected by the violent conflict are largely shaped by how violence impacts on their lives and livelihoods at different times. Loss of lives and assets has significantly affected the ability of households to recover their economic and social position in the post-conflict period. The violent conflict affected not only household endowments in terms of physical capital, but also access to and accumulation of human capital. Despite the recent rise in remittances, it is difficult to determine the impact of remittances on household members in the post-conflict environment. This chapter focuses on post-conflict policies and programmes adopted to build resilience and the strategies needed by communities to enable them cope with livelihood challenges.

5.1 CURRENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES TO BUILD RESILIENCE

5.1.1 Maternal and new born health initiative

In order to address child and maternal health related issues in Uganda, the Ministry of Health (MoH) and its partners established the Maternal and New-born Health (MNH) initiative in 2013. The initiative targeted 11 districts in Karamoja, West Nile and Acholi,¹¹⁰ which had made the slowest progress in reducing infant and maternal deaths. According to the 2011 Uganda Demographic and Health Survey (UDHS), the infant mortality rates (IMRs) for Karamoja (see Figure 4.2) and West Nile were over 60 percent higher than the national average, while the proportion of births outside health facilities was 71 percent for Karamoja in 2011.¹¹¹ The initiative targeted the expansion of human resources (recruiting and bonding midwives); strengthening maternity infrastructure (ambulances); the provision of maternal and child health commodities (expanded maternity kits), and supporting the related referral system.

Initial results suggest a significant increase in health facility deliveries (from 35 percent in 2012 to 57 percent by 2014).¹¹² Maternal deaths were also reduced in most districts within the PRDP region (apart from the Napak district, which was affected by Hepatitis E epidemic in 2013/14). Partly, as a result of the MNH initiative, some of the districts in the PRDP region currently have indicators that are better than the national average (see Figure 2.9). For instance, the proportion of women giving birth at a health facility in 11 districts has been maintained at above 80 percent during the past three years, even though the national average only increased from 42 percent to 76 percent during 2012/13 and 2013/14 respectively.

Unlike other previous health initiatives in Uganda, the MNH initiative made a number of interventions. For instance, the very low numbers of health facility deliveries in Karamoja were partly addressed by the absence of “birth cushions” discussed earlier (see Section 4.2.2). Furthermore, given the high cost of electricity and the limited primary health care (PHC) budget, the initiative provided solar lighting units for the maternity wings of health facilities. It also made available expanded “Mama kits”, which attracted mothers to give birth in health facilities. In addition, to support the referral system, provision was made for village motor cycle ambulances and village phones. Apart from ambulances, the community voucher scheme was added, to reward people who conveyed expectant mothers to health facilities.

The voucher scheme was used extensively in Karamoja, and at least 56 percent of deliveries in the region in 2014 utilized the scheme.¹¹³ Communities were also provided with village phones to call health facilities in case a mother required emergency obstetric care. Finally, owing to difficulties in transportation in Karamoja, Health Centre (HC) IIIs in the region were provided with motor vehicle ambulances. This is not normally the case in the RoC where only HC IVs are entitled to receive vehicle ambulances, and was made possible

through a GoU tax waiver. Similarly, as part of the initiative, HC IIs in Karamoja now have midwives, even though the norm for the RoC is for midwives to be stationed in HC III and higher facilities.

Nonetheless, despite the novelty of the MNH initiatives, a number of challenges remain, which must be addressed to ensure that the MNH initiative achieves its intended outcomes. First, despite the training and recruitment of midwives, a shortage of midwives at health facilities remains, as a result of which the delivery case load remains above acceptable levels. For instance, some districts of Karamoja (notably Amudat, Kaabong and Kotido) have ratios of deliveries to midwives above 700, which is far above both the Uganda recommended norm of 1 midwife per 350-500 deliveries annually, and the WHO recommendation of 1 midwife per 175 deliveries annually.

Second, although Uganda has been providing “Mama kits”, as an incentive for mothers to deliver at rural health facilities since 2013, the introduction of the “expanded Mama kits” (which are more expensive) has raised concerns about sustainability.¹¹⁴ A number of health facilities in the region report shortages of the expanded Mama kits, which are now preferred by mothers in the PRDP region (especially in Karamoja), and their absence is working as a disincentive for health centre delivery. Finally, the provision of such special commodities, as well as vouchers, presents the risk of creating an entitlement culture (whereby communities will always expect incentives before responding to and utilizing new public social services).

5.1.2 Public works schemes

During implementation of humanitarian interventions in Northern Uganda, there has been extensive use of the public works programmes (PWP) as mechanism to build resilience, through the provision of employment and boosting the assets of poor households. Under the PWPs, participants earn a daily wage in exchange for work on community infrastructure projects (e.g. road and dam construction, community woodlot, gardens or environmental conservation). Payment methods for PWPs can be cash or value/in-kind transfers (e.g. food in lieu of wages), as well as vouchers for work.

Examples of large-scale PWPs include the Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSAF) Phases I and

II projects, as well as the Karamoja Livelihoods Programme (KALIP) and Agricultural Livelihoods Recovery Programme (ALREP) both in Northern Uganda, and the RALNUC in Lango. The NUSAF II PWPs accounted for 40 percent of the funding, while the KALIP and ALREP PWPs accounted for 35 percent of the USD35 million programmes. The RALNUC PWPs were also substantial, and had a value of US\$3.9 billion (33 percent of the programme funding).

5.1.3 Youth funds

With the end of the NUSAF I programmes in 2011, the government, in partnership with commercial banks, initiated a USD10 million Youth Venture Capital Fund (YVCF) as a means to boost youth entrepreneurship and empower young people. A process evaluation of the YVCF showed that 18 months after the roll-out of the programme, the youth in Northern Uganda accounted for only 6.3 percent of the beneficiaries of the programme. By comparison, 31 percent of the programme benefits went to those from the central region, 26 percent went to beneficiaries in Kampala, 23 percent went to those from the western, and 14 percent went to beneficiaries in the eastern region.¹¹⁵ The low access to the programme funds by people in the northern region can be attributed to the limited presence of participating banks (Stanbic (U) limited, Centenary Bank and DFCU Bank) in the region, the stringent loan approval criteria (such as the demand for collateral), and, the lack of information on how to access the fund. Another major shortcoming of the Fund relates to the inability of implementing banks to provide beneficiaries with additional support, in the form of skills training in business and financial management.

In 2013, the Parliament of Uganda approved the Youth Livelihoods Programme (YLP), which offered commercial, but interest-free loans to youth. Under this scheme, at least US\$265 billion (approximately USD100 million) was earmarked over a five year period for young people operating in groups. Specifically, the youth were given financial support, up to a maximum of US\$25 million (approximately USD9,000), to initiate new projects. A key condition for the YLP is that the group should consist of 10-15 members, and 30 percent of the group membership should be females.

Out of the 27 initial Phase I districts that received funding, six were from the PRDP region (Abim, Busia, Katakwi, Koboko, Nebbi, and Tororo). These districts accounted for about 25 percent of the number of supported projects, the amount disbursed and the number of beneficiaries.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, at least nine PRDP districts were selected for Phase II funding, namely, Amuria, Bukedea, Kitgum, Manafwa, Maracha, Ngora, Otuke, Sironko and Zombo. These accounted for about half of both the amount disbursed and of the beneficiaries.¹¹⁷ Across the country, majority of the supported projects are in agriculture, especially livestock production (51 percent), followed by commerce (21 percent).

During the key informant consultations, there was appreciation of government efforts in building resilience of the youth population. However, it was pointed out that the current youth programs are generic and that they need to be context specific. They further pointed out that the impact of such programmes will be limited without first addressing the mind-set issues and effective preparation of youth, say, on group and power dynamics. Cases were cited where youth put such funding into gambling instead of productive activities.

5.1.4 Agricultural infrastructure

Given the predominantly unimodal rainfall pattern in the PRDP region, water scarcity is a serious challenge. This affects livestock production, which is a major livelihood strategy for smallholder farmers. As part of the wider strategy to extend water supply to supplement rain-fed agriculture, the GoU has implemented a number of projects focusing on irrigation schemes. These include: the USD76.7 million Farm Income Enhancement and Forestry Conservation Project (FIEFCP); and, the Ministry of Water and Environment's rehabilitation of the Olweny Irrigation Scheme in Lira district, which targets rice cultivation. Apart from Olweny, other rice schemes rehabilitated under the FIEFCP project include Agoro (Lamwo) and Doho (Butaleja).

In addition, as part of the wider "water for production" programme in the region, the Government has set up small demonstration schemes or valley tanks (with storage capacity of 10,000m³) in order to deal with drought conditions. Within the PRDP region, pilot drip demonstration plots have been established by the Office of the

Prime Minister (OPM) in the districts of Napaak, Kaabong, Kole and Otuke, targeting vegetable cultivation. Furthermore, the construction of valley dams has featured prominently within large-scale programmes such as NUSAF II, KALIP and ALREP.

5.1.5 Support to agricultural groups

Given the importance of agriculture in the livelihoods of households in the PRDP region, the Farmer Field School (FFS) approach has been widely used. Under the FFS, groups of people (usually 25-30 persons) with a common interest meet regularly during the agricultural season or enterprise cycle (12-18 months) under the guidance of a skilled facilitator. The group focuses on particular issues relating to agronomy and animal husbandry with possible demonstrations on the farmer fields. The approach involves enrichment of agricultural skills, provision of agricultural inputs, and the promotion of community savings and loans schemes. The approach was pioneered by FAO, but has been widely adopted to support livelihood programmes in the region. For instance, under KALIP, at least 440 agro-pastoral field schools, comprising of 13,500 farmers were supported and the finance for this amounted to 17 percent of the €15 million programme budget.

5.2 THE PROCESS OF ACHIEVING JUSTICE, PEACE AND SOCIAL RECONCILIATION

Experience worldwide demonstrates that violent conflict is harmful to sustainable human development. A protracted war within a country heightens the division of its society, with the ensuing splits impeding efforts towards nation building and sociocultural integration.¹¹⁸ On the other hand, security matters to the poor and other vulnerable groups, especially women and children, because bad policing, weak justice and penal systems, and corrupt militaries—which characterize conflict environments—mean that they suffer disproportionately from crime, insecurity and fear. Women everywhere experience vulnerability in personal security; violence infringes on their rights; and feelings of personal insecurity restrict their activities in both public and private life. Expanding freedoms and human security, then, is also about

supporting measures that bring about changes in institutions and norms that reduce interpersonal violence and discrimination. Improvements in personal security can have a profound impact on both the actual and perceived vulnerability of individuals and communities, and on their sense of security, empowerment and agency.¹¹⁹

The Joseph Kony's Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) armed conflict in the PRDP region and the cattle rustling by the Karimojong in Acholi, Lango and Teso have been the most destructive in Uganda's history. More than 1.8 million people were forced into IDP camps throughout northern Uganda – including parts of West Nile and eastern Uganda as a result of the LRA conflict- for more than two decades. Women and young girls were abducted and taken as wives and sex slaves for the LRA commanders. Some of the serious crimes widely documented include murders, abductions, forced marriage, sexual assault and horrific mutilations, such as limb amputation and the cutting off of ears, noses and lips.¹²⁰ In Karamoja, inter-clan and inter-tribal armed cattle raids also resulted in insecurity, death and low development, much like in the aforementioned war areas.¹²¹

In the aftermath of conflict, societies often engage in a number of actions to respond to past violations. These mechanisms take the forms of prosecution, truth commissions, reparation schemes, traditional justice and institutional building. These are aimed at accountability for the violations suffered and reconciliation within communities. In the aftermath of the conflict in northern Uganda, many NGOs and UN agencies provided support to the war-affected communities. This section discusses the process of achieving justice, peace and social reconciliation in the PRDP region. The various methods involved a number of stakeholders, including NGOs, development partners, and religious and cultural leaders.

5.2.1 Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration

When conflict comes to an end, those who directly took part in the fighting may have special livelihood, economic and psycho-social needs resulting from years of being engaged in armed violence.¹²² Failing to address the special requirements of ex-combatants may have long-

term consequences for sustainable development, compound the conditions for instability, and threaten what can sometimes be a fragile peace. Former soldiers may not have the skills or means to earn income as civilians, and the trauma of what they have witnessed might leave them vulnerable to psychological disorders.

Disaffected ex-combatants who are left without support networks may seek redress through crime or political violence. This happens especially when the underlying causes of the conflict (such as unemployment, inequity or poverty) still exist. Following the cessation of hostilities agreement between the GoU and the LRA, many young fighters were reintegrated into civilian lives. In the case of Acholi, there has been a pronounced effort by CSOs and cultural leaders to reintegrate the formally abducted youth into their communities.

Despite surrendering their guns to government authorities, some ex-combatants who were properly decommissioned have failed to reintegrate into civilian lives. For instance, most of demobilized young soldiers have remained jobless and spend their time roaming around town centres, having lost many opportunities due to the number of years spent in rebel captivity and/or encampment. Also, some of the settlement packages for ex-combatants have not been met.

For example, in the recent past, more than 5,000 former *Amuka* militia fighters from Lango who took part in battles against the LRA between 2004 and 2007 have demanded demobilization packages. The unpaid militia took the GoU to court in 2013 over the issue, but the State preferred to settle the dispute out of court. In West Nile, following the high expectations from the *Bidi Bidi* peace agreement, the economic situation of ex-combatants is gloomy. On the other hand, continued armed violence in the neighbouring South Sudan may attract some of the youth in the region (including ex-combatants) to join armed groups as a way of earning a living. Finally, some of the unemployed youth are involved in hazardous behaviour, including severe drug and alcohol abuse.

5.2.2 Transitional justice

Rejecting violence and propagating a culture of peace consists of values, attitudes and behaviours that tackle the root causes of violence, and seek to

solve problems through dialogue and negotiation among individuals, groups and nations.¹²³ In Africa, the concept of a culture of peace includes the integration of values, belief systems and forms of spirituality. They also include local knowledge, as well as traditions and forms of cultural expression that contribute to respect for human rights, cultural diversity, solidarity, as well as the rejection of violence, with a view to promoting the construction of democratic societies.¹²⁴

Transitional justice processes have been used to repair the relationships between state institutions and communities, as well as within communities. The rich body of traditional systems of law and justice in northern Uganda reflect the above principles of conflict management. They incorporate both punitive and curative elements, where the objective is to reintegrate the perpetrators into their communities, and reconcile them with their victims. This is done through a process of establishing the truth, confession, reparation, repentance and forgiveness.¹²⁵ Among

the Acholi, the principle of conflict resolution brings the confrontational sides together, through the mediation of elders, leading to the acceptance of responsibility and an indication of repentance.

The precursor for all these processes of societal recovery is initially acknowledgement of guilt or wrongdoing. This is followed by the offer of forgiveness, which opens the way for individual and collective healing. The Acholi traditional justice and reconciliation system is a reflection, and also an application of the growing concept of transitional justice (defined as counter-factual investigations into the past and the present, in order to determine the future). The unique standing of the Acholi traditional system is that the perpetrators of atrocities will remain in society even after a peace deal is reached. Settlement of the conflict entails a social future where both perpetrators and victims, and their respective families, live together. Box 5.1 illustrates some of the methods used to achieve reconciliation in Acholi society.¹²⁶

BOX 5.1: ACHOLI RITES OF RECONCILIATION – MATO OPUT

The Mato Oput process entails the principle of acknowledgement, tolerance, forgiveness and collective guilt where the parties to a conflict resolve their differences amicably. The process recognises and seeks to salvage and affirm the dignity of all those involved—victims, perpetrators and the community at large, for the purpose of reconciliation. Mato Oput advocates the severing of relationship between conflicting societies until a cleansing ceremony is performed. Some time lapse is allowed before conducting the cleansing ceremony to allow the victims to suppress their resentment and any remaining hatred towards the perpetrators. A goat and ram are slaughtered and exchanged to remind the perpetrators and the community in general that there is a price to be paid for violating agreed community norms. Therefore, Mato Oput embodies restorative as opposed to retributive justice.

Source: Ojera, Latigo James. 2008.

Gender aspects of peace building in the region

Recognizing that the achievement and maintenance of peace and security are a precondition for economic and social progress, women are increasingly establishing themselves as central actors in a variety of capacities in the movement of humanity for peace. Their full participation in decision-making, conflict prevention and resolution and all other peace initiatives is essential to the realization of lasting peace (Beijing Platform of Action, 1995, Paragraph 23).

In line with the above quotation, a study in Northern Uganda found that women are the best

peace builders and mediators.¹²⁷ This implies that more women than men should be facilitated, through training in mediation and peace building skills. It also makes a case for bringing women on board in mitigating armed conflict and, consequently, consolidating state authority, order and the rule of law; and to integrate women in the implementation of all PRDP programmes. During a Mid-Term Review of PRDP by the Women's Task Force, it was acknowledged that the Office of the Prime Minister was ready to include women on the PRDP governance structures, and also in various consultation processes.¹²⁸

The PRDP process benefitted from women and women's organizations in peace building,

conflict management, counselling, and trauma management, which in turn helped the women's voices and concerns to be taken into consideration during the peace processes. Individual women and women's organizations were involved in all stages of the peace and recovery processes in Northern Uganda, including being part of high-level negotiators in peace talks,¹²⁹ and significantly contributed to meaningful negotiations. Women participated as members of Peace Committees that were established to facilitate various levels of negotiation. The latter included involvement in and enforcement of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms by cultural leaders, particularly in Karamoja.¹³⁰

Although the GoU is acknowledged for its commitment to gender equality as a matter of principle and policy, a Midterm Review of PRDP found that there were only two (2) women among the twelve-member Government team of negotiators during the Juba peace talks of 2006. This represents the near absence of women from formal peace talks and agreements in northern Uganda. It was surprising that although women and women's groups and organizations have been working at the community level to build peace in Northern Uganda from the very beginning of the armed conflict, women were always left out when it came to high level peace negotiations.

Perhaps this exclusion of women from high level delegation meetings reflects the underlying gender discrimination in Uganda and the north across all development dimensions. Nevertheless, women have participated and contributed to peace building in the PRDP region. Women's role in peace building is understood by considering their political participation, economic empowerment, level of education, and social cultural beliefs.

Many women in Northern Uganda have benefited from the training programmes and empowerment schemes provided by NGOs and development agencies, while others became involved in community peace building initiatives in IDP camps. The trainings programmes and economic opportunities positioned them for increased mobility, confidence building and economic power¹³¹ that has allowed them to engage more with improved livelihoods and promote peaceful

societies. Whereas women were traditionally confined to the domestic sphere, women's presence in the public sphere has increased, allowing them to participate more in reorganising and reconstructing their communities.

In Lango, women have formed the Lango Female Clan Leaders Association (LFCLA) to enhance their participation in decision-making within the traditional systems, and influence development initiatives. The LFCLA has made tremendous inroads into making the male clan leaders mindful of women's needs in their decisions. The cultural leaders now appreciate gender issues, especially equality, as good for their societies. It should be noted that this appreciation may take time to influence changes in gender relations, because the clan system is essentially patriarchal and remains strong and influential in most PRDP sub-regions.

5.2.3 "Peace Rings" and the NUERP initiative

Since the cessation of hostility agreement between the GoU and the LRA in 2006, the entire PRDP region has experienced relative peace, and the people have moved back to their homes, albeit in the midst of various socio-economic challenges. The Northern Uganda Early Recovery Program (NUERP) was conceived with the idea of contributing towards early recovery in Lango, where support to returning communities had been minimal. The project, which was implemented from July 2009 to November 2012, paid particular attention to the special needs of vulnerable members of the community, especially women, children and the youth. The project was jointly implemented by three UN agencies: the UNDP, the World Health Organization (WHO) and the WFP, with a grant of USD3.8 million from the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 90 percent of it granted by the Government of Japan.

The main aim of the project was to support the rapid, self-sustainable recovery of the conflict-affected communities, through an integrated service delivery and community-based recovery approach. The project was implemented in the districts of Lira, Oyam, Alebtong and Otuke. The purpose of the project was to give the war-affected communities a fresh start in life, by working together with a number of implementing partners,

such as World Vision, the FAO, International Life Line Fund, Sasakawa Global 2000, ACTED, the Ministry of Health (MoH), and the local governments in each of the four districts.¹³² Since 2009, many positive changes have been registered in the peoples' lives, including improved farming methods and food

security; a culture of saving through the Village Savings and Loan Associations (VSLAs); a keen interest in maintaining peace through peace rings (see Box 5.2); and increased awareness of the need to take care of both their health and the health of their environment.

BOX 5.2: USING 'PEACE RINGS' TO CURB DOMESTIC CONFLICTS AND IMPROVE LIVELIHOODS

*"UNDP working in partnership with World Vision introduced the Peace Rings strategy which has provided appropriate solutions to land wrangles and domestic violence at village levels. The Peace Rings link with the Police and Local Councils for complicated cases. The project was started primarily to address the needs of the formerly displaced people, to enable a transition from the emergency phase to the development phase in Lango. With the end of the LRA's insurgency in that area in 2006, many families returned home and were faced with disputes over land and property. Peace Ring members trained to settle land and domestic disputes and to reach out to families with such challenges. To facilitate their work, UNDP donated one bicycle for each of the 480 Peace Ring members from all the 16 sub-counties to facilitate their mobility in the communities. They were also given kits to record and document all the peace activities they undertake. The Peace Ring members were also conduits for the dissemination of vital information to discourage harmful practices in the community such as acts which victimize girl children e.g. forced marriages in exchange for a few heads of cattle. Between 2009 and 2012, the programme resolved 2,288 community conflicts through a 1,090-strong network of Peace Ring leaders."*¹³³

Source: Robert Esuruku, 2015

5.2.4 Role played by religious institutions

Religious institutions played a major part in ending the conflict in Northern Uganda and the Acholi Religious Leader Peace Initiative (ARLPI) stands out as an organization that had a positive impact on the lives of the internally displaced persons (IDPs). Formed in 1998, the ARLPI is a forum that brings together the Christian and Muslim leaders of Acholi. ARLPI played a significant role in creating a bridge between the government and the LRA rebels, acting as a platform for advocating an end to the conflict in the region. Although the ARLPI never specifically played the role of mediator, it made sure that the two sides remained in contact. To date, the ARLPI regards its role as a bridge that built trust and confidence on both sides, as well as put pressure on the rebels and the government to hold peace talks. As a result of being a bridge, ARLPI, in a number of instances, was authorized to convey one fighting faction's message to the other.

During the conflict, ARLPI lived up to the common Acholi saying, *"Religious leaders don't bend, they are always straight,"* referring to the impartiality and integrity of the religious leaders in the region.¹³⁴ For instance, they opposed the LRA for their continued violence on the population and, in the same

manner, opposed the government for their failure to respond appropriately through dialogue or otherwise to bring peace to the civilian population. Furthermore, ARLPI played a significant role in the formulation of the Amnesty Law in 2000, and helped ensure its relevance and appropriateness to the local Acholi situation. This law came into force in January 2002. They also went an extra mile through propagation of the amnesty provisions to the LRA through local radio stations.

It was the implementation of the amnesty law that led to the return of hundreds of abducted children to their communities. Finally, ARLPI also engaged in peace education to achieve its goal of a peaceful society at the grassroots. They did this through training the local communities and working with cultural leaders. Their training focused on negotiation, mediation and reconciliation processes. The peace education is done through an inclusive approach, where stakeholders are involved in peace activities, such as training programmes and community sensitisation workshops, in order to reinforce peace ideas among the community. This has created peace structures in northern Uganda, and a culture of peace which includes forgiveness, tolerance and reconciliation.

5.3 POLICY ACTIONS TO ADDRESS THE INEQUALITIES AND VULNERABILITIES

There are several government programmes and interventions aimed at addressing vulnerabilities in the PRDP region. There are many actors (both State and non-state) focusing on different aspects of human vulnerabilities. This section discusses some of the main targets of focus for these interventions.

5.3.1 Orphans

The vulnerability of orphans is mainly addressed through the Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme. Research shows that the rate of primary school enrolment in Uganda is the same for all children regardless of parental death.¹³⁵ It is only at the secondary school level that orphan status is noted, with children who have lost both parents demonstrating a net enrolment rate (NER) of 12.6 percent, compared to 15.3 percent for children with both parents alive. Orphans in Uganda are also targeted through a cash transfers scheme via the Vulnerable Family Grants (VGS) component of the Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment (SAGE) scheme. Children are targeted directly, based on the demographic characteristics of the households, including the disability and orphan status of household members. The SAGE facility is currently benefiting 221,000 children across the country.¹³⁶ A recent study has found no strong indications that SAGE money is being specifically used for orphan support; instead the money is used to support the wider household.¹³⁷

Other than the policies of the GoU, development partners and civil society organizations (CSOs) have supported programmes aimed at improving the quality of life of children in the PRDP region. Such

programmes target vulnerable children, including orphans. The programmes include: psycho-social assistance (supported by World Vision, TPO, Invisible Children, and GUSCO); vulnerable households livelihoods support (supported by USAID, World Vision, Concern Worldwide, GOAL, ACORD, CARE, and Save the Children); health and education (including school feeding programmes); support to children (funded by UNICEF, WFP, World Vision, Uganda Red Cross Society, and GOAL). Even though support for intervention programmes by CSOs and development partners is a welcome relief, district and sub-county local government capacity to coordinate and monitor their implementation is limited by inadequate funding, few skilled staff and other logistical constraints (such as transport to effectively cover areas under their jurisdiction).

5.3.2 The Elderly

The vulnerabilities of the elderly in Uganda are partly addressed by the Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment (SAGE) scheme, a pilot social transfer programme which operates in 14 of the poorest districts of Uganda. Ten of these 14 districts are in the PRDP region and 5 of the said 10 districts are in Karamoja.¹³⁸ This is a non-contributory, targeted, conditional cash transfer scheme, targeting 95,000 chronically poor households with a population 600,000 individuals. Beneficiaries of the scheme receive an unconditional monthly grant of US\$25,000 (approximately USD8). The elderly are targeted through the Senior Citizens Grant (SCG). The latter is meant for only persons aged 65 years and above, but because of the uniqueness of human vulnerability in Karamoja, the SAGE decided to lower the minimum age of eligibility there to 60 years (see also Box 5.3).

BOX 5.3: GoU DIRECT INCOME SUPPORT FOR VULNERABLE FAMILIES AND ELDERLY PERSONS UNDER SAGE

The SAGE presently in a pilot phase, targets to reach 15 percent of around 600,000 people in about 95,000 households in 14 districts over a four-year period between April 2011 and February 2015. The 14 districts are: Apac, Kaberamaido, Katakwi, Kiboga, Kyenjojo, Moroto, Nakapiripirit, Nebbi, plus the newly created districts of Zombo, Kole, Napak, Amudat, Kyegegwa and Kyankwanzi. Nearly 162,000 and 99,000 children are in households that directly benefit from the Vulnerable Family Grant and Senior Citizens Grant of the SAGE programme respectively. In FY2013/14, Government more than tripled its contribution to the SAGE programme that is now present in 15 pilot districts, from US\$635.9 million in FY2012/13 to 2.6 billion in FY2013/14 while Development Partners increased their contribution from 9.3 million Pound Sterling to 15.4 million Pound Sterling over the same period, (MoFPED, 2014a: 92-3)

Beneficiaries are vulnerable families (for the Vulnerable Family Support Grant (VFSG) and persons aged 65 years and above (60 for Karamoja)-the Senior Citizens Grant (SCG). The transfer is currently worth US\$25,000 per month and is paid bi-monthly. This amount represents a slight increase on the original value of the transfer when it was set in 2011 (US\$23,000). The amount is reviewed and updated once a year. A mid-term survey of SAGE revealed that at midline (2013) the transfer value represented around 13% of total household consumption for beneficiary households (the same for both SCG and VFSG recipients respectively) and the vast majority of beneficiary households had received between 2-3 transfers, amounting to around US\$ 130,000 in total (Brook et al, 2014:2).

Although the full impact of the cash transfer is yet to be clearly discernible, Brook et al (2014) have reported that the cash transfer contributed to reduced vulnerability by enhancing access to reciprocal social support and risk-pooling networks. A mid-term evaluation of the SAGE conducted by Brook et al. (2014) revealed that beneficiaries used the cash transfer mainly to purchase food, school materials and pay for health care. However a small fraction invested the money in small businesses and buying livestock assets e.g., chicken, goats, pigs, and farm inputs like seeds, hoes, drugs for cattle, yet other used the money to repair or buy new fishnets. Some female beneficiaries invested in businesses like selling fish and cooked food, while other women invested in local savings groups (as social risk mitigation strategies). Some men used the money to build social capital and boost their status and self-esteem by sharing local brew and cooked snacks with other men. As a result, the elderly have gained acceptance to participate in community meetings.

The short-term, direct impact of rolling out the SCG nationally would be to reduce the poverty rate by 4 percentage points, but there may be even larger indirect and longer-term benefits. In the pilot districts, the grants are stimulating local businesses that are benefiting from increased demand for basic goods and services. The recipients are also using the grants to save, invest in productive assets, start businesses, hire labour and pay school fees – meaning that the benefits of the programme are likely to grow over time (MoFPED 2014b: 97).

Source: Based on information from Brook et al., (2014); MoFPED, (2014a, 2014b)

5.3.3 Formerly abducted persons

This category of the vulnerable is a complex one, partly because it is the only category of Uganda's vulnerable persons that is restricted to the PRDP region (see Chapter 3). Formerly abducted persons (FAPs) are people who returned home after escaping, being rescued, or voluntarily quitting the LRA (and were then pardoned under the GoU amnesty). While some of the FAPs served in combat role in the LRA, others were not in active military service. This latter group included girls and women who were 'married' by the LRA fighters. Abducted children were involved in fighting, carrying heavy luggage and serving as sex slaves to rebel commanders. In addition, some FAPs were born in captivity, and returned to an entirely 'new world', while others went into captivity as children and returned as adults (some as mothers).

Implementation of the Amnesty law led to the return of several hundred FAPs to their communities. However, some of these FAPs have found that their status as returnees, former abductees or ex-combatants has a negative impact on their ability to integrate with their communities. A study of youth perceptions in Acholi and Lango showed that the status of over 87 percent of FAPs was known to their neighbours, and that in many cases, this had resulted in their stigmatisation and scapegoating for crimes and breaches of community peace. Many youth noted that the perception of ex-combatants by their communities as being involved in crime is unjust.¹³⁹ Yet, attempts by the FAPs to defy social barriers are dismissively referred to as aggressive behaviour cultivated in the bush, instead of being evaluated on their merit as reasonable or legitimate complaints.¹⁴⁰

The process of reintegration of FAPs has been challenging especially for women. Female FAPs seem to be the most affected especially those with children. Women who returned with children are least likely to go back to school.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, female ex-combatants in the Acholi area have experienced acute marginalization in relation to land access and reintegration. In addition, former abductees were more likely to engage in risky sexual behaviour and are highly vulnerable to HIV.¹⁴²

In the case of Acholi, there has been a lot of effort by CSOs and cultural leaders to reintegrate the formally abducted youth into their communities. However, most of them have remained jobless and roam about the town centres, having lost many opportunities as a result of the number of years spent without schooling, in rebel captivity and/or encampment. One of the questions frequently asked is about the paternity of male children born into rebel captivity, with regard to their rights to land.

These children are regarded as not having any cultural citizenship, and viewed as alien to Acholi community, making them to have no identity.¹⁴³ While the disarmament and demobilisation components of the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) process are relatively straightforward, the socioeconomic reintegration of the formerly abducted and conscripted persons has proved to be far more complex. Indeed, the continued presence of unemployed, FAPs poses a threat to security, both at the community and national levels, and can, thereby, jeopardise all other efforts at economic recovery, as well as peace building.

5.4 ADDRESSING GENDER INEQUALITY

The LRA war in northern Uganda exacerbated the already existing gender inequalities in the PRDP region in respect to access to education and health, political participation, and decision making, and increased SGBV, especially among women and girls (see Section 2.1.3). However, since the cessation of hostilities in 2006, efforts have been made by both the State and non-state actors to give hope to and support women and girls to recover from the war and rebuild their lives for sustainable livelihoods.

If well implemented, the existing laws, policies, plans and strategies by the GoU would provide an opportunity for women and girls in the region to live dignified lives and move forward to sustainable recovery.

These efforts, however, require more commitment from stakeholders (including the State), in terms of funding, the creation of an effective implementation framework, and leadership. In addition, several programmes have been initiated by non-state actors to help women and girls engage in various development activities, in order to overcome the effects of war on their lives. This following subsection reviews available frameworks and other initiatives and programmes for building resilience among women and girls in the PRDP region, and identifies related gaps and way forward to promote sustainable livelihoods.

5.4.1 Legal and policy framework

Uganda is party to various international instruments and programmes that promote gender equality, women's empowerment and human rights. These include: the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW); the Beijing Platform for Action (1995); the Declaration on Elimination of Violence Against Women;¹⁴⁴ the UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820. These have inform Uganda's legal and policy framework that is aimed at protecting the rights of women and girls in all regions of the country, including the PRDP region.

At the African and regional levels, Uganda is also a signatory to several protocols, declarations, treaties and conventions, which commit her to address violations of human rights. These include: the Gender Policy and Strategy (July 2004) and Gender Policy (May 2002); the Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa (July 2003); the AU Heads of State Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality (July 2004); The Protocol of the African Charter on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003); the Protocol on the Prevention and Suppression of Sexual Violence against Women and Children in the Great Lakes Region (November 2006); the Goma Declaration on Eradicating Sexual Violence and Ending Impunity in the Great Lakes Region (2008); the International Conference on Great Lakes Region Protocol (ICGLR,

2006 and 2011) and the Kampala Declaration on Ending Impunity (2003).

At the national level, a number of laws, policies and plans have been formulated to redress gender inequalities in the country, to enable women and girls, men and boys live dignified and better lives. These are summarized as shown in Table 5.1. There are also supportive State institutions that coordinate the promotion and protection of human rights. These include the Parliament; the Inspectorate General of Government; the

National Human Rights Commission, and the Equal Opportunities Commission; the Supreme Court; the Court of Appeal as well as the JLOS. Uganda has a wide range of CSOs working on human rights issues, as well as ministries such as the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MoGLSD), Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs and Ministry of Local Government, which are entrusted with the implementation of policies geared at improving the well-being of all Ugandans, men and boys, and women and girls alike.

TABLE 5.1: POLICY AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS TOWARDS GENDER EQUALITY IN UGANDA RELEVANT TO THE PRDP REGION

Interventions	Focus on Gender	Relevance to PRDP
National Policies, Plans and Strategies		
Vision 2040	Identifies the promotion of gender and human rights as an important dimension of equity. It is committed to mainstreaming gender and human rights as a core part of the planning process.	Applies to women and girls, men and boys in all regions of Uganda including the PRDP region.
The National Development Plan (NDP) 2010/11-2014/15	The NDP explicitly recognizes gender equality as a prerequisite for national development and proposes mainstreaming gender across all sectors of development.	Applies to women and girls, men and boys in all regions of Uganda including the PRDP region.
National Gender Policy (2007)	Provides an overall gender responsive development planning framework at the national level. The policy aims at achieving gender equality and women's empowerment as an integral part of Uganda's socio-economic development and poverty eradication.	Applies to women and girls, men and boys in all regions of Uganda including the PRDP region.
The National Equal Opportunities Policy (2006)	Provides avenues where individuals and groups' potentials are put to maximum use by availing equal opportunities and affirmative action.	Applies to women and girls, men and boys in all regions of Uganda including the PRDP region.
The National Action Plan on Women (2007)	Supports implementation of the 2007 National Gender Policy. Its strategic objectives include elimination of socio cultural practices that endanger the health of women; sensitization of communities about the importance of girls' education; and initiation of educational programmes on positive and negative social cultural practices	Applies to women and girls in all regions of Uganda including the PRDP region. This mandates duty bearers to protect women from discriminative laws, cultural norms and practices.
National Action Plan for UNSCR 1325 & 1820 and the Goma Declaration in Uganda	Based on the UNSCR 1325 which seeks to expand the role and contribution of women in UN field-based operations and makes a special call to all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender based violence in armed conflict.	Applies to women and girls in all conflict areas in Uganda including the PRDP region. <i>In particular these resolutions are relevant in the war situations where women and girls are targeted with rape and other sexual assaults as weapons of war.</i>

	<p>The resolution emphasizes the responsibility of the State to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls.</p> <p>Based on the UNSCR 1820 which re-emphasizes the UN commitment in the Beijing Platform for Action, whereby rape and other forms of sexual violence in the conduct of armed conflict are considered as war crimes constituting into crimes against humanity and acts of genocide.</p> <p>The UNSCR 1820 demands parties involved in armed conflict to immediately take appropriate measures to protect civilians, including women and girls from all forms of sexual violence, which could include, inter alia, enforcing appropriate military disciplinary measures and upholding the principle of command responsibility, training troops on the categorical prohibition of all forms of sexual violence against civilians, demystifying the myths that fuel sexual violence, vetting armed and security forces to take into account any past actions of rape and other forms of sexual violence by individuals, and the evacuation of women and children</p>	
National Strategy for Girls Education (2014)	Promotes girls' education as an integral part of efforts to create gender equity, and equality in the education system in Uganda	Applies to girls in all regions of Uganda including the PRDP region <i>but needs effective implementation.</i>
The Roadmap for Accelerating the Reduction of Maternal and Neonatal Mortality and Morbidity in Uganda (2007 – 2015)	To accelerate the reduction of maternal and neonatal morbidity and mortality in Uganda	Applies to women and new born infants in all regions of Uganda including the PRDP region
National Laws		
The National Constitution (1995)	Provides a national framework for the protection of human rights including women's rights. It prohibits discrimination against women and promotes women's rights as equal partners with men in national development.	Applies to women and girls, men and boys in all regions of Uganda. <i>However, it needs to be enforced for equitable development in all societies including the PRDP region.</i>
The Domestic Violence Act (2010)	Provides for the protection and relief of victims of domestic violence; provides for the punishment of perpetrators of domestic violence; provides for the procedure and guidelines to be followed by the court in relation to the protection and compensation of victims of domestic violence; provides for the jurisdiction of court; provides for the enforcement of orders made by the court; empowers the family and children court to handle cases of domestic violence and for related matters.	Applies to women and girls, men and boys in all regions of Uganda. <i>Its effective implementation is likely to reduce the prevalence of SGBV that remains rampant in the PRDP region.</i>

The Education Act 13 (Pre-Primary, Primary and Post-Primary) (2008)	Supports access to education for all and guarantees free Primary and Post-Primary school education.	Applies to girls and boys in all regions of Uganda including the PRDP region. <i>Special measures need to be put in place to get girls and boys in school but also address the gender related weaknesses in accessing free quality public education.</i>
The Land Act Cap 227 (2000)	Provides a basis for the nullification of all customary practices that undermine the rights of women, children and persons with disability on land. Creates equitable distribution of land as a resource and nullifies all those land transactions that are discriminatory against marginalized groups and violate Articles 33, 34 and 35 of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995.	Applies to women and girls, men and boys in all regions of Uganda including the PRDP region. <i>Mandates the Clan and Cultural leaders in the PRDP region to intervene in the increasing land grabbing by in-laws after the death of one's spouse which particularly affects widows and children.</i>
The Penal Code Act, Cap 120	Prohibits sexual violation such as rape, defilement and assault.	Applies to women and girls, men and boys in all regions of Uganda including the PRDP region. <i>There is weak implementation which needs to improve.</i>
The National Women's Council Act (Cap 318) (2010)	Provides for establishment of National Women Council mandated to unite women and position them for national development.	Applies to women in all regions of Uganda including the PRDP region. <i>The body should take on the specific problems of women in the PRDP region and guide them towards sustainable development.</i>
The Employment Act (2006)	Protects workers against sexual harassment and all forms of exploitation at the work place	Applies to women and girls, men and boys in all regions of Uganda including the PRDP region <i>There is need for commitment in implementation of the law in the PRDP region.</i>

Source: Compiled from various documents, 2015

UNDP 2014 highlights that failure to protect people against vulnerability is partly linked to inadequate policies. The information in Table 5.1, demonstrates GoU commitment to promoting gender equality and safeguarding the rights and dignity of women and girls, translating the legal and policy provisions into substantial reality for girls and women. However, challenges do remain. This is because of the strong patriarchal mind-sets, weak political will, corruption, poverty and strong social norms. The mindset perpetuate gender inequality in all regions of the country. While it is a national

challenge, women and girls in the PRDP region are more affected.

There are no specific laws and policies focused on addressing gender-specific challenges of the post-conflict PRDP region. This vacuum increases the vulnerability of women and girls in the region. The existing legal and policy framework, however, provides an opportunity for women and girls in the region to claim their rights towards living better lives, free from violence, deprivation and marginalization, and able to access opportunities for sustainable livelihoods.

The PRDP needs special bylaws in education, health, and SGBV. Bylaws towards increased political participation for women can also be enacted, such as lowering the educational requirement for women entering elective political offices in the PRDP region. Special policies can also be initiated to cater for the needs of women and girls in the PRDP region in accessing education, health and political space. For instance, in addition to the national affirmative action policy for girls' education, a special policy for girls in the PRDP region can be formulated, to cater for their increased enrolment at the post-primary and post-secondary school levels.

5.4.2 Programmes in the PRDP region

The GoU, in partnership with development partners, initiated the PRDP development framework,

aimed at stabilizing the PRDP region, in order to consolidate peace and promote its recovery and development. While the plan is promising for the region, PRDP I and II were gender-blind in design. They did not consider the different needs of men and women, girls and boys and how they would benefit from the PRDP programmes. Although the most recently approved phase, PRDP III, has gender components, especially targeting SGBV and gender equity and inclusion, it is not comprehensively engendered. This limits positive gender outcomes. Other than the PRDP framework, several non-state actors in partnership with the GoU, have contributed to the promotion of gender needs in the PRDP region. This is summarized in Table 5.2.

TABLE 5.2: KEY ACTORS IN THE PRDP WITH PROGRAMMES SPECIFIC TO GENDER EQUALITY

Actors	Area of focus
Care international	Education, VSLAs, women's economic empowerment, promoting gender equality in communities
FIDA-U	Legal aid support and reforming and enactment of the laws and policies relevant for PRDP women and girls
FINCA	Livelihoods: Agriculture/food and business support by offering small loans
FOWODE	Capacity building for women's leadership and political participation within the democratic governance framework
WORUDET	Sensitization/awareness on women's rights especially sexual and gender based violence and economic empowerment
ACFODE	Women's political and economic training, sensitization/awareness on women's rights to political and economic participation
Action Aid	Reducing sexual and gender based violence, girl child education
Isis- WICCE	Research and knowledge generation on women's experiences in conflict situation
Oxfam International	Water and sanitation, agricultural development and support towards reducing sexual and gender based violence
Pathfinder/GREAT	Adolescent sexual and reproductive health and decreasing gender based violence, research towards gender norms and gender based violence
UNFPA, World Vision	Water, health and sanitation, education for the needy girl children
UNICEF	Education, reproductive health, water and sanitation
Plan International	Health
Other Development partners: UNDP, DFID, IrishAid and USAID	Technical and financial support to state and non-state actors

Source: Compilation based on various reports, 2015

The support provided by the non-state actors creates opportunities for accessing education, health, economic resources and skills as well as political empowerment. Despite these interventions, the situation of women and girls in the PRDP region remains worse, compared to women and girls in other regions of the country. However, without the support of these NGOs, the situation of women and girls in the region would be much worse. Given that the NGOs operate under the project framework, where programmes are time and resource bound, the sustainability of the benefits is not guaranteed. Under these circumstances, women and girls in the PRDP region will remain vulnerable unless more sustainable programmes are initiated. The GoU should take over such programmes at the end of their respective project cycles, to enhance sustainable development in the region.

5.4.3 Women's individual initiatives

Collective power: Women in the PRDP have taken advantage of Government programmes by forming groups and associations that give them the power to stand firm. For example, when women come together as groups, they easily access agricultural inputs and implements. The power of women's collective actions has also attracted various actors to support women's initiatives, in an attempt to improve their quality of life. For instance, UNICEF supports girls' education and women teachers, and WHO has made efforts to improve support for victims of GBV, and women's access to reproductive health services. All these have been made easier because women's groups attract attention.

Development agencies, NGOs and the government have urged women in Northern Uganda to form groups, as a pre-condition for accessing services, loans, farm inputs and grants. The ideology of "collectivisation" is a recognised tool of mainstream development in the region. The power of collectiveness has attracted a number of development partners to continue to target women with agricultural inputs and related support in the early-recovery period. These include FAO, USAID, AVSI, ACIDI/VOCA and ACTED.¹⁴⁵

Despite the internal and external challenges of women groups, such as the demands for paperwork, requiring women to provide information on a group's formation, as a condition for qualify for

group assistance, women's collective groups remain one of the strongest strategies that will enable women to have socioeconomic resilience, as they struggle to enjoy dignified lives.

Hard work: Women in the PRDP region are working hard. This has enabled them to make significant gains in earnings, compared to the pre-war period. Although their hard work is not rewarded in equal measure, they have been able to choose the most appropriate activities and tend to achieve big gains with limited options. For example, women in the PRDP region are benefitting from VSLAs, which project initiative men shun as being too smalls. Interventions targeting gender equality and improving the lives of women and girls should strengthen the VSLAs in collaboration.

On the one hand, women's hard work could be attributed to collapsing/negative masculinities. Traditional masculine identity in Acholi and Lango cultures depended on men's ability to protect, provide for and control their families, a cultural norm that was severely destabilized by the conflict. Disarmament in Karamoja left most men powerless in terms of their ability to rustle cattle and increase their cattle stocks. As such, women's perception of men changed, which destabilized the gender relations.

At the same time, the war and conflicts rather increased women's influence in the household and community, and somehow emasculated men, in terms of their positive and strong masculine identities. Some men (if not the majority) react negatively to women's increased economic power and visibility. Violence is apparently a means for men to re-assert themselves at this time of great social change and personal disempowerment. The above situation compounds women's productive roles without reducing their reproductive roles. The women in the PRDP region use hard work as a strategy to negotiate the double burden, but also as a survival mechanism for better lives.

Keeping peace: In the PRDP region, the socio-norms, beliefs and practices have remained strong as anti-gender equality ideologies. The clan systems in the region favour male dominance and women's subordination, which affects mostly their access to political participation and decision making. Women in the PRDP region have chosen to remain silent about their political convictions or the

dissatisfactions they hold against unequal gender relations in order to keep peace. While this is not the best option, it is likely to enable women to reflect, plan and mobilize themselves at an opportune time. Interventions targeting empowerment of women should encourage women to break the culture of silence that perpetuates gender inequality.

5.5 STRENGTHENING LOCAL GOVERNANCE TO REDUCE INEQUALITIES AND VULNERABILITIES

Increased participation of women in local governments in Uganda has been found to influence local governance processes, legislation, policies, institutions and public reforms that are likely to reduce gender inequalities.¹⁴⁶ The local government structures, such as chief administrative officers (CAOs) and resident district commissioners (RDCs), are key positions substantively available to mobilize different stakeholders to improve the situation of women and girls at the district level. In particular, the CAOs play the role of implementing Government policy on the empowerment of women and children, the coordination of Government interventions and the utilisation of local revenues.

These can facilitate programmes geared at responding to GBV, and for networking, to create alliance with CSOs that work towards gender equality and women's empowerment. In addition, they are in position to enforce the laws and apprehend perpetrators of acts that violate women's rights. Women CSOs should, therefore, work hand in hand with these institutions, to improve the situation of women and girls in the PRDP region. To reduce gender inequalities requires local leaders to create synergies between cultural institutions, government and development partners, particularly in Acholi, Lango and Karamoja, where clan leaders wield enormous power in the community.

While there are several laws, policies and plans (see Table 5.1), they are all silent or gender-neutral about the specific gender needs of the PRDP region. There is need for the local governments in the region to come up with by-laws on education and health in order to keep girls in school and, in

turn reduce the cases of early pregnancy and early marriages. In Agago district, the LC III enacted by-laws on education. For example, a teacher who impregnates a pupil risks the cancellation of his teaching certificate. In addition, targeted policies can also be initiated to cater for the needs of women and girls in the PRDP region, in accessing education, health and political space.

For instance, in addition to the national affirmative action policy for girls' education, a more targeted policy for girls in the PRDP region can be formulated to cater for their increased enrolment beyond primary education level. Regarding political participation, by-laws can be enacted towards increased political participation for women local councillors (for example, by lowering education requirements for women contesting for elective political offices) in the PRDP region. These by-laws and targeted policies can also help to redress the gender inequalities caused by the effects of war, poverty and social norms and practices.

There are many non-state actors in the PRDP region that often duplicate roles and efforts towards gender equality and improving the situation of women and girls. Such interventions would benefit women and girls better if they were well coordinated through NGOs consortiums, in order to tackle problems together to avoid duplication.

5.6 CONCLUSIONS

There are great potentials in the labour, economic, social, political, and natural resources which are locked up in the PRDP region, despite the increased interventions by the government and non-state actors. While the legal and policy environment creates opportunities for men and women to jumpstart economic and political recovery in an equitable manner, there are still geographical, gender and other inequalities that hold back the PRDP region. Therefore, the roadmap for unlocking these potentials requires individuals and groups to resiliently embark on gainful activities, change their mind-sets and focus on attaining and promoting sustainable livelihoods.

State and non-state actors in the PRDP region should identify and support existing and/or facilitate formation of VSLAs, women farmers associations

and groups, collective marketing of farm produce and group businesses in the region where they do not exist. Women in the PRDP region are already organising themselves, but they can improve if given support to strengthen their potentials, in the pursuit of improving their livelihoods, through improved agricultural productivity and investment in small and medium scale businesses. Notably, gender equality and women's empowerment (improving women's situation) requires a concerted effort. The central and local governments, development partners, cultural, traditional, clan and religious leaders, communities, individual men, women, boys and girls must ideologically agree to bring about gender equality and improve the situation of women and girls.

CHAPTER 6:
**UNLOCKING THE ECONOMIC
POTENTIAL**

CHAPTER 6: UNLOCKING THE ECONOMIC POTENTIAL

This chapter highlights the obstacles to economic transformation in the PRDP region, and what needs to be done to unlock the region's development potential. It is argued that the delivery of human development will neither be substantial nor sustainable unless the developmental obstacles in the PRDP region are uprooted. It is also argued that the private sector-led development model is inconsistent with the predominantly embryonic micro and small enterprises that obtain in the region. Accordingly, it calls for the resurrection of State guidance for the development process in the region until the private sector becomes viable. More importantly, the chapter focuses on the human development perspective and outlines what needs to be done to uproot the obstacles that constrain inclusive growth and human development and structural transformation in the PRDP region.

6.1 LINKING THE GOAL OF UNLOCKING ECONOMIC POTENTIAL TO UNLOCKING HUMAN DEVELOPMENT POTENTIAL

The discourse on unlocking the economic potential of the PRDP region matters precisely because it asks hard questions on post-conflict wealth creation. For example, in what ways can the region uproot the critical bottlenecks to development (such as the dysfunctional infrastructure e.g. road, trade facilities etc.)? And as a corollary, what needs to be done (differently) to ensure a transition from a pedestrian, commodity-driven recovery process to deliberate, structural, socio-economic transformation?

The chapter applies to the PRDP region one dominant notion of post-conflict research – that is, restarting the engines of growth. It examines the abundant development opportunities, and the 'unique' challenges associated with unlocking the economic potential of the PRDP region, using the UNDP-inspired lens of human development. The underlying premise is that development is not just

about improvements in infrastructure, important as they are. Nor is it about economic growth per se. Development is fundamentally about people and their wellbeing.¹⁴⁷

With this paradigm in view, this chapter takes as important the critical issue of human development, even though the focus is on unlocking the economic potential of the PRDP region. The obstacles that lock up the development potential of the PRDP region are multidimensional. They include: the unresolved land question; low productivity of rain-fed agriculture; fragile or flawed linkages between agricultural activities (e.g. sugarcane growing) and high value-added industrial activities (such as the manufacture of bio-diesel and fuel ethanol from sugar); the question of the mineral and tourism potential; the low level of human capital development; and, gender, as a cross cutting issue.

Uganda's first National Development Plan (NDP) identifies infrastructure deficits (in roads, railways, energy and ICTs) as *binding constraints* to wealth creation, national development and socio-economic transformation. While credible improvements have taken place (for example, in road construction), substantial obstacles still persist. For instance, key stakeholders in the PRDP region report a substantially higher level of electric power outages than the Rest of the Country (RoC), suggesting that manufacturing enterprises and other business firms find it costly to operate in the north.

While infrastructure deficits are crucial, they are not the only binding constraints that 'lock up' life chances and/or block human development. The structure of the economy is also important. Specifically, an agrarian economy of the type operating in the PRDP region locks up development opportunities in the region. Such an economy is an obstacle to human development and capability enhancement. For example, the agriculture system does not use science and technology to water or fertilise the soils. Besides, the production system is subject to the vagaries of the unreliable weather.

The agrarian economic actors in the PRDP region and in the RoC are predominantly peasant farmers, who fight pests and diseases without the relevant scientific knowledge or modern technology. They are characterized by low use of transformative technologies such as fertilizers. These defects result in low farm productivity, limited surplus for sale, cosmetic value-addition, low incomes, and limited levels of human development.

Human capital development is another critical variable constraining the development of the PRDP region. Hitherto viewed as a *consumptive* sector (and therefore treated as secondary to the supposedly 'productive' sectors), human capital development has gained recognition along Uganda's planned growth and transformation path.¹⁴⁸ According to the NDP II, 'one of the major handicaps to Uganda's social and economic transformation is the inadequacy of its human development. There is, therefore, an urgent need for concerted and strategic investment in the country's human resource to turn it into the much-needed human capital to drive the planned growth and transformation'.¹⁴⁹

Uganda's official development viewpoint, which is reflected in the country's planning documents such as NDP II, reflect the decades-old philosophy of human development. Armed with the human development perspective, unlocking the economic potential of the PRDP region is more than conventional economic growth, however impressive the growth rates. It is more than a mere quantitative expansion of infrastructure, agriculture, industry and the service-sector.

The unlocking of development chances is fundamentally 'about creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential, and lead productive and creative lives' in line with their assets, aspirations and capabilities'.¹⁵⁰ Thus, the success of Government and other stakeholders in unlocking the economic potential of the PRDP region will be gauged, not just in terms of how much economic growth is attained, but in terms of human development. This means an assessment of the extent to which the resultant growth has led to substantial improvements in the well-being of the people, irrespective of social class, ethnicity, religious affiliation or political ideology. It follows,

therefore, that unlocking the economic potential of the PRDP region calls for a paradigm shift. It calls for applying a theory of change characterized by a fundamental shift from "business-as-usual" to "business as unusual" – a smarter transformative approach to human development.

The theory under consideration here shifts policy attention from the conventional small-steps-improvements (that is, incrementalism) to a transformative, big-steps-improvements approach. This theory has been tested, tried, and trusted in innovative business management, and appears to be transferrable to the development arena. The aim of the 'big-steps-improvements' theory of change is to promote smart growth (defined as wealth creation that is increasingly derived from higher value added economic activities). The ultimate goal is to enhance human capabilities defined, in simple terms, as what people are able to do, and using these reform initiatives as a basis for human development - compliant socio-economic transformation.

6.2 THE "UNLOCKING" PROCESS

Two broad, alternative approaches to unlocking the PRDP region's development potential are identified, based on two contending theories of change. The first is the conservative, incremental approach, which is based on small-steps improvements. This approach appeals to the dominant "political economy" actors in Uganda (in the country's central government, local government, the private sector, and the donor community). This is so because this approach focuses on system-maintenance. It does not demand a lot from the actors to think outside the box. The fundamental problem with the dominant, conservative approach is that it follows a path of incrementalism, and will, for this reason, take decades to deliver concrete development outcomes. This is illustrated in Chapter 2.

The second, and alternative approach is the transformative strategy, inspired by the German philosophy of *Zeit ist Geld* (Time is Money). This model rejects as unsatisfactory the small-steps improvements process, and adopts, in its place, a theory of change premised on a strategy of making improvements by "taking big steps". In the case of the PRDP region, the transformative approach

envisaged is inspired by the understanding that the development challenges of the region are so substantial that they require thinking and acting outside the box.

There is need, therefore, to embark on deliberate, coordinated and substantial interventions to deliver concrete development outcomes, comparable to the rapid development-focused transformation in Singapore, Taiwan-China, and South Korea, during the 1950s and 1960s. For the avoidance of doubt, the development challenges of the PRDP region are so substantial that there is need to be deliberately ambitious in designing and implementing large-scale (but achievable) interventions, in order to deliver substantial development outcomes.

Evidence in the PRDP region is that transformation has not yet taken place partly due to conflict. Nine years after the cessation of hostilities agreement in 2006, the dominant economic activity remains rain-fed, subsistence farming (as discussed in Chapter 2). What is worth noting is that crop agriculture plays a significant role in the *sporadically affected* sub-region and a minimal role in the *severely affected* sub-region, especially Karamoja. The latter has a higher dependence on non-agricultural activities (such as alcohol brewing, *boda boda* transport business, and petty trading, among others). However, agriculture in the PRDP region, as in the RoC, is heavily dependent on nature for soil fertility and for water. Modern irrigation is not a common practice. A rain-fed agricultural production system which is simultaneously depended on natural soil fertility is characterized by low productivity. This locks-up the development potential of the PRDP region.

Admittedly, the RoC has had recovery that was based on low-value added economic activities, including, but not limited to: peasant farming, *boda-boda* taxis business, gambling/betting, and petty or even informal trading. This reality reinforces a major observation in this chapter, namely, that the problem of the PRDP region is a microcosmic indicator of a larger *national* problem. This is the fact that the economy is stuck in low-value added activities, thereby locking up Uganda's abundant development potentials.

6.3 PROSPECTS FOR SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE DEVELOPMENT

The foregoing discussion of development bottlenecks calls for advocating an alternative, deliberately ambitious, development process. The latter is to be designed to simultaneously transform the economy, while unlocking the PRDP region's potentials and the creative capabilities of the people. Against this background, the following sub-sections discuss the issues to be considered in the envisaged process. These include addressing: food sufficiency; the land rights of the vulnerable; land conflicts; environmental stewardship; and, the synergies between agriculture and high value-added industry.

6.3.1 Ensuring food sufficiency

Most Ugandan households, especially those in rural areas, depend on land as their major source of livelihood, mainly through subsistence agriculture on small and often fragmented parcels of land. The majority of households engage in subsistence farming, focusing primarily on annual food crops. Table 6.1 shows the trends in major land use types in the PRDP region in 2005/6 and 2010/11.

Land-related issues, including use, access and ownership, are central concerns in a post-conflict environment. For the post-conflict PRDP region, the end of the war is characterized by bringing into cultivation a substantial share of land that was previously fallow (especially for annual crops) as illustrated in Table 6.1. There are notable changes in the patterns and trends in land use among the households covered in panel surveys conducted in 2005/6 and again in 2010/11. The results show that in the PRDP region, there was a significant reduction in the share of land left under fallow (from 18.2 percent in 2005/6 to 6.6 percent in 2010/11).

The changes are most significant in the *sporadically affected* sub-region, followed by the *severely affected* sub-region. Table 6.1 further reveals an increasing trend in the share of land under perennial crops for the RoC, even though the share under cultivation is increasing in favour of annual crops in the PRDP region. There is a slight increase in the allocation of land to perennial crops in the *severely affected* sub-region (from 0.6 percent in 2005/6 to 1.2 percent by 2010/11). This could be attributed to government efforts to introduce coffee in some parts of the PRDP region.¹⁵¹

TABLE 6.1: PATTERNS AND TRENDS IN LAND USE AMONG THE PANEL HOUSEHOLDS BY LOCATION, %

	Uganda	RoC	PRDP region	PRDP sub-regions		
				<i>Sporadically affected</i>	<i>Severely affected</i>	<i>Spill-over</i>
2005/6						
Annual crops	54.7	51.4	50.1	59.7	76.3	52.6
Perennial crops	27.7	36.7	15.2	3.4	0.6	30.9
Fallow	9.8	3.8	18.2	29.1	16.2	9.1
Others	7.9	8.1	7.5	8.0	7.0	7.4
2010/11						
Annual crops	68.8	54.7	83.4	84.3	91.9	76.9
Perennial crops	24.4	39.8	8.4	2.7	1.2	20.4
Fallow	4.3	2.0	6.6	10.8	5.5	1.7
Others	2.6	3.5	1.9	2.3	1.4	1.0

Source: Calculations based on the UNPS data.

However, the introduction of traditional cash crops (such as coffee) in the PRDP region presents mixed implications for human development. Even though coffee has been shown to have positive effects on household poverty reduction¹⁵² and economic empowerment, it should be introduced with the ultimate transformative goal of using coffee as a raw material for the manufacture of pharmaceutical and other high value-added industrial products, not just perpetuating a backward farming economy in the region.

Moreover, implementation of the interventions has to be guided, to minimise the unintended negative effects on human development, as observed elsewhere in Uganda. To illustrate this point, the prioritization of perennial crops in the RoC, for example, in Eastern Uganda, sugarcane has been associated with deteriorating human development indicator outcomes, including food insecurity.¹⁵³ The food security concerns arose when households allocated their time to working in commercial sugarcane farms, at the expense of their own food production. This suggests that the allocation of more land to perennial crops, at the expense of food production (in the face of growing population pressure on the land), raises policy concerns.

From a gender perspective, in the typical household, women predominantly provide the labour for food production. Yet they have limited control over the land and the farm produce, because their men take almost all the proceeds from the commercial harvests. This is exacerbated by the socially-embedded patriarchal norms, which give preferential treatment to males vis-à-vis females regarding control over incomes and assets.

In addition, there is a need to further empower women, so that they can have a stake in household decision-making, to enable them to exercise some control over household assets, incomes and expenditures. As discussed in Section 2.2.4, there is a positive change in the share of women taking independent decisions on how to spend their own earnings. This positive change could lead to improved household food security, as women are more likely to spend their earnings on household expenditures compared to their male counterparts.

Furthermore, there is a need to consider ways of encouraging the uptake of high-value alternative crops, without necessarily compromising human development outcomes at the household level. One such intervention is the promotion of crop intensification (through the use of fertilisers and improved seed varieties, among others). This would ensure increased yields per unit area of land.

6.3.2 Addressing the land rights of the vulnerable groups

The land management system in Uganda allows for four modes of land tenure, namely: Customary, Freehold, Leasehold and "Mailo". The co-existence of multiple land tenure systems is legally recognized in the Constitution and the 1998 Land Act. Customary land tenure is the most prevalent in the PRDP region. Land rights under the customary system depend on belonging to a community, and are retained as a result of the performance of reciprocal obligations in that community.

Analysis of the 2011/12 Uganda National Panel Survey (UNPS) reveals that 97 percent of land in the PRDP region is held under customary tenure. Under this system, the rights over large tracts of land, including transfers of user rights, are vested in the community, under the guidance of the elders and clan leaders. This tenure system runs the risk of leading to 'tragedy of the commons'. This is because it can create an environment conducive to the irresponsible, even inefficient, use of land, just because no private ownership of and/or rights to the land exist. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that most of the land is unregistered, with the bulk of the households having no documents to prove their user rights to the land.

This high inclination to hold land under customary tenure within the PRDP region reflects the social and cultural norms that favour collective over individual land ownership, as well as the limited land titling culture in the region. Preference for this mode of land tenure also partly reflects the limited confidence that communities have in other forms of land tenure. This may be because of the fear of increasing the risks of expropriation due to land grabbing, or because of mistrust in the available mechanisms for resolving land disputes. In addition, communities in the PRDP region prefer customary land tenure systems because the traditional leaders are more easily accessible, and have local knowledge of the land systems, which ensures the speedy resolution of disputes.¹⁵⁴

Customary land ownership is often multi-layered, leading to overlapping rights,¹⁵⁵ which often results in unclear land use rights. This can be a source of land conflicts. In some parts of the

PRDP region, especially in Acholi, after many years of displacement due to war, the traditional rules, regulations and norms, have been eroded. Previously these norms were used to govern user rights, and, therefore, provided security of tenure, especially to vulnerable groups such as women (particularly widows and formerly abducted women), children and the elderly.

Furthermore, the nature of the communal tenure system, combined with the social norms around land and the loosely defined land rights, have hampered the development of land markets, through which those who need land for development can acquire it. As such, the land tenure system and imperfect land markets in the PRDP region could hinder human development and socio-economic transformation. Put differently, the customary land tenure system could inhibit, rather than promote, productive investment in land.

Land reforms that would enhance security of tenure, while respecting the traditional socio-cultural norms with respect to communal ownership of land, should therefore be implemented. This will encourage productive investments in, and use of, land. However, issues relating to land access and land tenure, especially in a communal setting, should be handled cautiously, as they arouse sentiments and emotions within the affected communities, and are potentially major trigger buttons of conflict. As one participant in a recent consultative meeting¹⁵⁶ aptly asked; *"Whose name will appear on the certificate if the land is titled?"*

6.3.3 Addressing land conflicts

Land conflicts are pervasive in Uganda, and usually disproportionately affect marginalised groups, including women, widows and orphans.¹⁵⁷ Despite the end of the LRA war in 2006, there are other emerging drivers of conflict in the region that need to be addressed, if the region is to realise its potential. Data from a 2005/6 survey shows that land conflicts are slightly more pronounced in the PRDP region (7.9 percent) compared to the RoC (5.9 percent). The conflicts over land in the PRDP region present a unique case for competition for resources due to a number of factors. First, after displacement, Internally Displaced Peoples (IDPs) returned to former homesteads and were faced

with unclear, and sometimes loosely determined, land boundaries under the communal ownership of land including disputes between districts over administrative boundaries. Second, the large mineral potential within the PRDP region, and the perceived secrecy regarding the actual location of the minerals, have bred anxiety, thus creating fertile ground for conflicts.

On the one hand, the local leaders note that the insufficient consultations and participation of local communities when government allocates land to investors, either for commercial agriculture or for the exploration of mineral resources, especially on communally-owned land, breeds feelings of marginalisation and discontent, thus creating resentment and driving conflicts across the PRDP region.¹⁵⁸ On the other hand, given that the region is sparsely populated, with large tracts of uncultivated arable land, large private enterprises consider it as the new frontier for large-scale commercial agriculture. For example, it is reported that Dunavant, a large USA based cotton-business conglomerate, Mukwano Industries, and the Madhvani Group have all acquired large tracts of land in the region to engage in large-scale commercial agriculture.¹⁵⁹ However, given the nature of the traditional customary land tenure system prevalent in the region, some of the above land deals have been met with stiff opposition from the communities, and have often been interpreted as land grabbing.

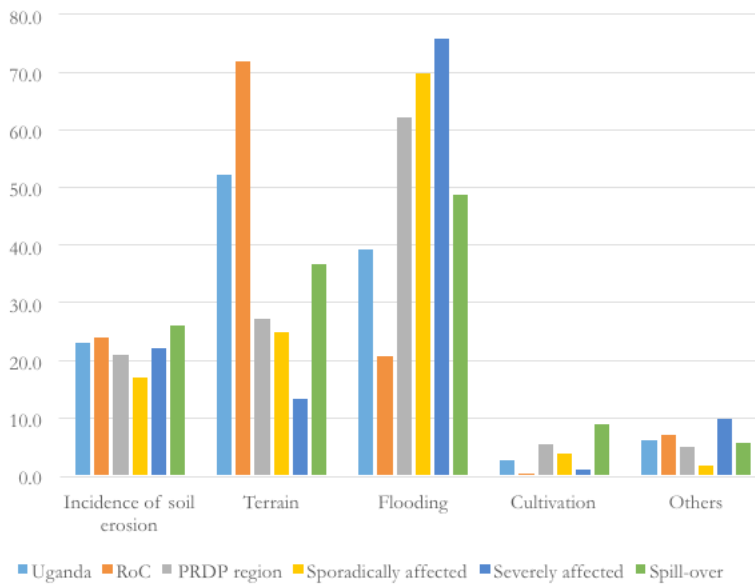
In particular the large land transactions have raised serious concerns. The communities feel that the 'investors' may be driven by ulterior motives, as the land harbours large mineral reserves.¹⁶⁰ Such concerns have often triggered violence, pitting communities against investors and local governments. Similarly, large tracts of land in the

PRDP region, and particularly in Karamoja and West Nile, were gazetted for wild life conservation. Communities perceive gazetting of fertile land as depriving them of farming and grazing land, and, therefore, constraining their livelihoods.¹⁶¹ However, this points to the need to develop tourism, and provide clarity on how incomes from tourism would benefit the indigenous communities.

6.3.4 Environmental stewardship

Improving the livelihoods of predominantly agrarian households requires efforts aimed at enhancing the productivity of land, as a first step. This can be done through the sustainable management of soil and water resources. According to the Development Strategy and Investment Plan (DSIP) of the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAIF), land degradation is widespread in Uganda, and is a leading cause of the low productivity of agriculture.¹⁶²

Soil erosion is a major cause of land degradation and nutrient loss. Within the PRDP region, one in every five parcels (or 20 percent) of land is affected by soil erosion (Figure 6.1), although the rate of soil erosion in the PRDP region is generally lower than the rate in the RoC (with the exception of the *spill-over* sub-region). Notable sub-regional variations exist, ranging from 48.4 percent for the *spill-over* sub-region to 75.9 percent in the *severely affected* sub-region. Soil erosion due to bad terrain is most prevalent in the *spill-over* sub-region (37 percent), followed by the *sporadically affected* sub-region (25 percent). This could be because a large number of the districts classified under *spill-over* are located in the Mt Elgon highlands of Eastern Uganda, and are, consequently, more prone to terrain-induced, rather than flood-induced, soil erosion.

FIGURE 6.1: INCIDENCE OF SOIL EROSION AND ITS MAJOR DRIVER BY LOCATION, %

Source: Calculations based on the 2011 UNPS dataset.

6.3.5 Economic and social concerns of agricultural development

Escaping poverty and creating new opportunities for meaningful household economic participation in many agrarian countries depends on the sustained growth and development of the agricultural sector.¹⁶³ This often requires the enhancement of agricultural productivity, through productivity-enhancing technologies. Broadly speaking, the adoption of such technologies remains very low in Uganda, and is particularly worrisome in the PRDP region. This low adoption of fertilisers opens households up to the risks of poverty traps, making them miss opportunities to enhance their human development outcomes.

In Section 3.2.1, it was highlighted that the PRDP region suffers from climatic shocks, such as drought. Much as the region is endowed with water resources (such as River Nile, Lake Kioga), these resources are yet to be used to mitigate the risks related to drought, as well as increase the number of crop seasons. Like the RoC, the region depends on rain-fed agriculture. Less than 2 percent of the plots in the region are under irrigation, the least of this abysmal performance being reported for the *spill-over* sub-region. However, the low use of irrigation is not peculiar to the PRDP region. It remains as low as 3.6 percent in the RoC.

Put differently, fertiliser use and the adoption and use of water for agricultural production within the PRDP region, and, indeed, throughout the country, remains very low. The implied threats to human progress provide the imperative to invest in water harvesting and irrigation technologies, in order to improve agricultural productivity for sustainable human development. There are on-going efforts by the GoU and CSOs to improve the adoption of water-harvesting technologies in some of the PRDP sub-regions.¹⁶⁴ However, these efforts should be scaled up, possibly through public-private partnerships, to enhance access to sustainable water for agricultural production, especially for smallholder farmers.

The low adoption of productivity-enhancing technologies adversely affects the region's opportunities to take advantage of the ready markets for farm produce in the neighbouring countries. In this regard, households in the PRDP region can avail themselves of such regional markets, and export agricultural produce to South Sudan and the DRC. To support this trade, the GoU has prioritised the construction of the major road links between Uganda and South Sudan (namely, the *Gulu-Atiak* and *Atiak-Nimule* roads), which were commissioned in 2012 and 2013 respectively. That said, attention should also be given to district,

urban and community access roads (DUCARs) linking the major export routes, as well as providing support towards post-harvest storage facilities, to reduce losses.

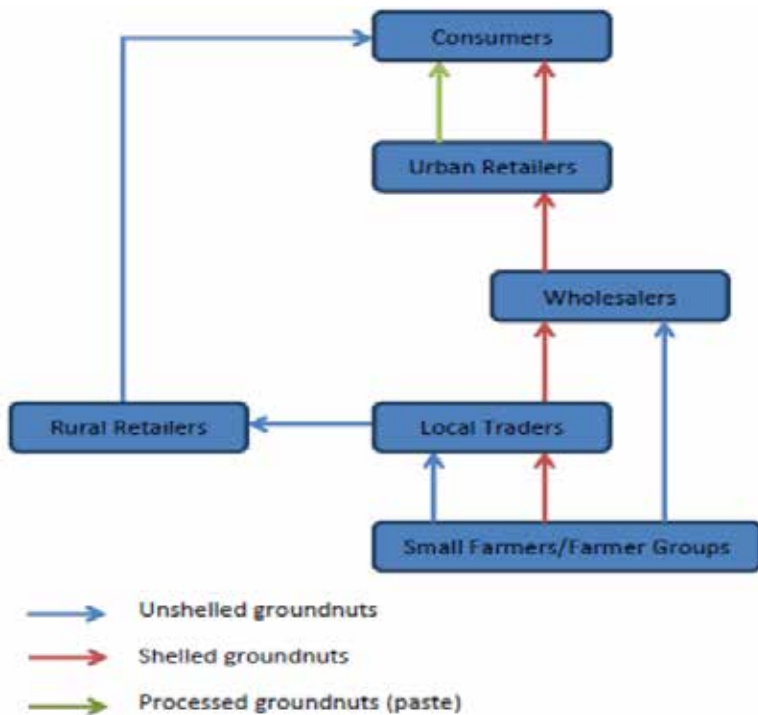
6.3.6 Linkages between agriculture and high value-added industries

A key problem that continues to lock up the developmental potential of the PRDP region is the fragile linkage between agriculture and high value-added industrial manufacturing. For all the official talk of value-addition via industrialization, no serious manufacturing is taking place in the PRDP region, even elsewhere in the country. Indeed, what policymakers call value-chains, are essentially

supply chains, created by movements of products from producers to consumers, with no substantial value addition.

Figure 6.2 is an illustration of the groundnuts ‘value-chain’. The dominant value-adding activities involve shelling and crashing the groundnuts into paste. Such basic activities result in cosmetic value addition. Yet, virtually all the organic oils of the PRDP region (groundnuts, sim sim, shear butter, castor oils, etc) have huge potential in value-adding industries, such as the pharmaceutical industry, the chemicals industry, cosmetics, and bio-diesel manufacturing. In short, a significant potential exists for socio-economic transformation through agriculture in the region.

FIGURE 6.2: AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE GROUNDNUT VALUE CHAIN



Source: AAH, 2014: 24

6.4 PROSPECTS FOR EXTRACTIVE/ MINERAL WEALTH EXPLOITATION

Uganda is a country rich in natural resources. These resources are expected to play a major role in regional growth, employment creation and in creating productive linkages, through the development of a local auxiliary services

sector. However, there are fears that the State has neither consulted communities nor considered their cultural set-up, leading to concerns that the resultant process for extracting these resources may not adequately respond to the unique needs of the relevant communities. There are widespread fears that the natural resources may present skewed opportunities and risks, where only persons in

positions of influence and power stand to benefit, at the expense of the poor and marginalized majority. The following sub-sections discuss these further.

6.4.1 Oil exploration

By December 2014, Uganda's country-wide exploration efforts in the oil and gas sector had confirmed oil wealth estimated at 6.5 billion barrels, with recoverable reserves in excess of 1.4 billion barrels. A sizeable amount of these resources have been discovered in the PRDP districts, particularly in Buliisa and Nwoya. There are various expectations that people have formed with regard to the nascent oil sector in Uganda. Many accounts indicate that oil resources have the potential to promote rather than stifle human development in the region. The hope is that the revenues generated from the oil resources can provide the wherewithal needed to improve living standards in a sustainable manner.¹⁶⁵ Indeed, these accounts mirror the official government stance (as provided in the National Oil and Gas Policy (2008)), which states that oil revenues will be used to put the country on a path to sustainable development.¹⁶⁶

However, if such sustainable development is to be achieved, there is need for the prioritisation of expenditures towards the development of infrastructures that support the productive sectors of the economy¹⁶⁷, including agriculture.¹⁶⁸ This must be done in a manner that would enhance inclusive

growth and equitable development. Moreover, setting up and strengthening institutions for the successful management of natural resources in a manner that engages the aspirations of the communities will not only help to manage expectations, but also enable the selection of investment projects that will respond to the social, cultural and economic needs of communities.

Results from the Natural Resource Management Survey¹⁶⁹ in the Albertine Grabben, which also included parts of the PRDP region, indicate strong expectations from respondents with regard to improvements in social service delivery. These include improved access to: healthcare (78 percent); education (83 percent); electricity (84 percent); safe drinking water (70 percent); and transport infrastructure, such as roads (87 percent). These expectations partly reflect the needs of local communities, especially in areas where oil activities are taking place or are likely to occur (see Box 6.1).

It should be emphasized that before oil was discovered, access to services was difficult in the entire Albertine Grabben. Since then, related infrastructural developments have helped to boost the local economy. People can now take their agricultural produce to more distant markets where higher prices are realised, because of better roads. Likewise traders from districts such as Nwoya can now more easily access towns in the oil rich Rift Valley district, to supply food and other basic merchandise.

BOX 6.1: COMMUNITIES' EXPECTATIONS FROM OIL AND GAS IN THE ALBERTINE

Communities expect to benefit greatly from auxiliary business opportunities as reflected in the reberlsff survey results which indicate that 90 percent of the respondents expect to benefit from improved business prospects. Indeed since commercially viable oil deposits were confirmed in the Albertine valley, a flurry of activities has ensued in the oil rich villages and adjacent towns. For example, the greater Bunyoro region did not have any major commercial banks until the oil discoveries improved the economic prospects in the region, and by 2013 over 10 commercial banks were operational in Hoima, doubling the figure from two years before.¹⁷⁰ Many entrepreneurs have since set up businesses including: shopping malls, guest houses, hotels and even forex bureau to support the oil exploration activities. However, in other parts of the PRDP region, such as Gulu, commercial activities had started due to them being centres of coordination for humanitarian responses during the conflict period and serving as centres for reconstruction in the aftermath of the conflict and being the home of many NGO's. The peace dividend in much of the PRDP region has contributed to the emergence of business opportunities.

Source: EPRC 2015.

6.4.2 Harnessing non-oil mineral resources

The PRDP region boasts of enormous mineral potential (Table 6.2). Of the available minerals in the region, only limestone is mined on a large scale, to support the manufacturing of cement in Tororo. Most of the mining activities are undertaken on small scale basis by artisanal miners. However, small-scale mining has the potential to improve livelihoods in the PRDP region by offering alternative employment to diversify incomes. The majority of households in the PRDP region, however, depend on agriculture as a livelihood strategy, but this is prone to climatic shocks as discussed earlier. Engaging in some off-farm activities can help mitigate some of these shocks, and artisanal mining could offer such alternatives. However, the potential for artisanal mining is constrained by lack of organisation, skills and modern equipment, thereby affecting productivity. Artisanal miners are largely inefficient and use rudimentary methods pose health and environmental risks.

In many areas, small-scale artisanal miners work in isolation. Both artisanal and large-scale miners usually do not have plans for restoring the environment, nor do they have mitigation measures to address the negative impacts of mining. This leaves behind challenges of destroyed and un-rehabilitated environments, solid waste, and uncovered pits that become breeding grounds for disease carrying pests, such as mosquitoes.¹⁷¹ Unregulated mining has the potential to release harmful substances into the soil, air, and water, while open pit mining destroys ecological systems

thus engendering soil erosion and affecting the productivity and resilience of the land to cope with environmental shocks, such as droughts.

Furthermore, small-scale and artisanal mining has exacerbated child labour, often leading to early school drop outs. In many communities in the PRDP region that engage in small-scale mining, children of school-going age are employed in the mines. Restricted access to productive assets by poor households renders orphaned children in particular vulnerable to mining-related child labour. While this is intended to cater for the current needs of the household, it adversely affects inter-generation equity, by denying future household members the benefits of present education. When children drop out of school, their potential to live productive lives in the future is severely affected. Stone quarrying and mining are some of the activities where child labour is predominant, according to the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MoGLSD).¹⁷²

It is also noteworthy that mineral exploration and mining, especially by foreign companies, may exacerbate conflicts in the PRDP region. When mining concessions are awarded to private companies many communities are denied access to vital sources of livelihoods. As such, the allocation of communal land to private mineral developers is fuelling conflicts, especially in Karamoja. There are also reports that private companies take advantage of the ignorance, poverty and illiteracy of the communities to stealthily acquire land with mineral potential in the region.¹⁷³

TABLE 6.2: NON-MINERAL POTENTIAL IN THE PRDP REGION

No.	Mineral	Location in PRDP region	Estimated reserves/potential
1	Copper	Karamoja	Boboong copper anomaly in Karamoja. Further investigation is required to estimate the reserve. Grade 1.7% copper, 1% Zinc, 6 gram per tonne of gold and 15 gram per ton of silver
2	Gold	Busia, Moroto, Kaabong, Kotido, Kapchorwa, Abim, West Nile	Busia (500,000 ounces of gold at Tiira, over 800,000 ounces at Alupe), Moroto (over 139,000 ounces in and possible reserves of 160,000 ounces)
3	Iron ore	Moroto, Napak, Kotido, Moyo, Masindi, , Tororo	Tororo (30 million tonnes at Bukusa, 45 Million tonnes at Sukulu)
4	Columbite-Tantalite	Napak, Moroto, Kotido, Tororo,	Tororo(At Sukulu 130 million tons of soils containing 0.13 – 0.33%, proven reserves of 0.429 million tonnes)
5	Rare Earth Elements (REE)	Tororo, Napak	Tororo (0.89 million tonnes of REE at Sukulu),

No.	Mineral	Location in PRDP region	Estimated reserves/potential
6	Platinum	Moroto, Kiryandongo, Lamwo	Drilling is on-going at Bweyale and Kiryandongo to estimate reserves and grades
7	Nickel	Kiryandongo, Lamwo	Lamwo (Expected reserves with 1.4% Nickel and 0.25% copper at Akelikongo), Kiryandongo (Grade 0.38-2.31% Nickel and 0.06% Cobalt is expected at Bweyale)
8	Uranium	Tororo	2,300 tonnes of uranium is estimated at Sukulu
9	Limestone/Marbles	Tororo, Manafwa, Napak, Moroto, Kotido, Moyo	Over 300 million tonnes of marble in Karamoja
10	Phosphates	Tororo, Mbale, Napak	Tororo (230 Million tonnes), Mbale (50 million tonnes)
11	Vermiculite	Tororo, Manafwa	Manafwa (54.9 million tonnes at Namekhara)
12	Bentomite	Buliisa, Bukwo	
12	Diatomite	Nebbi	Nebbi (unquantified reserves in Alui, Atar, and Amboso River)
13	Dimension stone	Karamoja	Over 300 million tonnes of marble in Karamoja (Rupa, Kosiroi, Tank Hill, Forest Reserve, Matheniko, Pule and Lolung)

Source: Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development.

6.5 TOURISM POTENTIAL

Tourism is one of the three strategic sectors identified in the NPD II. Nearly a third of the Uganda's tourism attractions are located in two regions: the PRDP region (16 percent) and Eastern Uganda (13 percent). Attractions in the PRDP region are mainly Monuments (Fort of Emin Pasha, in Nebbi District; Gordon in Moyo District; and Attyak Winam -Kings Palace, in Zombo District). In addition, the region is also known to have a bird sanctuary near the Kidepo National Park, which is a major attraction.¹⁷⁴

Wetlands have high tourism potential. For example, the Bisina-Opeta Wetland systems have benefited from support for the formulation of community conservation areas with high ecotourism potential. Such assistance came from the UNDP in collaboration with the Wetlands Inspection Division, International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), Nature Uganda, Uganda Wildlife Society, and local governments. Another important tourist attraction is the Murchison Falls National Park (locally known as Kabalega National Park), located in Buliisa and Nwoya districts.

The improved security situation in the PRDP region since 2006 has encouraged private investments in the tourism sector, especially in Murchison Falls and Kidepo Parks. This has resulted in increased number of visitors at the Murchison Falls (from 32,049 in 2007 to 56,799 in 2011), and at the Kidepo Valley Parks (from 795 to 2,452 during the same period).

While the region has a significant number of tourist attractions, it remains one of the least developed in this regard. Data from the Ministry of Tourism, Wildlife and Heritage (2012) indicates that Northern Uganda and Karamoja contribute 16 and 2 percent respectively to the total hospitality establishments in Uganda with only 7 gradable facilities of which six (6) are in Northern Uganda and one (1) in Karamoja respectively. These data indicate that the tourism sector is least developed in the PRDP region, particularly in the mid-North and Karamoja.

As a non-consumptive economic activity, tourism can create economic value, reduce poverty and lead to sustained human development. It can do this by expanding economic opportunities, building resilience and controlling vulnerabilities, through the diversification of livelihood strategies. Notwithstanding its massive potential, Uganda's tourism sector has continued to struggle, often overshadowed by the aggressive tourism promotional campaigns by the industry in neighbouring Kenya, and, more recently, Rwanda.

Supporting the development of the local tourism industry in Northern Uganda can have spill-over effects on other sectors, especially on education, health, transport and energy. Investments in these sectors can further strengthen human development outcomes in the tourism hotspots and surrounding regions. Moreover, the development of a vibrant tourism sectors can help overcome regional inequalities and vulnerabilities

through the building of supportive infrastructures that can unlock the rest of the sectors.

Furthermore, tourism development can create spin-off economic opportunities away from conservation. For example it can promote the manufacture of art-crafts, and the development of cultural entertainment groups. These opportunities will not only improve the standards of living at home, but will also discourage the emigration of labour to the capital city, which has often trapped unsuspecting emigrants in worse living conditions.

The developments in the oil and gas sector present both opportunities and challenges for the growth of the tourism sector in Uganda. On the one hand, oil exploration in the country's two most visited parks could have significant positive impacts on the development of the transport infrastructure that is so badly needed to open up Uganda's tourism potential. On the other hand, exploration and development activities in the oil and gas sector could have grave environmental consequences, with adverse implications for the growth of the tourism sector. Indeed, current exploration activities are concentrated in the biodiversity-rich Murchison Falls - Kabwoya conservation area. The effects of drilling can be minimized if the appropriate, environmentally-friendly technologies are utilized by concession-holders in the respective conservation areas.

Revenue sharing between the National Parks and the communities has deepened the motivations and benefits of conservation. The Uganda Wildlife Act of 1996, Section 70(4), legally obliges the Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) to share 20 percent of its park entry fees with the local governments surrounding the protected area from which the fees were collected. The goal is to enable communities living adjacent to protected areas to experience the economic benefits they enjoy. This will help the communities to improve their welfare, and ultimately motivate them to work in partnership with the UWA and local governments, to sustainably manage the resources in and around the protected areas. Since the establishment of the programme, communities adjacent to the protected areas have benefitted from improved infrastructure, such as schools and health units, as well as from income generating projects and efforts

to control crop-raiding animals. The UWA has also observed a reduction in illegal activities, such as poaching (which emanates from the adjacent communities), since the programme's inception.

Notwithstanding the above developments in the sector, this Report urges caution, even though tourism is a low-investment and high-yielding sector. Tourism should be used only as a stop-gap measure, not as a sector that can push the region's economy on a path to transformation. Pushing the PRDP region to develop tourism as a way to promote durable human development is ill-advised, mainly because tourism is a commodity-service. To unlock the development potentials from a backward agrarian economy, high value-added industries and high-technology services are the way to go.

6.6 ON-GOING INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT

The Government has embarked on the development of public infrastructure in the PRDP region (and other parts of the country). Infrastructure (including energy, roads and railways) took the lion's share (US\$6.1 trillion or 33.6 percent) of the 2015/16 national budget. Within the PRDP region, the construction of the following roads have been commissioned: Gulu – Atiak – Nimule; Olwiyo-Gulu- Kitgum – Musingo; Kamdini-Gulu; Vurra-Arua-Koboko; and, Nakapiripirit-Moroto. The Karuma Dam is also under construction (under a PPP institutional partnership arrangement). The 9MW Kabalega electricity project located at Buseruka was commissioned by the government in 2012. Construction of the 92km Hoima-Kaiso-Tonya road was completed in December 2014.

Other important transport infrastructural projects are either under construction or have been earmarked for construction. They include the Hoima –Kabwoya road, the Masindi-Bukakata road; the Hoima–Wanseko road; and, the Kigumba–Masindi –Hoima–Kyenjojo roads. The government has also proposed to upgrade the Kigumba Technical College into an oil and gas centre of excellence, which would be pivotal in ensuring that the youth gets the requisite skills to tap into an expected avalanche of jobs in the oil and gas industry.

However, the PRDP region still has substantial infrastructure deficits, which continue to constitute obstacles to transformative growth and human development.

6.7 HARNESSING OPPORTUNITIES FOR BROADER PRIVATE SECTOR PARTICIPATION

Under the dominant pro-market political economy dispensation, the 'private sector' is presented as the 'main employer' or even driver of development (as discussed in Chapter 2). However, caution is urged. Uganda's private sector is dominated by informal micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs). Most of these operate as *jua kaali* ('hot sun') enterprises with no formal business premises, no record-keeping, and limited access to bank credit. Roughly 65 percent of these die before celebrating their fifth birthday. This implies one thing. The rhetoric of private-sector led development in Uganda hardly stands up to scrutiny. The fragilities in Uganda's private sector present a strong case for strategic State guidance of wealth creation, job creation and economic transformation.

6.8 ENHANCING CAPABILITIES OF THE YOUTH

Cognizant of the central role that education plays in preparing the youth for the labour market, through the provision of both the soft and technical skills, investing in education and skills enhancement will not only improve youth employability but will also equip them with the necessary skills to create their own employment. It is thus paramount that interventions should be enhanced which simultaneously address access, quality of education and school drop-out concerns, at all the three levels of education (primary, secondary and tertiary). Second, changes in school programmes must be introduced to bring school drop-outs up to a functional literacy level which is equivalent to that missed in formal schooling. This could be especially effective in a region in which young people missed out on educational opportunities because of the conflict that lasted for over two decades. This can

consequently improve the human development opportunities of the out-of-school youths.

To address the challenge of inadequate skills among the youth, and the skills mismatch concern, it is important to strengthen the institutional framework, and increase access to, and the quality of, Business Technical Vocational Education and Training (BTJET). This might effectively respond to the lack of technical and employable skills that employers require, by offering quality vocational skills to the youth. A major issue with BTJET is the often-missing link with market needs. This results in the saturation of the labour market with popular skills, such as hairdressing, carpentry, tailoring, among others. Demand-driven vocational education models, which train youth in skills that are currently demanded by the private sector, will go a long way in overcoming the skills mismatch concern. This could be achieved through conducting a PRDP region market needs assessment, with the aim of identifying marketable skills that are currently in high demand. During the key informant consultations, it was argued that BTJET should focus on skills development without unnecessary focus on accumulating certificates.

Given the importance of agriculture as a major source of livelihoods and employment to the Ugandan youth as a whole, and the PRDP youth in particular, interventions aimed at improving agricultural productivity are indispensable to the improvement of the human development outcomes of the youth. Promotion of viable economic opportunities in the sector is important, as far as the advancement of rural employment and sustainable livelihoods is concerned. Although agriculture may not necessarily be seen as the engine of growth in the long term, in the short term, the expansion of productive agriculture will be crucial as source of productive employment and wealth creation. It should not just be a residual employer as it is currently viewed. Going forward, the diversification of crops, from seasonal to high-value crops, will be critical.

For the youth in Karamoja who are heavily engaged in livestock keeping, there must be mass sensitization, for them to look at cattle keeping as a business, and not just a status symbol, as is currently the case. In addition, the youth should take

advantage of various opportunities at the higher nodes of the agricultural value chain beyond the farm level. The use of improved agricultural inputs and services, youth-targeted advisory services, and the extension of infrastructure and road networks are all critical for improving the agricultural sector, and providing decent employment for the rural youth.

To harness the creative energies of the youth, policies, programmes and interventions should also be directed at enhancing their leadership and self-reliance capabilities. Given that about 43 per cent of the youth in the PRDP region are self-

employed, supporting entrepreneurship training would be a strategic intervention directed at reducing unemployment and underemployment among them. As yet, youth entrepreneurship development has not received any meaningful and comprehensive policy support. Although programmes aimed at promoting entrepreneurship have been introduced (namely, YVCF and YLP), they have been implemented in piecemeal fashion, and are unlikely to have lasting, coordinated and sustainable impacts. On the other hand, there are examples from Kenya where preferential treatment for youth firms in public procurement processes has been adopted (see Box 6.2).

BOX 6.2: AFFIRMATIVE ACTION FOR YOUTH IN PUBLIC PROCUREMENT

In 2012, the President of Kenya directed that 10 percent of all Government contracts be earmarked and awarded to the youth. The policy directive was informed by the realization that government procurement opportunities could un-lock employment opportunities for the youth. The magnitude of the policy offer was increased to 30 percent in 2013 and target category expanded to beyond the youth to women and persons with disability. The Youth Access Government Procurement Opportunities (YAGPO) was supposed to be ring-fenced so that youth firms do not compete with established firms. A key requirement was that at least 70 percent of ownership of bidding firm must comprise of youth and, most importantly, firm's leadership must comprise 100 percent youth, women or persons with disabilities to qualify for the YAGPO scheme. For youth led firms applying for public tenders without success and are not satisfied with the outcome of the procurement process, there is an option to lodge a complaint with to the Director General of the Public Procurement Oversight Authority (PPOA). A major drawback of the YAGPO scheme was that the policy pronouncement was not supported by appropriate legislation. Accord to Abadi (2014), the lack of appropriate legislation may partly explain the limited success of YAGPO scheme, in addition to the challenges of starting and registering a business in Kenya.

Sources: <http://agpo.go.ke/> and Abadi (2014)

Furthermore, the design of the intervention programmes tends to ignore the realities of the PRDP region. For example, the Youth Venture Capital Fund (YVCF) was designed to operate through commercial banks. Yet some districts in the PRDP region do not have a single branch of the participating banks (these include: Stanbic Uganda Limited, DFCU Uganda and Centenary Bank), which automatically led to the exclusion from the benefits of the YVCF of youth in such locations. Nonetheless, with the right combination of motivation, ideas and opportunities, some youth are able to establish, nurture and grow productive and creative business ventures, thereby moving from being job seekers to job creators, thereby subsequently reducing their social dependence.

Evidence from studies conducted in Northern Uganda reveals that comprehensive entrepreneurship programmes that offer loans and/or grants, coupled with training, mentoring

and conducive environment, yield greater impacts, compared to solely monetary assistance programmes.¹⁷⁵ Going forward, in order to enhance the capacity of the youth to succeed in entrepreneurship, it will be critical to proactively facilitate the promotion of entrepreneurial training and skills development, improvements in access to affordable finance, the provision of business support services, the removal of existing barriers (such as restrictive licensing requirements, tax disincentives and legal constraints).

Finally, a change in mind-set and attitude will be necessary for enhancing the capabilities of the youth. As pointed out earlier, a substantial proportion of the youth in the region grew up in IDP camps, and some have developed a culture of dependence and/or laziness, as well as negative attitudes towards work. For example, to a large extent, the youth, and generally people in the PRDP region, do not like working in hotels, because there

is a cultural aversion and a negative connotation attached to such work. These and other social norms need to be broken, through mind-set and attitude adjustments. This is because they often result in PRDP youth losing jobs to outsiders, thereby making them jobless.

The youth need to be introduced to positive role models, who are productive and have succeeded in their business ventures or work places, in order for them to appreciate the value of work. Additionally, State and non-state actors need to come up with outreach programmes aimed at changing young people's mind-set towards a positive work ethic. This will be critical in breaking such dependency barriers and improving youth participation in the development processes of the region. It will also enlighten the youth about their role in society and their responsibility in the socio-economic transformation of the North.

6.9 ENHANCING THE CAPABILITIES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS

In Chapter 2, the situation of women and girls was found to be worse in the PRDP region, compared to the RoC. This is attributed to the rampant cultural practices and barriers that hinder the equality of women and men in the PRDP region. These include: the preference to educate more boys than girls; property inheritance and ownership dominated by men; high SGBV especially against women; marrying-off girls at an early age; unwanted pregnancies; the payment of bride price by, and the restriction of women's mobility by their husbands.

These barriers, therefore, limit girls' access to education, their ownership and control of property and income, and thereby, predispose many women in the PRDP region to poverty. These practices also contribute to gender inequality, which, in turn, leads to greater social exclusion by denying women a voice, and further marginalising them. In essence, gender inequality limits women's power in society and in the home, and affects human development indicators at the community and national levels.

To tap into the potentials of women in the PRDP region requires breaking the above barriers, which have limited women's full and equal participation in the development processes before and after the

war. Below are some of the interventions proposed to enhance women's capabilities in various domains (education, health, economic, political, etc.) to enable them contribute to improvement of their own livelihoods and the development of the PRDP region.

Legal and policy environment: The government should enforce more rigorously policies and National Actions Plans towards the elimination of gender inequalities, to allow women fully participate in and benefit from development programmes and activities. Existing instruments include: the National Action Plan on Gender-Based Violence; the Universal Secondary Education (USE) programme; and other sectoral policies and action plans.

There is also need to translate several existing laws, policies and plans into the local languages. This will specifically capacitate local leaders to address the gender needs of the PRDP region and create conducive environment for women and girls to develop their different capability domains. For instances the 2007 National Action Plan on Women can be translated into the local language. This Action Plan is aimed at the elimination of socio-cultural practices that endanger the health of women; the sensitization of communities about the importance of girls' education; an, thed initiation of educational programmes on positive and negative socio-cultural practices.

Education: In addition to the national affirmative action policy for girls' education (Table 5.1), a targeted policy for girls in the PRDP region can be formulated to cater for their increased enrolment at the post primary and post-secondary school levels. At the district level, local leaders should come up with special bylaws in education and health to cater for the needs of women and girls in the PRDP region in accessing education, health and political space.

Supporting girls to stay in school is crucial to improving the status of women and girls in all spheres of life. Once girls stay longer in school, they delay getting married, which also delays early child births. This controls the total fertility rate (TFR), which ensures healthier lives for women and their children. Education also positions women to get better skills, jobs and the income necessary for their

empowerment and participation in politics. It will also help them to claim their rights in a patriarchal setting. In some districts, such as Agago, specific bylaws in education have been enacted and implemented. For example, one education bylaw mandates the LC III Chairman to cancel a teacher's teaching certificate if he impregnates a pupil.

Women's collective efforts: Women's ability to organise themselves as special interest group is a potential mobilisation tool. Women CSOs and the government should support women's collective power by identifying and supporting existing and/or facilitating the formation of women village savings groups, female farmers associations, female crafts groups, collective marketing of farm produce and business groups.

Women in the PRDP region are well positioned to participate in socio-economic development activities because they are potentially resilient and hardworking. They are also targeted for support by several NGOs. However, women and girls' situation will not change much unless the multiple barriers that hinder women's gender equality are eliminated.

SGBV affects women's dignity, violates their rights and generally dehumanizes victims and survivors. In addition, SGBV affects women's productivity at the household and community levels and interferes with girls' schooling. Interventions aimed at enhancing women's capabilities should start with elimination of this practice, through supporting sensitization meetings of men and women, as well as local leaders, to understand the dangers of domestic violence.

Other interventions may include: involving men and women from the same households to engage in joint income-generating activities, in order to reduce domestic conflicts that result from poverty and lack of income; outlawing reckless alcohol consumption, especially during working hours, in the PRDP region; and, enacting strong bylaws on rape, defilement and early marriages.

6.10 INSTITUTIONAL INNOVATIONS

Literature on institution-building has converged on one key observation, namely, that institutional

innovation is a necessary precondition for development. This is not to suggest that all institutions are development-enhancing. The point, rather, is that any community that is faced with substantial development "blockages" will benefit from the resurrection of old, developmentalist institutions; and/or the creation of new institutions to guide the development process.

In the case of the PRDP region, three types of institutions are important. The first are the socio-cultural institutions (for example, those that emphasize group work, disallow idleness among youth, or address gender inequalities). Even the cultural practice of customary land tenure can be put to sustainable developmental use, by causing investors in the PRDP region to lease land for say, 20-40 years. This will give the community opportunity to collectively benefit and avoid outright land sales or dispossession. At the same time, it will allow them to renegotiate with investors after 20-40 years in the light of prevailing economic circumstances of the time.

The second type of institutions includes the producer cooperatives. The PRDP region, like the RoC, has a history of successful producer cooperatives, which were organically integrated with distribution, storage, and marketing networks. Admittedly, historically, the cooperative movement had its own weaknesses, such as embezzlement of funds by some officials, and political interference from State elites. However, research shows that the abolition of the integrated cooperative network was a developmental disaster, which left farmers vulnerable to exploitation by middlemen and money-lender sharks. The revival of the integrated cooperatives scheme, as of the means for unlocking the development potential of the PRDP region and the RoC, is strongly recommended.

Third, there is the need to revive and/or strengthen relevant legal frameworks for promoting change. For example, the Enguli Act, which regulated the hours and age of drinking, should be resurrected and enforced, to address the problem of alcoholism among the youth and adults. District ordinances and bylaws should be passed by lower local government structures and, where they exist, enforced, to resolve the problem of school absenteeism by both teachers and students. It

is also necessary to: regulate who may or may not attend community markets; penalize early marriages; enforce the construction of sanitary facilities in every home and school in Karamoja and elsewhere; and do everything needed to promote human development in the PRDP region.

As a precondition, there is need for establishing and capacitating institutions that are specifically aimed at addressing the impacts of the over two decades of war in the region. Transitional justice institutions, psycho-social support mechanisms, and other institutions that deal with residual post conflict challenges are cases in point. There are existing psycho-social support interventions by some actors, especially non-state actors. The government could build on the existing interventions.

6.11 CONCLUSIONS

The challenges and opportunities for unlocking the economic potential of the PRDP region have been outlined in this chapter. It is strongly urged that the central government, local government, development partners and the communities should urgently embark on deliberate, coordinated, ambitious (but achievable) interventions, for unlocking the development potential of the PRDP region. Better coordinated efforts are needed to resolve the following:

- The unresolved land question that gives power and control to males, even though most agrarian production is carried out by females;
- The low productivity of rain-fed agriculture that points to massive opportunities for irrigation and fertilizer usage, to boost agricultural productivity, economic growth and human development;
- Persistent energy, road, railway and ICT infrastructure gaps, which need to be bridged, to unlock the human development potential of the region;
- The fragile or flawed linkages between agricultural activities (such as sugarcane growing) and high value-added industrial activities (such as the manufacture of bio-diesel and fuel ethanol from sugar), in order to tap the potential of value chain development;
- The question of the mineral and tourism potential and community rights;
- The problem of youth under-skilling, unemployment and under-utilization; and,
- The gender dimension in all sectors of development.

**CHAPTER 7:
CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY
OPTIONS**

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY OPTIONS

This Chapter outlines the key developmental challenges confronting the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP) region, and highlights a transformative approach that can be used to move the PRDP region beyond recovery to sustainable human development. It is an established fact that Government and development partners have, since the end of the conflict between Joseph Kony's Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the Uganda Government, implemented a number of interventions and programmes to integrate the region with the Rest of the Country (RoC). The discussions in the previous chapters have demonstrated that inequalities in human development still persist between the PRDP region and the RoC as well as within the PRDP region. These inequalities are exacerbated by structural vulnerabilities (that have persisted over time) as discussed in Chapter 3 and they require critical attention during the implementation of the sustainable development goals (SDGs). Although some human vulnerabilities in the PRDP region existed before the LRA conflict, current interventions by Government and development partners seem to put more focus on vulnerabilities related to the conflict. The major features of the on-going interventions are: the failure to recognise heterogeneities among the different PRDP sub-regions and social-economic groups; limited involvement of the local population; limited local government implementation capacities; and the relatively weak coordination and sequencing of developmental interventions for greater impact. More important, the interventions continue to follow an incremental approach. Government and non-state actors have continued doing business as usual. This Report has argued against the incrementalist approach and articulated a case for a transformative approach that is capable of jump-starting the engine of durable growth and fast-tracking the delivery of human development outcomes.

7.1 KEY ISSUES OF INEQUALITIES IN THE PRDP REGION

This section highlights the key substantive issues of inequalities between the PRDP region and the RoC, as well as among the PRDP sub-regions. These inequalities have to be recognised by the government and non-state actors with the aim of promoting shared prosperity and quality service delivery in education and health.

7.1.1 Equitable access and quality education

The Report shows that access to, and quality of, education remain major concerns in the PRDP region. Despite efforts to expand access by increasing the number of classrooms during the implementation of the PRDP programmes, access to primary schooling remains a challenge. Because of the war, parts of the PRDP region missed out on acquiring education infrastructure that was provided through the Schools Facility Grant (SFG) between 1997 and 2006. The SFG was drastically scaled down in 2007, with the introduction of the Universal Secondary Education (USE) programme. Even with the PRDP and related programmes/interventions, school infrastructure has remained inadequate. The current public school infrastructure is not enough to accommodate the burgeoning numbers in the primary school-age population especially in the *severely affected* and the *spill-over* sub-regions.

In terms of quality, the PRDP region remains the worst affected, in terms of teachers' absenteeism (especially in the *sporadically affected* sub-region) partly explained by inadequate teachers' houses. The PRDP region also lags in terms of teachers' knowledge to deliver subject content as per the government education standards.

Apart from the constraint of current access, a significant proportion of the youth especially in the *severely affected* sub-region missed out on formal education due to the war and are in most cases,

illiterate with females worst affected. Female youth in this sub-region are about twice more likely to be illiterate than their male counterparts (73.4 percent compared to 44.1 percent in 2012/13).

Finally, specific to secondary schooling, there is generally a lack of secondary schools in the PRDP region, compared to the RoC. But within the PRDP region, there are significant disparities with the *spill-over* sub-region well served with secondary schools and the *severely affected* sub-region (in particular Karamoja) least served. These physical disparities partly explain the low proportion of the adult population with at least some secondary education in the PRDP region. Lack of secondary schools affects the rate of transition from primary to secondary schools. It also creates a gender gap in educational attainment at the higher level, as households are unlikely to release adolescent girls to walk very long distances to secondary schools.

The Report also notes that the PRDP region is also less served with private schools, which are perceived to offer quality education in the RoC. This implies that the households within the region not only have limited choices but cannot afford sending their children to private schools due to low incomes as demonstrated in the previous chapters. Any attempts by Government to promote private schools in the current context might reinforce inequalities within communities – as only children of the rich will be able to access such schools. Instead, there is need to strengthen the public schools' performance in terms of infrastructure both hard and soft so that children of the poor access quality education that in turn enhances their participation in the development process.

7.1.2 Health status

The Report shows that some of the largest disparities in the PRDP region are in the area of health. First, a number of unique tropical diseases have recently increased the burden of disease— notably Hepatitis B and E. On the one hand, Hepatitis B is mainly transmitted through sexual activity (e.g. HIV virus), as well as mother to child transmission. At the moment, the prevalence rate of Hepatitis B in the PRDP region (excluding Teso) is more than double the prevalence in the RoC. On the other hand, Hepatitis E is a result of poor hygiene practices at the household level—mainly

faecal contamination of drinking water. In addition, the burden of disease due to the legacy of the nodding disease syndrome remains. Furthermore, malaria, which is a common disease countrywide, remains more prevalent in some parts of the PRDP region. For instance the malaria prevalence among children under 5 years in Karamoja is 48.6 percent, which is more than double the national average (19 percent).

While the gap in child nutrition indicators between the PRDP region and the RoC has significantly narrowed, but West Nile and Karamoja have the worst indicators. The drivers for this poor performance is quite different as highlighted in the main text requiring different policy interventions.

Additionally, several of the MDG health targets, including those related to child and maternal mortality, have also reduced – although remain higher than the RoC average. The child mortality rates are worst in the *severely affected* sub-region. However, this has been slow and, in some cases, there has been a worrying, gradual retrogression in the maternal mortality rates. Consequently, even if there has been overall progress across several human development indicators, there is unevenness in sustaining the progress, and in how the benefits are being shared. There are overall gender-based inequalities in child mortality, as well as inequalities in social progress between sub-regions and within sub-regions. These inequalities are partly driven by socio-cultural vulnerabilities as discussed in chapter 3.

Inequalities in quality of health service provision are predominant in the *severely affected* sub-region and in Karamoja in particular. The *spill-over* sub-region ranked last on the key quality indicators captured in the Uganda Service Delivery Indicator (USDI) data – including health infrastructure, tracer drugs and mother's drugs. This has implications on the functionality of health services in this sub-region.

7.1.3 Instability of incomes

Even though the PRDP region has made significant progress since peace was restored in 2006 (with the level of income poverty declining from 60.7 percent in 2005/6 to 45.8 percent by 2012/13), evidence shows that the region remains the most deprived, with slow signs of improvement and limited degree

of convergence with the RoC. Incomes in the PRDP are unstable partly due to economic vulnerabilities discussed in Chapter 3 with marked gender differences, and are growing at a relatively low rate, while income inequality is rising—especially in the *severely-affected* sub-region. The low adaptive capacity by households to a changing climate has significantly affected their incomes (see section 3.2.1). Although the overall growth rate of incomes in the PRDP region is higher than that for the RoC, the pace of income growth in the PRDP region is unlikely to lead to convergence with the RoC. This is mainly because of the low starting base, or the initial conditions, in the PRDP region. Growth rates of incomes in the PRDP region have to more than triple in order for the region to catch up with the RoC.

Whereas the RoC have experienced declines in income inequality, the level of inequality has remained the same in the PRDP after the end of the conflict, even as the region's share of national income has risen (from 22 percent in 2005/6 to 30 percent by 2012/13). However, the *severely affected* sub-region registered an increase in inequality (with the Gini coefficient rising from 0.324 in 2005/6 to 0.403 by 2012/13). Although these sub-regional trends are in line with movements observed in typical post-conflict settings (i.e. that inequalities tend to rise faster in post-conflict environments), they, nonetheless, remain an issue of concern, especially since rising inequality can fuel conflict sentiments.

7.1.4 Land tenure

The land question remains unresolved in the PRDP region. Most of the land in the PRDP region is held under customary land tenure as is common in some parts of the RoC. However, the issue in the PRDP region lies on usage, and that land is mainly organised along ethnic groups. As a result decision making processes on land utilisation are communal rather than individualistic implying local bureaucracy and male-dominated clan head influence is high. Without some form of land reform, the region is unlikely to attract significant investment both local and foreign investors, especially in agriculture. Recent attempts to allocate land for investment has met with significant resistance, partly because of the complex land-

holding regimes in the region. The land allocation approach used raised suspicions, and there was limited consultation with the land owners. Partly as result of such approaches to investment initiatives, there is now lack of trust by communities of certain government programmes. Furthermore, apart from own-account workers and farmers, there is limited presence of the private sector in the region. This is partly explained by the high cost of doing business, as well as the constrained access to land markets.

7.1.5 Access to infrastructure

During the past nine years of post-conflict recovery, the PRDP region has benefited from large-scale infrastructural projects (especially roads geared towards connecting the region to regional markets, trade facilities etc), but with limited impact on the productive sectors. Interventions such as the Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSAF) and the Karamoja Livelihood Programme (KALIP) have been used to set up key social infrastructure (such as health workers staff houses, teachers' houses and classrooms, as well as water infrastructure). However, functionality of some of these infrastructure remains a challenge. This calls for proper sequencing and coordination of infrastructure development in the region for greater impact as well as a cost-effective measure. There need to pay attention to feeder and community roads was also raised.

Notwithstanding the aforementioned progress in infrastructure development, the region still faces substantial infrastructural deficit, partly owing to the legacy of conflict. Overall access to electricity in the PRDP region remains low in comparison to the RoC. For instance, whereas the overall access to electricity by Ugandan households increased from 14 percent in 2011 to 18.5 percent by 2015, the corresponding rates in the PRDP region are less than one third (5.5 percent in both the North East—mainly Karamoja and West Nile; 4.8 percent in Acholi and Lango)⁷⁶. These deficits have implications for the development of the private sector in the region.

Access to formal financial institutions (formal banks and non-bank institutions) in the region is limited (relative to the RoC), owing to the absence of relevant financial infrastructure, as a result of the relative remoteness (spatial vulnerability) of

the region. There are concerns that the current financial infrastructure does not empower local people, financially. It is necessary to unblock the infrastructural bottlenecks, by constructing and extending supportive infrastructure (such as tarmac roads) to connect all district towns in the PRDP region, so as to open up economic opportunities, connect markets, and spur economic development.

7.1.6 Youth and women

Identity in terms of age and gender, is one of the factors determining vulnerability and inequality in the region. The 20-year war transformed the youth from being productive to being dependent. The youth, especially those who were resident in the internally displaced persons (IDPs) camps during the war, were not able to engage in productive activities such as farming. Since the end of the war, attempts to engage these youth in productive activities (such as agriculture), have been less than successful. This is because such youth are not familiar with agricultural production, and majority prefer hand-outs, casual labour, and substance abuse. As a result, a large proportion of the youth (especially males) have lost hope for the future. In the RoC, the rate of female youth unemployment is twice that of males (partly due to life cycle factors). However, in the PRDP region, the reverse is true (male youth have a higher rate of unemployment). This is most prevalent in the *severely* and *sporadically affected* sub-regions of the PRDP. In these two sub-regions, the male-female gap in youth unemployment is 4.9 and 2.8 percentage points respectively.

The relatively higher male youth unemployment in the region is an issue of concern, given the region's proximity to conflict-affected countries. There is a risk of idle youth being recruited as combatants in foreign conflicts. Furthermore, based on educational attainment, the Report shows that youth with secondary education in the PRDP region have unemployment rates that are more than twice those observed for primary school graduates. The gap is highest among the *spill-over* sub-region. Overall, the fact that higher educational attainment is associated with higher unemployment rate may reflect the fact that the local economies have failed to absorb persons with higher education. Nonetheless, the Report highlights the issue of poor attitudes to work among the youth in the

PRDP region, which negatively affect employment prospects.

Women in the PRDP are less empowered compared to their counterparts in the RoC. The low status of women in the PRDP region is partly linked social-cultural and economic vulnerabilities as discussed in chapter 3. Women are likely to be engaged in subsistence production especially in the *spill-over* sub-region. In addition, the prevalence of gender-based violence (GBV) is high, which generally lowers the status of women. The Report notes that there are no specific laws and policies focused on addressing gender-specific challenges of the PRDP region. Thus local authorities in the region need special bylaws in education, health and SGBV.

7.2 ACTIONS TO UNLOCK THE DEVELOPMENT POTENTIAL OF THE PRDP

This section proposes concrete and specific actions for policy and programme interventions towards fast tracking sustainable human development in the PRDP region. Specifically, the section proposes policy options for the following key issues: (i) expanding access to quality education; (ii) addressing the challenge of access to land in the region; (iii) shifting from agro-processing to value-added manufacturing; (iv) changing the mind-set of the youth in the region; (v) tapping the livestock and mining opportunities in Karamoja; (vi) refocusing of PRDP investments for greater impacts; (vii) a critical attention to trauma and psycho-social issues; (viii) involvement of local population in the region's development path; and, (ix) supporting the engagement of locals, to spur 'local' ownership and inclusive development.

7.2.1 Expanding access to quality education

Human capabilities remain very low in the PRDP region. To address this constraint to sustainable human development programming and implementation, there is an urgent need to invest in people. Investing in people can be achieved in a variety of ways, including: improving the functionality of available social infrastructure;

focusing on early childhood development; addressing the traumatic effects of the war; and, focusing on human development challenges in a holistic manner for Karamoja (the most deprived area) and other parts of the PRDP region. With regard to the available education infrastructure, human development gaps clearly exist in education. For example, there is low functionality of the education infrastructure; and, the staffing levels are below national average.

It is also difficult to attract and retain frontline service providers in the *severely affected* sub-region, and, in particular, Karamoja, owing to the poor social and supportive physical infrastructure. In the past, the government jointly with development partners have attempted to address working conditions in hard-to-reach areas, through the provision of monetary incentives. However, this does not appear to have significantly changed the human resource deficit faced by the PRDP region. In view of this, there is need to develop alternative region specific staff retention strategies, (including non-monetary incentives, and supportive infrastructure). For instance, ensuring that schools, health facilities and accommodation are available could go a long way in changing the working environment of service providers and in turn reduce absenteeism. For on-going Government programmes, affirmative action should be offered to service providers in the PRDP region. For example, the US\$25 billion credit facility offered to teachers' Credit Cooperatives Organisations (SACCOs) should preferentially benefit teachers in the PRDP region.

Unlocking the potential of education in Karamoja requires an approach based on a well-targeted incentive system covering the short to medium term. There is need to explore the feasibility of providing affirmative action, in terms of school meals, to Karamoja (as part of the school capitation grant). It is also necessary to reconsider the allocation of the UPE capitation grant to Karamoja. Using a per-student capitation grant formula disadvantages Karamoja, given the challenges of attracting and retaining pupils in school. Appropriate curricula should also be adopted that take into consideration the Karimojong social norms.

Improving the quality of teaching and learning: To improve teachers' knowledge and the quality of

service provision, programmes should also be implemented for relevant refresher courses for frontline service providers (guided by relevant capacity assessments) in order to address the low quality of public services.

7.2.2 Addressing the land question

Given the centrality of land in the region's transformative agenda, a culturally-sensitive approach to land access, acquisition, and ownership (including by women), is necessary. For instance, it should be possible to undertake a process of land registration with caveat on selling, and instead, lease the land. This should be driven by the northerners not from the centre. Titles in the rural areas could be held communally and not individually, and universal consent may be made mandatory for any transfer or sale of land. But for this to happen, it requires strengthening the relevant institutions (such as land services and administration, and the local governance institutions) e.g. in the provision of technical support, adequate staffing to create awareness among the population of the various provisions in the relevant land policies as well as how best they can harness the opportunities indirectly through a livelihood approach.

Locally, communities in the region need to organize themselves around their most valuable asset (namely, land), and start to produce competitively as a community. For instance, cultivating a particular agricultural product in a given season could help improve both social capital and bargaining power, as well as earnings. However, to implement this requires strong leadership at the community level.

7.2.3 Investing in agriculture

The PRDP region should leverage on its strategic position as well as take advantage of the on-going infrastructure development. It should position itself as a food basket as well as a business hub for the neighbouring countries. Yet, this to happen requires a transformative initiative linking people-owned agricultural production chains with high value-added manufacturing. The aim should be to replace the existing pedestrian 'agro-processing' activities with transformative high value-added eg. Transforming cane sugar into bio-diesel, or shear butter into pharmaceutical products.

As earlier noted, the private sector currently plays a very limited role in facilitating development in the PRDP region, in spite of the existing potential. The government should, therefore, make the environment conducive, in order to attract private sector investment in transformative linkages, especially between the agricultural sector and agro-processing industries. Recent analysis of the private sector potential of the region has advocated the setting up of mini agro-processing facilities, as a first step towards adding value to the region's agricultural products. The Economic Recovery Analysis (ERA) of Northern Uganda identified key strategic agro-processing industries that could be sustainably set up in Northern Uganda. These include: cassava processing; sesame seed grading and hulling; and, maize milling facility (with a capacity of 40,000 tonnes per annum¹⁷⁷). However, it is argued in this Report that a transformative approach should be adopted, which goes beyond value addition to cassava flour. Cassava flour should be used to manufacture high value added products (e.g. industrial glue; medicine, etc.). There is also need to take advantage of the green belt in Karamoja (located around Amudat) to boost agriculture.

Furthermore, Government needs to support the transformative linkages between agricultural production and high value-added manufacturing. This could be done through creation of a special credit component for the PRDP region under the existing Agricultural Credit Fund (ACF); and expansion of the ACF to include production. The latter might trigger off demand for use of productivity enhancing technologies, which remain low.

Climate variability: Climate variability as one of the key shocks that has negatively impacted on people's income need to be addressed: through more smart investments in water for production and irrigation technologies; expedition of the rehabilitation of the irrigation dams; awareness creation of climate change and active involvement of farmers in the mitigation and adaptation process; and timely support to research and development (R&D) in developing drought resistant crop varieties for different PRDP sub-regions. There is also need to address climate variability by promoting the planting of high value tree crops as a potential

future source of export and discouraging the cutting of trees for charcoal burning.

Institutional building to support agriculture: One of the transformative initiatives here is the revival of the old institutions that were proven to work for inclusive development. These include the district farm institutes; the cooperatives linking access to agro-inputs, agricultural R&D; tractor-hire services at the Sub-Country/community development centres; storage, transport and marketing chains locally, nationally and globally. There is need to support the revival of the integrated cooperatives scheme, as a platform for bargaining for credit and prices. Emphasis should be placed on building the capacities of cooperatives, and these should be organized around the production and marketing of specific crops, unlike what is obtained at the present-day SACCOS. These cooperatives should not be politically driven if there are to achieve the intended objectives. Instead government should focus on creating an enabling environment for them to strive.

7.2.4 Changing the mind-set of the youth

Given the levels of joblessness and underemployment faced by youth in the PRDP region, as well as the challenges in skills and income acquisition, it is necessary to harness the youth potential, by enhancing their capabilities, with the aim of productively integrating them into the economy. It is recognized that education plays a central role in preparing the youth for the labour market. It does this through the provision of both the soft and technical skills. With this in view, investing in education and skills enhancement will not only improve youth employability but also equip them with the necessary skills to create their own employment. All this will equip them to act as agents of change in the PRDP region.

It is thus paramount that interventions that simultaneously address the access, quality of education, and school dropout problems at all three levels of education (primary, secondary and tertiary) be enhanced. Second, "chance" programmes (to bring school dropouts up to academic levels equivalent to those missed in formal schooling) could be especially effective in a region in which young people missed out on

educational opportunities, because of a conflict that lasted for two decades. This can consequently improve the chances of school dropout youth (as well as those who missed on the formal education) in taking advantage of Government programmes that normally require some minimum competences in formal education.

To address the challenge of inadequate skills among the youth, and the skills mismatch between job seekers and job openings, it is important to strengthen the institutional framework for Business, Technical and Vocational Education and Training (BTJET) as one of the keys to unlock the entrepreneurial potential of young people. Increasing access and quality of BTJET will effectively respond to the lack of technical and employable skills that employers require, by offering relevant quality vocational skills to unemployed youth. There should be earmarked budget to support the new and existing BTJET institutions as well as improving coordination across actors to promote synergies as well as minimising on duplication and irrelevant programmes.

Furthermore, it is imperative to link the BTJET sector to the conventional education system, rather than have it as an alternative for those who do not progress to higher levels of education. Investments in vocational training at the very beginning of life will ensure that skills are built. This is important given the fact that majority of the young people do not complete even the primary education cycle.

A major issue with BTJET is the often missing link with market needs. This often results in the saturation of the labour market with popular skills, such as hairdressing, carpentry, and tailoring, among others. Demand-driven models that train youth in skills that are demanded by the private sector will go a long way in addressing the challenge of skills mismatch. This could be achieved through conducting a PRDP region market needs assessment, with the aim of identifying marketable skills that are currently in high demand in the region and where possible help them in terms of job placement. Finally, exchange visits by the youth to other parts of Uganda for exposure should be supported, as part of the process towards changing mind-set.

Given the Government's medium term focus on expanding infrastructure, there is need to provide affirmative action to youth groups in the PRDP region, to enable them to actively participate in public works programmes. This could be undertaken through providing the appropriate technical training required for the rehabilitation and maintenance of district and community roads. There are examples in other countries, where such programmes have been used to provide employment to the youth. For example, the "Roads 2000" programme in Kenya targeted the youth for the provision of technical training in road maintenance and repair, as means of creating short-term labour intensive employment. That programme created 23,000 jobs during the 2005 to 2012 period. Kenya also adopted preferential treatment for youth firms in public procurement. Also, the attitudes of the youth towards honest work should be addressed through a mind-set change, using the education system, religious leaders, as well as cultural leaders. Finally, previous examples such as the use of the army as extension workers under the National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) programmes could be replicated for the youth—so that they become trusted local extension workers.

7.2.5 Tapping the livestock opportunity in Karamoja

Livestock: Facilitating the survival of livestock in Karamoja is very important as well as transforming this asset from a status symbol to business. The livestock sector also has the potential to offer alternative employment opportunities to youth. The emphasis here should involve uprooting obstacles to land access, and linking cattle-rearing activities with high value added manufacturing. This can be achieved through improved breeds (in terms of size, quality of the animals and better breeds) and access to water and veterinary services, deliberate seeding to improve rangelands, in addition to security. The government should support the integration of the pastoral economy of Karamoja with that of pastoral groups in neighbouring countries (namely, South Sudan and Kenya) to create synergies with regard to livestock production and cross-border disease transmission, in order to minimise negative cross-border competition.

Mining: The contribution of the mining sector to the socio-economic development of the region in particular Karamoja needs to be emphasised. There is need to attract the mining companies to establish mineral processing plants in Karamoja, for local value addition that has potential to create multiplier employment and economic effects in the area. In turn this, will partly address the income barriers to education and health.

7.2.6 Refocusing of PRDP investments

There is need to prioritize the engagement/focus in the PRDP region. There is a perception that since the end of the war, the region has received a disproportionate share of both attention and funds—from Government and development partners. Nonetheless, the region remains the most deprived and the progress made on different dimension although larger than the RoC, is nor far-off by a wide margin. The above scenario is partly explained by the fact that, the region has so many problems and previous funding has been spread too thinly leading to limited impact. For example, PRDP III still covers the same geographical areas including the *spill-over* sub-region, a sub-region with almost similar progress on human development as the RoC. With the current budgetary constraints, it would have been more feasible to focus on the most deprived areas e.g. Acholi and Karamoja. Disturbingly, most government programmes treat the PRDP as homogenous. There is an urgent need to move away from this modality of one-size fits all and set different priorities for specific sub-regions.

There is need to maintain the additionality principle of PRDP funding as a recognition of the fact that the region still needs extra support. This is so because recovery requires long-term investment. For greater impact on human development outcomes, there is need to develop a graduation/exit strategy for the well-to-do-districts; shift focus from projects to programmes; minimise on the unintended adverse effects of such investments; proper management and accountability for funds invested; and recognition that districts in the region are at different levels of human development.

7.2.7 A Critical attention to trauma and psycho-social issues

Recognising and addressing the long term effects of psycho-social effects on the community affected

by conflict. It is imperative that Government and development partners recognise the long term and deleterious effects of trauma, conflict and its antecedents on the communities in the PRDP region. Recent studies have documented these and shown that over 50 percent of the population has been affected by trauma and critical events, with critical ramifications for their welfare. While a whole society was affected, most NGOs and development agencies efforts had been directed at formerly abducted children without considerations of how the community has been affected. A transformative psycho-social approach requires the integration of psycho-social services in the health service and other natural community structures. To begin with, a psycho-social focal point person(s) could be recruited, trained and placed at the health centre of major hospital to provide counselling and other such support including referrals. Such staff could be provided with a budget to use for community outreach to identify persons at critical need of care and support. It is envisaged that they will work with the local leadership and such structures to identify and support the children, youth and other community members with psycho-social difficulties.

7.2.8 Engaging locals in the region's development

Quite a number of interventions in the PRDP region have been implemented by “outsiders”. This has not supported the emergency of local role models to stir development. There is a need to more actively engage the local people in the region's development, but at the same time increase the level of trust in Government interventions. For instance, involving religious institutions and strengthening the capacity of cultural and traditional institutions to take part in local development activities can speed up the process of changing mind-sets. Furthermore, engaging the locals could address the issue of the increasing challenge of attracting and retaining staff to provide basic social services.

7.2.9 Involvement of local governments in the region's development

The need to involve the local governments cannot be over emphasised. There is need for bottom-up approach to fully open up the local authorities. This in return will increase the overall

presence of Government in the PRDP region. The local governments should be empowered to coordinate the activities of the various actors in the region including the development partners and the NGOs. However, this mean will mean that the development partners might have to change their own programming that has been done partly through NGOs to local governments. In order to achieve all these, there is need to strengthen the local governments capacities to deliver quality services; move away from politicisation of Government programmes, strengthen their capacities to develop bylaws (to address gender inequalities caused by conflict, poverty, social norms and practises etc) and ensure compliance; and supporting local government to mainstream gender and tackling GBV – e.g. through coordination of the several NGOs supporting women and girls' concerns.

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Statistical Tables

READERS GUIDE

The 13 statistical tables provide an overview of the key aspects of human development in Uganda and the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP) region in particular. The tables comprise of composite indices and other development indicators prepared using several data sources since 2005/6 – based on household survey data and/or administrative data. The annex presents technical notes on how the indices and other development indicators for this Report were computed.

Unlike the Global Human Development Report (GHDR), this national level report compares human development progress between the PRDP region (and sub-regions therein) with the national and the rest of the country (RoC) averages. The PRDP region is divided into three mutually exclusive sub-regions to reflect the intensity of the conflict as articulated in the PRDP II – *sporadically affected* and *severely affected* by conflict and cattle rustling as well as those that experienced conflict *spill-over* sub-region. Where data permitted, a row was added to highlight the status and progress for Karamoja sub-region.

SOURCES AND DEFINITIONS

The main data sources included the massive nationally representative surveys conducted by the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBoS) - Uganda National Household Surveys (UNHS) of 2005/6, 2009/10 and 2012/13; Uganda National Panel Surveys (UNPS) since 2005/6; Uganda demographic and health surveys (UDHS) of 2006 and 2011-, Uganda Service Delivery Indicator (USDI) survey of 2013 and administrative data. Definitions of indicators were tailored to the Ugandan context – this partly explains the discrepancies, if any, with the GHDR. Definitions and sources of original data are given at the bottom of each table, with full source of details in the *Statistical references*.

In the first two surveys (i.e. UNHS and UNPS), information was gathered at household and

community levels whereas in the UDHS, data was collected at household level.¹⁷⁸ Specifically, the data from UNHS is used to provide insights into the education and income dimensions of the human development framework; whereas the UDHS data is used for the health dimension. The UNPS data is used to complement the UNHS data. The data on gross national index (GNI) expressed in 2011 purchasing power parity (PPP) terms was drawn from the World Bank's 2014 World Development Indicators database whereas that on life expectancy at birth was sourced from the country economy site.¹⁷⁹

An *adult* person according to the Uganda Constitution is defined as a person aged 18 years and older. This age bracket is further divided into junior adult (or youth) as a person aged 18 to 30 years of age and *senior adult* as a person aged 31 years and older.

SPATIAL COMPARISONS

The PRDP region is not a homogenous group and this necessitated dividing the region into sub-regions to reflect the intensity of the conflict as categorised in the PRDP II. The region is made of 55 districts which are categorized into three mutually exclusive sub-regions: *sporadically affected* and *severely affected* by conflict and cattle rustling as well as those that experienced conflict *spill-over* (Bukedi, Elgon, Teso and part of Bunyoro). The PRDP estimates are presented along the national average as well as for the RoC.

COMPARISONS OVER TIME

The availability of massive and quality data from the Bureau, enables us to compute the indicators over time and spatially (as in the above note – where data permitted). The report focuses on the period after the signing of the peace agreement in 2006. Most indicators have estimates for 2005/6, 2009/10 and 2012/13. The exception is the multi-dimensional poverty index (MPI) with only two data points – 2006 and 2011. The report tests for

significant changes within and across data points using a t-statistic. Where necessary, annualized growth rates are computed.

SYMBOLS

A slash between years e.g. 2012/13 indicates an average for the period specified. A dash (-) between two periods e.g. 2009/10-2012/13 indicates annualized growth rates between the first and last year indicated.

STATISTICAL ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The construction of the development indicators in this Report draws heavily on secondary data sources. We are grateful to UBoS for not only availing the survey data but also provided technical backstop whenever called upon.

STATISTICAL TABLES

The first five (5) tables relate to the five composite human development indices and their components. The composite human development indices include: the Human Development Index (HDI), the Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI), the Gender Inequality Index (GII), the Gender Development Index (GDI) and the Multi-dimensional Poverty Index (MPI).

The remaining tables present a broader set of human development related indicators and provide a more comprehensive picture of a Uganda's human development and in particular that of the PRDP region.

Table 1, Human Development Index and its components – longevity (life expectancy at birth), expected years of schooling (mean years of schooling and expected years of schooling), and income. The tables also provides the average annualized HDI growth rates. Due to the expressed interest to compute comparable national, PRDP region and sub-regional human development indices, household consumption based on national surveys was converted into 2011 PPP\$ terms instead of the GNI. With technical backstop by the Bureau, we were able to derive life expectancy at birth by the above regional groupings. However,

these calculations were done for 2011 UDHS on the basis of the 2002 population census. Thus, life expectancy at birth estimates are the same for all the three years – 2005/6 2009/10 and 2012/13 – though this might not raise a lot of concerns since life expectancy changes slowly over time.

Table 2, Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index, contains two related measures of inequality- the IHDI and the loss in HDI due to inequality. The IHDI looks beyond the average achievements of Uganda in health, education and income to show how these achievements are distributed among its residents. The IHDI can be interpreted as the level of human development when inequality is accounted for. The relative difference between the IHDI and HDI is the loss due to the inequality in distribution of the HDI within the country. The table also presents the coefficient of human inequality, which is an unweighted average of inequalities in three dimensions. The table also presents three standard measures of income inequality: the ratio of the top and the bottom quintiles; the Palma ratio, which is the ratio of income of the top 10 percent and the bottom 40 percent; the Gini coefficient; and income shares.

Table 3, Gender Inequality Index, presents a composite measure of gender inequality using three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment and labour market participation. Reproductive health is measured by two indicators: the maternal mortality ratio and the adolescent birth rate. For these two indicators, the estimates for 2011 (based on the UDHS) is assumed for both 2009/10 and 2012/13. Empowerment is measured by the share of parliamentary seats held by women and the share of *senior adult* population with at least some secondary education. And labour market is measured by participation in the labour force for persons aged 14-64 years old. A low GI value indicates low inequality between females and males, and vice-versa.

Table 4, Gender Development Index, measures disparities in HDI by gender. The table contains HDI values estimated separately for females and males; the ratio of which is the GDI. The closer the ratio is to 1, the smaller the gap between women and men. Values for the three HDI components-longevity, education (with two indicators) and income-are also presented by gender.

Table 5, Multidimensional Poverty Index, captures the multiple deprivations that people face in their education, health and living standards. The MPI shows both the incidence of non-income multidimensional poverty (a headcount of those in multidimensional poverty) and its intensity (the relative number of deprivations people experience at the same time). Based on intensity thresholds, people are classified as near multidimensional poverty, multidimensional poor or in severe poverty, respectively. The contributions of deprivations in each dimension to overall poverty are also included. The table also presents measures of income poverty-population living on less than 2011 PPP \$1.25 per day and population living below the national poverty line. The MPI is constructed based on 10 indicators. The height-for-age for children under age 5 is used because stunting is a better indicator of chronic malnutrition. A child death is considered a health deprivation only if it happened in the five years prior to the survey.

Table 6, Health: Children presents indicators of infant health (percentage of infants, who are exclusively breastfed for the first six months of life, percentage of infants who lack immunization for DTP and measles, and infant mortality rate), child health (percentage of children under age 5 who are stunted, percentage of children who are overweight and child mortality rate). The table also includes data on antenatal coverage.

Table 7, Health expenditure, health expenditure as a share of GDP and out of pocket expenditure for health.

Table 8, Education, presents standard education indicators along with indicators on education

quality including teachers' absenteeism. The table provides indicators of educational attainment-adult and youth literacy rates and the share of the adult population with at least some secondary education. Gross enrolment ratios at each level of education are complemented by primary school dropout rates. The table also includes two indicators on education quality- the pupil-teacher ratio, teacher's absenteeism -as well as an indicators on education expenditure as a percentage of GDP and out of pocket expenditure on education.

Table 9, Social competencies, contains indicators on three components: employment and related vulnerabilities. Indicators on vulnerabilities related to employment include vulnerable employment, youth and total unemployment, child labour and working poor.

Table 10, Personal insecurity, reflects the extent to which the population is insecure. It presents orphaned children population. And it includes perception-based indicator on justification of wife beating by gender.

Table 11, Population trends, contains major population indicators, including total population, median age, dependency burden of support that falls on the labour force in a country.

Table 12, Supplementary indicators, households' perceptions of their standard of living.

Table 13, Supplementary social service indicators: quality of education, quality of health care

TABLE A 1: HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX AND ITS COMPONENTS

	Human Development Index (HDI)		Life expectancy at birth		Mean years of schooling		Expected years of schooling		Gross National Income (GNI) per capita		Annualised HDI growth rates, %				
	Value	Years	Years	Years	Years	Years	Years	2011 PPP\$	2005/6-2009/10	2009/10-2012/13	2005/6-2009/10	2009/10-2012/13			
	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13			
Uganda	0.448	0.460	0.463	4.8	4.7	4.5	11.8	11.4	11.8	932	1,193	1,237	0.6	0.3	0.5
RoC	0.461	0.470	0.476	5.2	5.1	4.9	12.1	11.3	11.8	1,100	1,433	1,525	0.4	0.4	0.4
PRDP	0.402	0.424	0.431	4.1	4.1	4.0	11.4	11.5	12.0	597	802	848	1.3	0.5	1.0
<i>Sporadically affected</i>	0.400	0.420	0.430	4.2	4.1	4.1	11.2	11.4	11.2	590	767	927	1.2	0.8	1.0
<i>Severely affected</i>	0.362	0.394	0.394	3.5	3.6	3.3	10.3	10.5	10.5	458	683	707	2.1	-0.1	1.2
<i>Spill-over</i>	0.432	0.447	0.450	4.5	4.4	4.2	12.5	12.3	13.3	708	915	868	0.9	0.2	0.6

NOTES

On life expectancy at birth – assumes the same figures for all the data points. The calculations are based on the 2002 Population and Housing Census. However, the UDHS data of 2006 and 2011 have shown improvements in the mortality situation necessitating revising the national estimate. Before, the official estimate is obtained from the recently concluded 2014 National Population and Housing Census, data from UDHS 2011 was used to estimate the regional level life expectancy indices.

On the GNI - Due to the expressed interest to compute comparable national, PRDP region and sub-regional human development indices, the paper uses the household consumption converted into 2011 PPP terms (which is a proxy for long-term income) instead of the GNI data from the World Development Indicators. The GNI per capita in 2011 PPP\$ for 2005/6 stood at 1,069.53; 2009/10 at 1,279.06; and for 2012/13 at 1,350.98 (source World Bank, World Development Indicators).

On the expected years of schooling - UNESCO approaches in the computation of the expected years of schooling.

DEFINITIONS

Human Development Index (HDI): A composite index measuring average achievement in three basic dimensions of human development—a long and healthy life, knowledge and decent standard of living. See Technical note 1 at <http://hdi.undp.org> for details on how the HDI is calculated.

Life expectancy at birth: Number of years a new born infant could expect to live if prevailing patterns of age-specific mortality rates at the time of birth stay the same throughout the infant's life.

Mean years of schooling: Average number of years of education received by people aged 31 and older, converted from education attainment levels using official durations of each level.

Expected years of schooling: Number of years of schooling that a child of school entrance age can expect to receive if prevailing patterns of age-specific enrolment rates persist throughout the child's life.

Gross National Income (GNI) per capita: Aggregate income of an economy generated by its production and its ownership of factors of production, less the incomes paid for the use of factors of production owned by the rest of the world, converted to international dollars using PPP rates, divided by midyear population.

Average annual HDI growth: A smoothed annualized growth of the HDI in a given period, calculated as the annual compound growth rate.

MAIN DATA SOURCES

Columns 5-7: Authors' calculations based on the Uganda Demographic and Health Surveys (UDHS) of 2006 and 2011.

Columns 8-16: Authors' calculation based on the Uganda National Household Surveys (UNHS) of 2005/6, 2009/10 and 2012/13.

TABLE A.2: INEQUALITY-ADJUSTED HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX

	Human Development Index (HDI)		Inequality-adjusted HDI (IHDI)		Coefficient of human inequality		Inequality in life expectancy		Inequality-adjusted life expectancy index		Inequality in education		Inequality-adjusted education index		Inequality in income		Inequality-adjusted income index		Income inequality			
	Value	Overall loss (%)	Value	%	Value	%	Value	%	Value	%	Value	%	Value	%	Value	%	Value	%	Quintile ratio	Palma ratio	Gini coefficient	Income share, %
2005/6																						
Uganda	0.448	22.1	21.7	10.0	0.493	30.9	0.337	24.1	0.256	7.48	1.94	0.408	100.0									
RoC	0.461	24.3	23.8	18.4	0.434	29.8	0.352	23.1	0.279	7.28	3.37	0.399	78.0									
PRDP region	0.402	23.2	23.9	21.1	0.420	32.3	0.318	18.2	0.221	6.78	0.36	0.349	22.0									
<i>Sporadically affected</i>	0.400	21.1	20.7	13.7	0.457	31.7	0.308	16.8	0.223	6.42	0.29	0.335	8.7									
<i>Severely affected</i>	0.362	21.6	21.3	13.7	0.443	34.3	0.268	16.0	0.193	6.55	0.12	0.324	4.3									
<i>Spill-over</i>	0.432	20.2	21.0	13.7	0.473	31.1	0.358	18.3	0.241	6.79	0.67	0.349	9.0									
2009/10																						
Uganda	0.460	23.7	23.1	10.0	0.493	33.2	0.316	26.2	0.276	8.05	2.13	0.426	100.0									
ROC	0.470	26.1	25.8	18.4	0.434	32.4	0.327	26.7	0.295	8.01	3.86	0.434	74.0									
PRDP	0.424	24.7	24.4	21.1	0.420	33.8	0.302	18.2	0.257	6.37	0.37	0.345	26.0									
<i>Sporadically affected</i>	0.420	20.9	20.5	13.7	0.457	32.0	0.308	15.7	0.259	5.94	0.27	0.320	9.0									
<i>Severely affected</i>	0.394	25.9	25.2	13.7	0.443	37.6	0.257	24.4	0.220	8.10	0.37	0.419	5.7									
<i>Spill-overs</i>	0.447	20.8	20.3	13.7	0.473	32.6	0.329	14.6	0.286	5.56	0.48	0.308	11.4									
2012/13																						
Uganda	0.463	21.7	21.3	10.0	0.493	30.7	0.331	22.8	0.292	7.23	1.84	0.395	100.0									
ROC	0.476	23.3	23.2	18.4	0.434	29.9	0.344	21.1	0.324	6.94	3.93	0.381	70.0									
PRDP region	0.431	23.9	23.7	21.1	0.420	31.3	0.321	18.5	0.263	6.66	0.40	0.351	30.0									
<i>Sporadically affected</i>	0.430	21.4	21.0	13.7	0.457	31.5	0.307	17.6	0.276	6.17	0.54	0.344	10.8									
<i>Severely affected</i>	0.394	25.2	24.6	13.7	0.443	36.7	0.254	23.5	0.226	7.59	0.36	0.404	6.1									
<i>Spill-overs</i>	0.450	19.2	18.9	13.7	0.473	27.7	0.368	15.2	0.276	6.24	0.32	0.315	13.1									

On expected length of life, instead of using information based on the life tables, the report used information death information as reported by the women in the UDHS 2011. In the calculation of the Atkinson's inequality, death recorded at 0 months were assigned a value of 0.5.

DEFINITIONS

Human Development Index (HDI): A composite index measuring average achievement in three basic dimensions of human development—a long and healthy life, knowledge and decent standard of living. See Technical note 1 at <http://hdr.undp.org> for details on how the HDI is calculated.

Inequality-adjusted HDI (IHDI): HDI value adjusted for inequalities in the three basic dimensions of human development. See Technical note 1 at <http://hdr.undp.org> for details on how the IHDI is calculated.

Overall loss: Percentage difference between the IHDI and the HDI.

Difference from HDI rank: Difference in ranks on the IHDI and the HDI, calculated only for countries for which the IHDI is calculated.

Coefficient of human inequality: Average inequality in three basic dimensions of human development. See Technical note 2 at <http://hdr.undp.org>

Inequality in life expectancy: Inequality in distribution of expected length of life based on data from death for persons below 60 months as reported by women in the UDHS 2011 estimated using the Atkinson inequality index.

Inequality-adjusted life expectancy index: The HDI life expectancy index adjusted for inequality in distribution of expected length of life based on data from life tables listed in Main data sources.

Inequality in education: Inequality in distribution of years of schooling based on data from household surveys listed in Main data sources.

Inequality-adjusted education index: the HDI education index adjusted for inequality in distribution of years of school based on data from household surveys listed in Main data sources.

Inequality in income: Inequality in income distribution based on data from household surveys estimated using the Atkinson inequality index.

Inequality-adjusted income index: the HDI income index adjusted for inequality in income distribution based on data from household surveys listed in Main data sources.

Palma inequality index is the ratio of the total income of the richest 10% to that of the bottom poorest 40%.

Quintile ratio is the ratio of the mean income of the richest 20% to that of the poorest 20%.

Gini coefficient: Measure of the deviation of the distribution of income among individuals or households within a country from a perfectly equal distribution. A value of 0 represents absolute equality, a value of 100 absolute inequality.

MAIN DATA SOURCES

Column 2: see source for Table 1.

Column 3: Calculated as the geometric mean of the values in columns 7, 9 and 11 using the methodology in Technical note 2 at <http://hdr.undp.org>.

TABLE A 3: GENDER INEQUALITY INDEX

Gender Inequality Index	Maternal mortality ratio	Adolescent birth rate	Share of seats in Parliament	Population with at least some secondary education						Labour force participation rate													
				% ages 31 and older			% ages 18 and older			% ages 31 and older			% ages 18 and older										
				Value	(deaths per 100,000 live births)	(births per 1,000 women ages 15-19)	(% held by women)	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male								
2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2006	2011	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13							
0.577	0.569	0.570	418	438	418	438	150	133	32.3	32.3	34.5	12.6	13.0	12.1	28.7	28.1	80.5	79.3	85.1	83.3	77.8	88.7	
0.582	0.563	0.561	418	438	163	119	29.4	31.1	15.7	16.3	16.2	30.5	30.8	29.3	80.0	78.6	82.4	84.0	84.0	84.0	79.5	87.9	
0.595	0.583	0.593	418	438	173	158	36.9	39.7	6.8	7.8	6.3	24.9	24.8	26.4	81.4	80.7	88.9	81.9	88.9	81.9	74.8	90.0	
<i>Sporadically affected</i>	0.595	0.592	418	438	139	141	38.1	39.2	5.3	4.7	6.2	26.4	24.4	28.7	83.3	79.1	91.2	84.1	84.1	84.1	75.7	93.1	
<i>Severely affected</i>	0.607	0.581	418	438	183	142	36.4	42.5	4.5	6.7	6.4	21.1	24.0	24.3	75.5	83.9	93.0	74.4	75.5	83.9	74.4	75.9	92.7
<i>Spill-over</i>	0.582	0.579	418	438	171	185	36.2	38.2	9.8	11.7	6.3	25.5	25.9	25.7	83.6	80.5	84.9	84.0	83.6	80.5	84.9	73.1	86.1

NOTES

The latest information was available for maternal deaths in 2011.

DEFINITIONS

Gender Inequality Index: A composite measure reflecting inequality in achievement between women and men in three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market. See Technical note 3 at <http://hdr.undp.org> for details on how the Gender Inequality Index is calculated.

Maternal mortality ratio: Number of deaths due to pregnancy-related causes per 100,000 live births.

Adolescent birth rate: Number of births to women ages 15-19 per 1,000 women ages 15-19

Share of seats in national parliament: Proportion of seats held by women in the national parliament, expressed as percentage of total seats. For countries with bicameral legislative systems, the share of seats is calculated based on both houses.

Population with at least some secondary education: Percentage of the population ages 31 and older who have reached (but not necessarily completed) a secondary level of education.

Labour force participation ratio: Proportion of a country's working-age population (ages 18 and older) that engages in the

labour market, either by working or actively looking for work, expressed as a percentage of the working-age population.

MAIN DATA SOURCES

Columns 5-6: Authors' calculations based on the Uganda Demographic and Health Surveys (UDHS) of 2006 and 2011.

Columns 9-10: Authors' calculations based on the administrative data from the 8th and 9th Parliament of Uganda.

Columns 2-3; 12-17; 19-23: Authors' calculation based on the Uganda National Household Surveys (UNHS) of 2005/6, 2009/10 and 2012/13.

TABLE A 4: GENDER DEVELOPMENT INDEX

	Gender Development Index				Human Development Index (HDI)				Life expectancy at birth				Mean years of schooling					
	2009/10		2012/13		2009/10		2012/13		2009/10		2012/13		2009/10		2012/13			
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Females	Males	Females	Males	Female	Male	Female	Male		
	Ratio of female to male HDI																	
	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2011	2011	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	
Uganda	0.699	0.811	0.728	0.316	0.367	0.338	0.452	0.452	0.464	57.2	52.9	3.5	3.5	3.4	6.2	6.1	5.8	
RoC	0.733	0.852	0.773	0.340	0.395	0.367	0.464	0.464	0.475	57.2	52.9	4.0	4.0	4.0	6.3	6.3	5.9	
PRDP	0.707	0.777	0.743	0.296	0.337	0.328	0.419	0.433	0.441	56.9	52.9	2.5	2.6	2.6	5.9	5.8	5.6	
<i>Sporadically affected</i>	0.656	0.818	0.749	0.275	0.347	0.331	0.420	0.424	0.442	57.0	52.7	2.4	2.3	2.5	6.0	6.0	6.0	
<i>Severely affected</i>	0.551	0.763	0.540	0.216	0.310	0.226	0.392	0.407	0.419	56.5	51.0	1.8	2.2	1.8	5.5	5.4	5.1	
<i>Spill-over</i>	0.741	0.838	0.757	0.328	0.376	0.347	0.443	0.448	0.458	57.6	54.5	3.2	3.1	3.1	5.9	5.9	5.5	
	Estimated gross national income per capita (2011 PPP\$)																	
	Expected years of schooling																	
	Years																	
	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13
Uganda	338	706	456	1,557	1,704	2,068	1,557	1,704	2,068	11.4	11.0	11.2	12.4	11.9	12.5	12.5	12.5	12.5
ROC	351	782	504	1,877	2,112	2,609	1,877	2,112	2,609	11.7	11.0	11.3	12.5	11.7	12.3	12.5	11.7	12.3
PRDP	273	424	368	949	1,211	1,357	949	1,211	1,357	10.7	10.9	11.2	12.2	12.3	12.7	12.2	12.3	12.7
<i>Sporadically affected</i>	226	507	407	984	1,049	1,471	984	1,049	1,471	10.6	10.9	10.6	12.0	12.1	11.8	12.0	12.1	11.8
<i>Severely affected</i>	160	365	173	781	1,018	1,292	781	1,018	1,292	9.3	9.7	9.2	11.6	11.6	11.8	11.6	11.6	11.8
<i>Spill-overs</i>	321	600	375	1,129	1,260	1,389	1,129	1,260	1,389	11.9	11.7	12.7	13.1	13	14	13.1	13	14

NOTES

On life expectancy at birth – assumes the same figures for all the data points. The calculations are based on the 2002 Population and Housing Census. However, the UDHS data of 2006 and 2011 have shown improvements in the mortality situation necessitating revising the national estimate. Before, the official estimate is obtained from the recently concluded 2014 National Population and Housing Census; data from UDHS 2011 was used to estimate the regional level life expectancy indices.

On the GNI - Due to the expressed interest to compute comparable national, PRDP region and sub-regional human development indices, the paper uses the household consumption converted into 2011 PPP terms (which is a proxy for long-term income) instead of the GNI data from the World Development Indicators. The GNI per capita in 2011 PPP\$ for 2005/6 stood at 1,069.53; 2009/10 at 1,279.06; and for 2012/13 at 1,350.98 (source World Bank, World Development Indicators).

DEFINITIONS

Gender Development Index: A composite measure reflecting disparity in human development achievements between women and men in three dimensions – health, education and living standards. See Technical note 4 at <http://hdr.undp.org> for details on how the Gender Development Index is calculated.

Ratio of female to male HDI: Ratio of female to male HDI values

Human Development Index (HDI): A composite index measuring average achievement in three basic dimensions of human development—a long and healthy life, knowledge and decent standard of living. See Technical note 1 at <http://hdr.undp.org> for details on how the HDI is calculated

Life expectancy at birth: Number of years a new born infant could expect to live if prevailing patterns of age-specific mortality rates at the time of birth stay the same throughout the infant's life.

Mean years of schooling: Average number of years of

education received by people ages 31 and older, converted from education attainment levels using official durations of each level.

Expected years of schooling: Number of years of schooling that a child of school entrance age can expect to receive if prevailing patterns of age-specific enrolment rates persist throughout the child's life.

Estimated Gross National Income (GNI) per capita: Derived from the ratio of female to male wage, female and male shares of economically active population and GNI (in 2011 purchasing power parity terms). See Technical note 4 at <http://hdr.undp.org/> for details.

MAIN DATA SOURCES

Columns 10-11: Authors' calculations based on the Uganda Demographic and Health Surveys (UDHS) of 2006 and 2011.

Columns 12-18: Authors' calculation based on the Uganda National Household Surveys (UNHS) of 2005/6, 2009/10 and 2012/13.

TABLE A.5: MULTIDIMENSIONAL POVERTY INDEX

Multi-dimensional Poverty Index	Population in multi-dimensional poverty			Population near multi-dimensional poverty			Population in severe poverty			Contribution of deprivation in dimension to overall poverty			Population below income poverty line, %									
	Headcount	Intensity of deprivation	%	%	%	%	Education	Health	Living standards	PPP \$1.25 a day	National poverty line	2006	2011	2006/6	2012/13	2009/10	2012/13					
Value	%	%	%	%	%	%																
2006	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011	2005/6	2011	2005/6	2012/13	2009/10	2012/13	2012/13				
41.0	35.9	75.9	70.3	53.9	51.0	17.2	20.7	42.2	33.1	14.6	15.6	29.4	27.7	55.9	56.3	47.1	41.4	35.5	31.1	24.5	19.7	
35.4	31.5	68.5	63.4	51.7	49.6	21.2	23.6	32.2	27.4	13.6	14.8	29.1	28.6	57.3	56.0	36.6	32.0	22.4	20.9	16.7	9.5	
48.7	42.9	86.4	80.8	56.4	52.7	11.6	16.1	56.3	42.3	15.7	17.4	29.8	26.6	54.5	55.9	67.8	56.6	53.2	51.3	37.1	33.6	
<i>Sporadically affected</i>	48.7	43.7	85.2	80.7	57.3	54.2	12.3	15.2	57.6	48.2	18.3	16.9	27.8	28.4	53.9	54.7	67.4	59.4	47.4	51.2	38.8	30.2
<i>Severely affected</i>	57.3	48.7	94.7	84.4	60.6	57.6	5.3	14.5	72.8	52.9	18.5	21.5	29.3	24.9	52.2	53.6	81.6	68.8	65.8	70.0	56.7	53.2
<i>Spill-over</i>	41.5	37.4	80.7	78.5	51.4	47.6	16.2	18.0	41.3	29.4	10.0	14.5	32.4	26.1	57.6	59.4	58.2	45.7	50.5	38.2	23.3	24.9

NOTES

Data is only available for two data points.

DEFINITIONS

Multidimensional Poverty Index: Percentage of the population that is multi-dimensionally poor adjusted by the intensity of the deprivations. See Technical note 5 at <http://hdr.undp.org> for details on how the Multidimensional Poverty Index is calculated.

Multidimensional poverty headcount: Population with a weighted deprivation score of at least 33 percent.

Intensity of deprivation of multidimensional poverty: Average percentage of deprivation experienced by people in multidimensional poverty

Population near multidimensional poverty: Percentage of the population at risk of suffering multiple deprivations-that, those with a deprivation score of 20-33 percent.

Population in severe poverty: Percentage of the population in severe multidimensional poverty-that is, those with a deprivation score of 50 percent or more.

Contribution of deprivation to overall poverty: Percentage of the Multidimensional Poverty Index attributed to deprivations in each dimension.

Population below PPP \$1.25 a day: Percentage of the population living below the international poverty line \$1.25 (in purchasing power parity terms) a day.

Population below national poverty line: Percentage of the population living below the national poverty line, which is the poverty line deemed appropriate for a country by its authorities. National estimates are based on population-weighted subgroup estimates from household surveys.

MAIN DATA SOURCES

Columns 2-19: Authors' calculations based on the Uganda Demographic and Health Surveys (UDHS) of 2006 and 2011.

Columns 20-25: Authors' calculation based on the Uganda National Household Surveys (UNHS) of 2005/6, 2009/10 and 2012/13.

TABLE A 6: HEALTH - CHILDREN

	Infants exclusively breastfed		Infants lacking immunization		Mortality rates		Antenatal coverage		Child malnutrition	
	% of 1 year olds		per 1,000 live births		% of live births		% under age 5		Stunting	
% ages (0-5 months)	DTP	Measles	Infant	Under five	Antenatal coverage	Stunting	Underweight			
2006	2011	2006	2011	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2006	2011	2006	2011
Uganda	55.6	4.8	4.7	4.5	11.8	11.8	47.3	47.9	38.1	33.4
RoC	54.6	5.2	5.1	4.9	12.1	11.8	47.6	48.3	37.9	35.8
PRDP	54.6	4.1	4.1	4.0	11.4	11.5	46.7	47.2	38.3	29.6
<i>Sporadically affected</i>	54.4	4.2	4.1	4.1	11.2	11.2	50.6	53.2	38.6	29.8
<i>Severely affected</i>	53.4	3.5	3.6	3.3	10.3	10.5	50.8	47.7	41.4	34.1
<i>Spill-over</i>	55.6	4.5	4.4	4.2	12.5	12.3	40.1	40.6	36.1	27.2

NOTES**DEFINITIONS**

Infants exclusively breastfed: Percentage of children ages 0-5 months who are fed exclusively with breast milk in the 24 hours prior to the survey.

Infants lacking immunization against DPT: Percentage of surviving infants who have not received their first dose of diphtheria, pertussis and tetanus vaccine.

Infants lacking immunization against measles: Percentage of surviving infants who have not received the first dose of measles vaccine.

Infant mortality rate: Probability of dying between birth and exactly age 1, expressed per 1,000 live births.

Under five mortality rate: Probability of dying between birth and exactly five years of age, expressed per 1,000 live births.

Antenatal coverage: Proportion of women who used antenatal care provided by skilled health personnel for reasons related to pregnancy at least once during pregnancy, as a percentage of live births.

Stunted children: Percentage of children aged 0-59 months who are more than two standard deviations below the median height-for-age of the World Health Organization (WHO) Child Growth Standards.

Underweight children: Percentage of children ages 0-59 months who are more.

MAIN DATA SOURCES

Columns 5-7: Authors' calculations based on the Uganda Demographic and Health Surveys (UDHS) of 2006 and 2011.

Columns 8-16: Authors' calculation based on the Uganda National Household Surveys (UNHS) of 2005/6, 2009/10 and 2012/13

TABLE A 7: HOUSEHOLD HEALTH AND EDUCATION EXPENDITURES

	Health expenditure						Education expenditure															
	Current public spending			Out of pocket			Current public spending			Out of Pocket												
	%GDP	2009/10	2012/13	%GDP	2005/06	2009/10	2012/13	% of total health expenditure	2005/06	2009/10	2012/13	%GDP	2005/06	2009/10	2012/13	% in total OOP	2005/06	2009/10	2012/13	% of total education expenditure		
Uganda	1.25	1.19	1.11	4.92	4.75	4.10	100.0	79.8	79.9	78.7	3.3	2.6	2.4	7.2	6.9	7.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	68.5	72.8	69.7
ROC	-	-	-	3.89	3.51	2.93	78.9	71.5	-	-	-	-	-	6.1	5.7	5.4	83.9	82.4	77.7	-	-	-
PRDP	-	-	-	1.04	1.24	1.17	21.1	28.5	-	-	-	-	-	1.2	1.2	1.6	16.1	17.6	22.3	-	-	-
<i>Sporadically affected</i>	-	-	-	0.38	0.45	0.47	7.8	9.5	-	-	-	-	-	0.4	0.4	0.6	5.2	6.0	8.2	-	-	-
<i>Severely affected</i>	-	-	-	0.20	0.22	0.18	4.1	4.7	-	-	-	-	-	0.2	0.4	0.3	2.5	5.9	4.7	-	-	-
<i>Spill-over</i>	-	-	-	0.45	0.57	0.51	9.2	11.9	-	-	-	-	-	0.6	0.4	0.7	8.3	5.7	9.4	-	-	-

NOTES

Public health expenditure were only available at national level.

DEFINITIONS

Current health expenditures, total. Government current spending on health as expressed by % of GDP

Out-of-pocket health expenditure: Household direct payments to public and private providers of health care services and non-profit institutions and non-reimbursable cost

sharing, such as deductibles, co-payments and fee for service, expressed as a percentage of i) GDP; ii) share in total OOP and iii) total health public expenditure (current only).

Current education expenditures, total. Government current spending on education as expressed by % of GDP

Out-of-pocket education expenditure: Household direct payments to public and private providers of education services and non-profit institutions and non-reimbursable cost sharing, expressed as a percentage of i) GDP; ii) share in total OOP and

iii) total health public expenditure (current only).

MAIN DATA SOURCES

Columns 2-4; 14-16: Authors' calculations based on administrative data on current government spending on health and education and GDP.

Columns 5-13; 17-25: Authors' calculations based on the Uganda National Household Surveys of 2005/6, 2009/10 and 2012/13.

TABLE A 8: EDUCATION

		Literacy rates						Population with at least some secondary education						Gross enrolment ratios						Annualised HDI growth rates, %											
		Adult			Youth			(% ages 31 and older)			Primary			Secondary			Primary			Secondary											
		% ages 18 and older						% ages 18-30						% of primary school-age population						% of secondary school-age population						% of tertiary school-age population					
		2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13	2005/6	2009/10	2012/13			
Uganda		67.1	69.6	65.5	75.9	80.6	76.6	20.5	20.6	19.5	129.8	119.4	128.6	23.6	25.6	24.8	84.6	81.6	83.1	15.6	15.6	18.1	16.7								
RoC		72.5	74.5	73.8	80.9	83.8	83.5	23.1	23.4	22.4	130.1	117.7	123.9	27.5	29.6	30.2	85.6	82.0	82.3	18.7	18.7	21.9	21.6								
PRDP		56.1	60.6	53.2	65.2	74.1	65.7	15.3	15.7	15.5	129.2	121.7	134.1	15.3	19.4	18.2	82.7	81.0	84.0	8.8	8.8	12.1	10.7								
Sporadically affected		60.7	63.7	57.3	69.6	77.6	68.3	15.6	14.1	16.3	131.3	127.9	133.1	11.8	16.1	9.1	83.8	82.9	84.7	5.5	5.5	10.4	5.6								
Severely affected		50.3	52.6	48.2	57.9	63.9	57.5	12.0	14.5	14.5	113.6	110.6	119.2	7.9	13.7	12.5	73.6	73.5	74.8	5.0	5.0	8.2	8.5								
Spill-over		54.6	62.7	52.5	64.8	76.8	68.2	17.1	18.3	15.3	139.4	124.0	143.6	23.7	26.6	27.2	88.8	84.9	88.8	14.9	14.9	16.5	15.4								

NOTES**DEFINITIONS**

Adult literacy rate: Percentage of the population ages 18 and older who can, with understanding, both read and write a short simple statement on their everyday life.

Youth literacy rate: Percentage of the population ages 18-30 who can, with understanding, both read and write a short simple statement on their everyday life.

Population with at least some secondary education: Percentage of the population ages 31 and older that reached at least a secondary level of education.

Gross enrolment ratio: Total enrolment in a given level of education (pre-primary, primary, secondary or tertiary), regardless of age, expressed as a percentage of the official school-age population for the same level of education.

Primary school dropout rate: Percentage of students from a given cohort that have enrolled in primary school but that drop out before reaching the last grade of primary education. It is calculated as 100 minus the survival rate to the last grade of primary education and assumes that observed flow rates remain unchanged throughout the cohort life and that dropouts do not re-enter school.

MAIN DATA SOURCES

Columns 5-7: Authors' calculations based on the Uganda Demographic and Health Surveys (UDHS) of 2006 and 2011.

Columns 8-16: Authors' calculation based on the Uganda National Household Surveys (UNHS) of 2005/6, 2009/10 and 2012/13.

TABLE A 9: SOCIAL COMPETENCES

	Employment to population ratio % ages 31 and older	Vulnerable employment % of total employment	Level of subsistence	Youth unemployment % ages 18-30	Unemployment rate % ages 18 and older	Child labour % ages 5-17	Share of working poor (PPP \$2 a day) % of total employment
	2012/13	2012/13	2012/13	2012/13	2012/13	2009/10	2012/13
Uganda	58.5	69.7	44.1	11.1	9.3	18.3	17.8
RoC	56.9	65.7	43.3	12.0	10.7	21.0	6.0
PRDP	60.7	75.1	45.1	9.7	7.2	12.8	34.7
<i>Sporadically affected</i>	68.1	76.9	41.7	9.0	7.2	11.7	29.9
<i>Severely affected</i>	74.3	82.2	28.5	10.1	7.9	10.2	50.8
<i>Spill-over</i>	47.6	67.2	58.3	10.1	6.5	15.8	23.7

NOTES

self-employed but is available for work and has taken steps to seek paid employment or self-employment.

a percentage of the total employed population ages 18 and older.

DEFINITIONS

Employment to population ratio: Percentage of the population ages 31 and older that is employed.

Child labour: Percentage of children ages 5-11 who, during the reference week, did at least one hour of economic activity or at least 28 hours of household chores, or children ages 12-14 who, during the reference week, did at least 14 hours of economic activity or at least 28 hours of household chores.

MAIN DATA SOURCES

Columns 2-6, 10: Authors' calculation based on the Uganda National Household Surveys (UNHS) of 2012/13

Columns 7-9: Authors' calculation based on the Uganda National Household Surveys (UNHS) of 2005/6, 2009/10 and 2012/13.

Youth unemployment: Percentage of the labour force population ages 18 and older that is not paid employment or

Share of working poor: Employed people living on less than \$ 2 (in purchasing power parity terms) per day, expressed as

TABLE A 10: PERSONAL SECURITY

	PRDP region										% of PRDP				% contribution to PRDP		
	Uganda	All	Sporadic	Severely affected	Spill-over	RoC	Karamoja	RoCs	h	population	Sporadic	Severely affected	Spill-over	E/B*100	D/B*100	E/B*100	
2005/6	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i=b/a*100	c/b8100	D/B*100	E/B*100	E/B*100				
a) At least one parent dead	2,221	758	275	255	228	1,463	19	2,202	34.1	36.3	33.6	30.1					
Girls	1,109	362	123	125	113	747	8	1,101	32.6	34.1	34.5	31.3					
Boys	1,113	396	151	130	115	716	11	1,102	35.6	38.2	32.8	29.0					
i) Only mother dead	427	131	46	38	47	296	6	421	30.7	34.7	29.2	36.0					
Girls	209	64	23	20	21	145	3	206	30.8	35.8	31.5	32.8					
Boys	218	67	23	18	26	151	3	215	30.7	33.8	27.1	39.2					
ii) Only father dead	1,240	426	158	128	140	814	12	1,228	34.4	37.1	30.0	32.9					
Girls	612	202	70	58	74	410	5	607	33.1	34.5	28.8	36.7					
Boys	628	224	88	70	66	404	7	621	35.6	39.5	31.1	29.4					
b) Both parents dead	554	200	71	89	41	354	1	553	36.2	35.4	44.2	20.4					
Girls	288	95	30	46	18	193	0	288	33.0	32.1	48.9	19.0					
Boys	266	106	41	42	23	161	1	265	39.7	38.3	40.0	21.6					
2009/10																	
a) At least one parent dead	2,110	900	386	318	196	1,210	83	2,027	42.6	42.8	35.4	21.8					
Girls	1,054	431	182	157	91	623	41	1,013	40.9	42.4	36.5	21.2					
Boys	1,056	469	203	161	105	587	42	1,014	44.4	43.3	34.4	22.3					
i) Only mother dead	409	178	82	59	36	231	16	393	43.6	46.2	33.4	20.4					
Girls	203	90	39	29	22	113	8	195	44.4	42.9	32.3	24.7					
Boys	206	88	44	30	14	118	8	198	42.7	49.5	34.4	16.0					
ii) Only father dead	1,279	545	246	170	128	734	53	1,226	42.6	45.2	31.3	23.5					
Girls	651	268	121	89	59	383	26	625	41.2	45.1	33.0	21.9					
Boys	628	277	126	82	69	351	27	601	44.1	45.4	29.6	25.0					
b) Both parents dead	422	177	57	88	31	246	14	408	41.8	32.1	50.1	17.8					
Girls	200	72	23	39	10	127	7	193	36.2	31.6	54.4	14.0					
Boys	223	104	34	49	21	118	7	215	46.9	32.5	47.1	20.4					

	PRDP region				% of PRDP				% contribution to PRDP			
	Uganda	All	Sporadic	Severely affected	Spill-over	RoC	Karamoja	RoCs	population	Sporadic	Severely affected	Spill-over
2012/13												
a) At least one parent dead	2,240	1,027	324	385	318	1,212	115	2,125	45.9	31.5	37.5	31.0
<i>Girls</i>	1,104	535	147	192	196	569	58	1,046	48.5	27.4	35.9	36.7
<i>Boys</i>	1,136	493	177	194	122	643	57	1,079	43.4	35.9	39.3	24.8
i) Only mother dead	395	146	36	61	48	249	16	379	37.0	24.9	41.9	33.1
<i>Girls</i>	198	75	17	30	29	123	7	191	38.1	22.9	39.3	37.8
<i>Boys</i>	197	71	19	32	20	126	9	188	35.8	27.1	44.7	28.1
ii) Only father dead	1,422	673	235	245	193	749	76	1,346	47.3	34.9	36.4	28.7
<i>Girls</i>	684	342	104	122	117	342	40	644	50.0	30.4	35.5	34.1
<i>Boys</i>	738	331	131	123	77	407	35	703	44.8	39.6	37.3	23.2
b) Both parents dead	387	195	44	77	73	192	22	365	50.3	22.7	39.7	37.5
<i>Girls</i>	204	109	22	40	47	95	10	194	53.4	19.8	36.5	43.6
<i>Boys</i>	183	86	23	38	26	97	12	171	46.8	26.4	43.8	29.8

NOTES**DEFINITIONS**

Orphaned children: Number of children (ages 0-17) who have lost one or both parents due to any cause.

MAIN DATA SOURCES

Authors' calculation based on the Uganda National Household Surveys (UNHS) of 2005/6, 2009/10 and 2012/13

TABLE A 11: POPULATION TRENDS

	Population				Dependency ratio															
	Total		Ages 65 and older		Av. annual growth rate		Urban		Median age		per 100 people ages 14-64					Total fertility rate				
	Millions	Under age 5	Millions	Millions	%	%	% of population	Years	Years	Young age 0-13	Old age (65 and older)	Old age (65 and older) & young age 0-13	Old age (65 and older) & young age 0-13	births per woman	2006	2011				
	2005/ 2012/ 6	2005/ 2012/ 6	2005/ 2012/ 6	2005/ 2012/ 6	2005/ 2012/ 6	2005/ 2012/ 6	2005/ 2012/ 6	2005/ 2012/ 6	2005/ 2012/ 6	2005/ 2012/ 6	2005/ 2012/ 6	2005/ 2012/ 6	2005/ 2012/ 6	2005/ 2012/ 6	2006	2011				
Uganda	27.16	34.07	5.01	6.60	1.11	3.2	15.4	22.6	14	98.3	98.6	99.8	6.4	6.2	6.8	104.8	106.6	6.7	6.2	
RoC	18.06	19.60	3.21	3.81	0.56	1.2	17.0	28.4	15	94.1	90.9	93.5	6.2	5.8	6.4	100.3	96.7	99.9	6.2	5.8
PRDP	9.10	14.47	1.80	2.79	0.30	6.6	12.2	14.8	13	107.2	112.6	109.0	7.0	7.1	7.3	114.2	119.6	116.3	7.5	6.8
<i>Sporadically affected</i>	3.64	4.81	0.71	0.96	0.11	3.9	13.4	13.9	14	102.9	106.9	107.2	6.0	6.5	7.3	109.0	113.4	114.5	7.2	6.5
<i>Severely affected</i>	2.31	3.52	0.48	0.69	0.06	6.0	15.6	21.2	12	121.0	121.5	117.2	6.1	7.0	6.9	127.1	128.5	124.1	7.9	6.7
<i>Spill-over</i>	3.15	6.14	0.60	1.14	0.13	9.4	8.3	11.7	14	102.8	113.8	105.9	8.6	7.8	7.6	111.5	121.5	113.5	7.6	7.2

NOTES

This information is based on the UNHS data not on the National Population and Housing Censuses.

For Uganda, working population definition is for those individuals aged 14-64 years.

DEFINITIONS

Population: Population as per the survey data.

Population under age 5: Population as per the survey data under age 5.

Population ages 65 and older: Population as per the survey data ages 65 and older.

Population average annual growth rate: Annualised growth rates between two surveys.

Urban population: Population as per the survey data living in areas classified as urban.

Median age: Age that divides the population distribution into two equal parts-that is, 50 percent of the population is above that age and 50 percent is below it.

Young age dependency ratio: Ratio of the population ages 0-13 to the population ages 14-64, expressed as the number of dependants per 100 persons of working age (ages14-64).

Old age dependency ratio: Ratio of the population ages 65 and older to the population ages 14-64, expressed as the number of dependants per 100 people working age (ages 14-64).

Total fertility rate: Number of children that would be born to a woman if she were to live to the end of her child-bearing years and bear children at each age in accordance with prevailing age-specific fertility rates.

MAIN DATA SOURCES

Columns 22-23: Authors' calculations based on the Uganda Demographic and Health Surveys (UDHS) of 2006 and 2011.

Columns 2-21: Authors' calculation based on the Uganda National Household Surveys (UNHS) of 2005/6, 2009/10 and 2012/13.

TABLE A 12: SUPPLEMENTARY INDICATORS, 2013

	Classify own HH poverty status					Rate own HH standard of living with others in the community					Stability of HH income during last 12 months				
	Very poor	Poor	Neither poor nor rich	Rich	Not stated	Poorest	Poor	Average	Above average	Rich	Not stated	Very unstable	Somewhat stable	Stable	Not stated
Uganda	15.8	53.0	28.3	1.0	1.9	12.7	44.8	36.1	3.8	0.8	1.9	49.3	40.7	7.0	3.0
RoC	9.6	52.8	34.4	1.4	1.9	7.8	42.4	42.2	4.6	1.1	1.8	43.3	44.8	8.4	3.5
PRDP region	25.6	53.4	18.7	0.4	1.9	20.4	48.4	26.4	2.4	0.4	2.0	58.8	34.1	4.7	2.3
<i>Sporadically affected</i>	23.9	54.7	19.0	0.3	2.0	18.6	46.0	30.0	3.0	0.3	2.0	59.5	32.5	4.5	3.5
<i>Severely affected</i>	38.6	44.6	14.8	0.0	1.9	31.1	44.1	20.2	2.9	0.0	1.7	73.1	21.0	3.0	3.0
<i>Spill-overs</i>	19.4	57.5	20.6	0.6	1.8	15.5	53.1	26.8	1.7	0.6	2.2	49.8	43.4	5.9	0.9
HH living standard in past year															
a) Affordable health care and medication when ill															
	Increased	Stayed the same	Decreased	Not stated	Satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Not at all satisfied	Not applicable	Satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Not at all satisfied	Not applicable	Satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Not at all satisfied
Uganda	18.8	31.6	46.4	3.3	21.2	35.4	43.1	0.3	29.3	36.3	34.2	0.2	15.1	14.6	46.2
ROC	20.8	35.8	39.6	3.7	25.2	36.3	38.3	0.3	36.5	36.2	27.2	0.1	18.6	16.8	44.7
PRDP	15.5	24.9	56.9	2.7	15.0	34.0	50.6	0.4	18.1	36.4	45.2	0.3	9.6	11.2	48.4
<i>Sporadically affected</i>	17.4	24.4	54.7	3.5	9.6	27.5	62.5	0.4	11.7	30.2	57.8	0.3	4.4	5.8	52.2
<i>Severely affected</i>	15.6	26.2	54.9	3.3	14.5	23.0	62.0	0.5	10.3	26.9	62.5	0.3	4.6	6.2	46.6
<i>Spill-overs</i>	13.8	24.5	60.1	1.6	20.1	46.1	33.5	0.2	28.5	47.3	24.0	0.2	17.2	18.8	46.0
c) Take taxi/bus/pickup/motorbike to work															
	Increased	Stayed the same	Decreased	Not stated	Satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Not at all satisfied	Not applicable	Satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Not at all satisfied	Not applicable	Satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Not at all satisfied
Uganda	18.8	31.6	46.4	3.3	21.2	35.4	43.1	0.3	29.3	36.3	34.2	0.2	15.1	14.6	46.2
ROC	20.8	35.8	39.6	3.7	25.2	36.3	38.3	0.3	36.5	36.2	27.2	0.1	18.6	16.8	44.7
PRDP	15.5	24.9	56.9	2.7	15.0	34.0	50.6	0.4	18.1	36.4	45.2	0.3	9.6	11.2	48.4
<i>Sporadically affected</i>	17.4	24.4	54.7	3.5	9.6	27.5	62.5	0.4	11.7	30.2	57.8	0.3	4.4	5.8	52.2
<i>Severely affected</i>	15.6	26.2	54.9	3.3	14.5	23.0	62.0	0.5	10.3	26.9	62.5	0.3	4.6	6.2	46.6
<i>Spill-overs</i>	13.8	24.5	60.1	1.6	20.1	46.1	33.5	0.2	28.5	47.3	24.0	0.2	17.2	18.8	46.0

TABLE A 13: SUPPLEMENTARY SOCIAL SERVICE INDICATORS, 2013

	Health quality						Education quality						
	Absenteeism of health workers	Infrastructure	Drugs	Tracer drugs	Mothers' drugs	Kids' drugs	HC2 drugs	In classroom teaching	In classroom not teaching	In school - teaching outdoors	In school - not in classroom	Absent from school	Absent from classroom
Uganda	46.0	63.5	47.3	78.1	34.5	48.3	58.0	39.2	6.6	1.7	28.8	23.8	52.5
ROC	45.9	70.7	50.0	76.6	38.4	51.8	59.4	42.7	8.4	2.1	26.8	20.0	46.8
PRDP	45.7	39.6	38.4	81.6	21.6	37.2	53.2	30.3	2.0	0.8	33.8	33.1	66.9
<i>Sporadically affected</i>	45.1	40.9	40.1	84.8	22.1	40.4	55.7	28.2	0.7	1.3	30.3	39.6	69.8
<i>Severely affected</i>	45.0	39.7	46.6	98.7	25.9	46.2	64.5	29.9	1.7	0.2	45.4	22.8	68.2
<i>Spill-overs</i>	47.3	38.1	30.6	66.0	18.1	27.2	42.5	33.7	4.2	0.4	31.9	29.8	61.7

NOTES

For more information on the SDI survey instruments and data, and more generally on the SDI initiative can be found at: www.SDIndicators.org and www.worldbank.org/SDI or by contacting sd@worldbank.org

DEFINITIONS

School absence rate is the share of a maximum of 10 randomly selected teachers absent from school during an unannounced visit.

Classroom absence rate is the share of teachers who are present in the classroom out of those teachers present at school during scheduled teaching hours as observed during an unannounced visit.

Minimum knowledge among teachers is the share of teachers with minimum knowledge. This indicator measures teacher's knowledge and is based mathematics and language tests covering the primary curriculum administered at the school level to all teachers of Grade 4.

Infrastructure availability is the proportion of the proportion of schools with the following available: functioning electricity and sanitation. Each component has the same weight.

Drug availability is the share of basic drugs which at the time of the survey were available at the facility health facilities.

Priority medicines for mothers: Assign score of one if facility reports and enumerator confirms/observes the facility has the drug available and non-expired on the day of visit for the following medicines: Oxytocin (injectable), misoprostol (cap/tab), sodium chloride (saline solution) (injectable solution), azithromycin (cap/tab or oral liquid), calcium gluconate (injectable), cefixime (cap/tab), magnesium sulfate (injectable), benzathinebenzylpenicillin powder (for injection), ampicillin powder (for injection), betamethasone or dexamethasone (injectable), gentamicin (injectable) nifedipine (cap/tab), metronidazole (injectable), medroxyprogesterone acetate (Depo-Provera) (injectable), iron supplements (cap/tab) and folic acid supplements (cap/tab).

Priority medicines for children: Assign score of one if facility reports and enumerator confirms after observing that the facility has the drug available and non-expired on the day of visit for the following medicines: Amoxicillin (syrup/suspension), oral rehydration salts (ORS sachets), zinc (tablets), ceftriaxone (powder for injection), artemisinin combination therapy (ACT), artesunate (rectal or injectable), benzylpenicillin (powder for injection), vitamin A (capsules)

We take out of analysis of the child tracer medicines two medicines (Gentamicin and ampicillin powder) that are included in the mother and in the child tracer medicine list to avoid double counting.

The aggregate is adjusted by facility type to accommodate the fact that not all drugs (injectables) are expected to be at the lowest level facility, dispensaries./health posts where health workers are not expected to offer injections.

1. World Bank 2003; Collier and Hoeffler 2006.
2. Collier 2006.
3. Collier 2006.
4. Ssewanyana and Bategeka 2009.
7. MoFPED 2013.
8. Ssewanyana and Kasirye 2014.
9. UBoS 2014a.
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11. Other conflicts that plagued the region include: the Teso Insurgency, the West Nile Bank Front, the UPDA in Lango area, all of which supports the idea of a region that uses political and military means to settle economic ills/imbalances
12. OPM 2015.
13. Ssewanyana and Kasirye 2014.
14. UNDP 2014.
15. Girls retention and transition rates to post primary institutions remains much lower than that for boys (analysis of EMIS data sets 2010-2014).
16. Tuyezeze, 2007
19. MoFPED 2004.
20. Lawson, McKay and Okidi 2006, Ssewanyana and Kasirye 2012.
21. Dalipagic and Elepu 2014.
22. Mbowa, Odokonyero and Munyambonera 2014.
23. Carlson, Proctor, Stites and Akabwai 2012.
24. Ahikire, Madanda and Ampaire 2012.
25. International Alert 2010.
26. Ahikire, Madanda and Ampaire 2012.
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28. Care International has been a pioneer development agency in promoting informal savings through its village savings and loans association (VSLA) drives over the last several years. Many other NGOs later adopted similar model as a good practice in mobilizing micro credit at local community levels, and improving maternal, health and educational outcomes. See for example Charles Abola, Paul Omach, Catherine Anena, **Ochen, Eric Awich** & Barongo Ateenyi (2009) *Evaluation of Norwegian Development cooperation through Norwegian Non-governmental organisation in Northern Uganda*, A commissioned Research Report prepared for NORAD OSLO. ISBN: 978-82-7548-395-7 <http://www.oecd.org/countries/uganda/42886936.pdf>
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31. International Displacement Monitoring Centre (IMDC) 2011.
32. The survey based estimates of net enrolment rates are significantly lower than the official statistics from the MoES.
33. MoES 2011.
34. OPM 2014.
35. World Bank 2013.
36. Higgins 2009.
37. UWEZO 2013.
38. Isis-WICCE 2011.
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40. UNECA/WFP 2014.
41. Kyomuhendo 2003.
42. Kiwanuka, Ekirapa, Peterson, Okui, Rahman, Peters and Pariyo 2008.
43. MacKian 2008.
44. Kagumire 2010.
45. Kiwanuka, Ekirapa, Peterson, Okui, Rahman, Peters and Pariyo 2008.
46. Amooti-Kaguna and Nuwaha 2000.
47. MacKian 2008.
48. Wallace 2012.
49. World Bank 2013.
50. RLP 2012.
51. Isis-WICCE 2014.
52. Hansards 2010, 2011 and 2012.
53. This growth in urbanization rate in the PRDP region is partly explained by creation of new districts in the region.
54. UNDP 2014, Bantebya, Muhanguzi and Watson 2014, and UNFPA, 2013.
55. GoU 2015.
56. Carlson, Proctor, Stites and Akabwai 2012; Liebling-Kalifani, Ojiambo-Ochieng, Marshall, Were-Ogutu, Musisi and Kinyanda 2008.
57. El-Bushra, Myrntinen and Naujoks 2013.
58. UNFPA 2013.
59. UNFPA 2013.
60. UNFPA 2013.
61. Liebling-Kalifani, Ojiambo-Ochieng, Marshall, Were-Ogutu, Musisi and Kinyanda 2008; Golooba Mutebi and Hickey 2009
62. Bird and Higgins 2009.
63. Devereux, Ntale, and Sabates-Wheeler 2002.
64. Devereux Ntale, and Sabates-Wheeler 2002.
65. Devereux Ntale, and Sabates-Wheeler 2002.
66. Saferworld, 2012
67. Patel, Schechter, Sewankambo, Atim, Oboya, Kiwanuka, and Spittal 2013.
68. UBoS 2014.
69. MoGLSD 2013.
70. Devereux, Ntale, and Sabates-Wheeler 2002.
71. Mamdani 1983:10; Southall, 1988: 61.
72. Mamdani 1983; Southall, 1988; Obbo 1988; Kabwegyere, 1995; Southall 1998; RLP 2004.

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- ⁷⁹. Liebling-Kalifani, Ojiambo-Ochieng, Marshall, Were-Ogutu, Musisi and Kinyanda 2008.
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