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APPROACHES TO FIGHTING POVERTY AMONG
OLDER PERSONS
IN UGANDA:
A STUDY OF WAKISO AND LUWERO DISTRICTS

By

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A thesis submitted for the degree of
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Abstract

Uganda experienced significant economic growth from 1992 to 2009. Following economic restructuring, the national poverty rate fell from about 56 per cent in 1992 to 25 per cent in 2009/10. However, while the overall proportion of the people living in poverty dropped significantly, in 2007, 64 per cent of older people were still living below the poverty line (Help Age International, 2007).

Older people in Uganda make up 4.2 per cent of the total population which is 30.7 million. They are economically active: 84 per cent are involved with agriculture. However, over 90 per cent of the older persons live in rural areas where poverty rates are higher than in urban areas. Older people are vulnerable owing to HIV/AIDs: 12 per cent of Ugandan children are AIDS orphans and a quarter of these live in a household headed by an older person. In addition, out of the 16 per cent of the population with a disability, older people comprise 53 per cent. Furthermore, more than half of the older persons have never been to school. However, the majority of older persons provide for their households, this challenges the government position that ‘older people are generally too weak to perform productive work and are economically dependent on others’ (UNHS, 2009/10:137).

This thesis focuses on the following questions: What is poverty? What explains the exclusion of older people from poverty reduction programmes? How do older people address poverty in their households? The study used qualitative methods, employing 120 interviews, including in-depth interviews with 18 representatives of government and Community Based Organisations (CBOs) six focus group discussions and 60 semi-structured interviews, to provide insight into the strategies used to fight poverty at the Sub County level. Narrative interviews and observation of non-verbal communication were employed to analyse older people’s experience of Poverty reduction programmes and identify their poverty alleviation strategies. Programme guidelines and policy documents were reviewed to gain detailed information about the backgrounds to the strategies, the

modes of implementation and the theories that influenced the strategies. The study was carried out in Katabi and Mbututumula subcounties of Wakiso and Luwero respectively.

This study found that the Government and CBO's official views of what poverty is do not seem to differ much, but when it comes to identification of the poor then differences arise. The research demonstrates that both sectors support the monetary perspective on poverty and identify minimum income and expenditure in terms of a level of consumption below which poverty is identified. This understanding has its roots in an absolute perspective on poverty. Meanwhile, older people's perspectives on poverty included a wide range of deprivations in their households. For example, the inability to send their grandchildren to school was a common type of self-reported deprivation for the majority of respondents. Older people used a relative concept to define poverty. What was needed for basic survival did depend on the cultural context and involved comparison with what other people in that context could afford.

Despite the government's objective of fighting poverty at the Sub County level, it was clear that government strategies did not include old-age poverty alleviation. Anti-poverty approaches were more strongly linked to the government's own agenda than to the needs of older people. Yet in all these the older people in poverty were disadvantaged. Older people tended to be excluded by strict eligibility rules and conditions and by individual relationships within the groups formed to tackle poverty. Older people in poverty shy away from Poverty reduction programmes leaving the relatively poor, but those not in absolute poverty, to participate. The participants' definitions of poverty and living standards observed during the interviews revealed that they were living well above the official poverty line. Furthermore, findings revealed that the right of older people to participate in government Poverty reduction programmes was not supported by legislation and there was limited information available to enable them to demand accountability or even influence policy strategies to address poverty.

In contrast, community based organisations have been remarkable in seeking to reduce poverty among the older persons. Their approach provided support for participation of older people in Poverty reduction programmes. CBOs have conducted skills and possession audits among older people and, based on the results, old-age poverty has been included in development programmes. Such strategies have led to the establishment of credit facilities through community saving schemes and village banks, and age-friendly projects such as hand craft, mat and basket making, mushroom and vegetable growing. These motivate older people to participate and take into account their physical abilities. The formation of groups seems to be a major strategy used by CBOs to enable members to support each other and facilitate both the collective participation in decision making and the barter exchange strategy for goods and services among group members.

This study concludes that despite the difficult living conditions of older people in poverty, the majority live independent lives, are self-reliant and use a variety of strategies to address poverty. These include involvement in agriculture, use of community banks, use of manual and business skills, fostering children, family visits, joining religious and collective social groups and training to gain new skills. The present study extends the literature by showing why old age poverty persists despite efforts to counter it.

Some implication of the study's findings are that strict eligibility rules should be used to ensure that poverty alleviation support reaches those who need it most, the formation of groups should not be used as a condition to qualify for government support, information on anti-poverty programmes should be readily available to older persons in poverty and best practices from CBOs and individuals should be incorporated in anti-poverty policies.

Keywords: Uganda, poverty alleviation strategies, anti-poverty, older people, community based organisations, government, older people associations.

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Abbreviation

AMREF	Africa Medical and Research Foundation
CAO	Chief Accounting Officer
CARIG	Community Access Roads Improvement Grant
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CDD	Community Driven Development
FAL	Funtional Adult Literacy
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative
HIV/AIDS	Human Immune Virus / Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IDA	International Development Association
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LGMSDP	Local Government Management And Service Delivery
MDGS	Millennium Development Goals
MFPEd	Ministry Of Finance,Planning And Economic Development
MGLSD	Ministry Of Gender ,Labour and Social Development
MIPAA	Madrid Intenational Plan Of Action On Ageing
MTEF	Medium Term Expenditure Framework
NAADS	National Agriculture Advisory Services
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non Government Organisation
NNOPU	National Network For Older Persons Organisations Of Uganda
NPA	Nation Planning Authority

PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategy
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
PPA	Participatory Poverty Assesment
PHC	Primary Heath Care
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
SACCOS	Saving And Credit Cooperatives
SCG	Senior Citizen Grant
SAP	Structure Adjustment Pprogramme
TUP	Targeting The Ultra-poor
UBOS	Uganda Bureau Of Statistics
UNDP	United National Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nation Population Fund
UNHS	Uganda National Household Survey
UNICEF	United Nations Children fund
UPE	Universal Primary Education

Chapter One: Introduction, content and background

1.0 Introduction

Poverty is a global problem that has the characteristics of a ticking time bomb (Richards 2002; Robbins 2007; Nagel 2004; Besley 2003). It has become a problem that is growing among older persons, but has yet to be adequately addressed. The phenomenon of ageing populations throughout the world has drawn the attention of researchers, economists, social workers and many others (United Nations 2002).

The First International Conference on Age Friendly Cities, which took place in Dublin, Ireland from 28 to 30 September 2011, pointed out that by 2050 two billion people will be aged 60 and above. This was seen as presenting both opportunities and challenges. According to UNFPA (2012) 80 per cent of all older persons now live in low or middle income countries. In 2005 there were 37 million people aged 60 and above in Sub-Saharan Africa, and in the next 40 years the number of older people in that region will be increasing more rapidly than in any other region of the world (NNOPU 2009).

According to Barrientos (2003), accelerated population ageing in developing countries has important implications for poverty and poverty-reduction strategies, to the extent that later life is associated with increased probability of experiencing poverty. He affirms that older persons are more likely to be exposed to prolonged and frequent poverty than other groups (Barrientos 2003). In the

developing world, population ageing is accompanied by persistent poverty (Kalasa 2001).

A review of government, civil society and international agencies' actions to address old age poverty indicates that ageing is still distant from the overall social development agenda at all levels (Samaad 2013); Heslop and Gorman 2002). The African Union Policy Framework and Plan of Action on Ageing acknowledge that the increase in the number of older persons provides a challenge for the continent as a whole, as well as for individual countries (Kazeze 2005). In Uganda, government strategies seem to have a clear perspective of older people in poverty, but there is limited knowledge of the role of older people in the fight against poverty.

Reducing poverty among older persons requires a combined policy effort that is informed by rigorous research on the identification and examination of programmes and approaches to fighting poverty among older persons. An “approach” is the method applied in the implementation process. Targeting mechanisms and implementation modalities have important implications for the ability of interventions to reach the poor (Quisumbing, Baulch and Kumar 2011). The development sector is coming under increasing pressure to explore new approaches to reducing poverty (London 2007).

This study focuses on ways of fighting poverty among older persons by examining the methods used to tackle poverty by the government of Uganda,

Community Based Organisations (CBOs) and older persons' associations. The study was carried out in two districts in Uganda: Luwero and Wakiso, and was based on field research carried out between September 2012 and March 2013.

Vincent (2003) argues that poverty is the greatest obstacle to a secure old age in most of the world, with the possible exceptions of a few Scandinavian countries. Older persons feature significantly in the poorer sections of all societies and pensions are available to only a small proportion of the world's older people.

Poverty is relative: there is no one definition that can be used to fit all situations. However, some scholars have defined poverty as relative deprivation, a state or condition of having little or no money, goods or means of support, a condition of being poor (Maxwell 1999). Yet for Okidi and Mugambe (2002) poverty pertains to the inability of people to meet the basic needs of life. Ogaba (2002) emphasises that poverty is not just a lack of income, but also the lack of means to satisfy basic social needs, a feeling of powerlessness to break out of poverty and insecurity. The above definitions and many more not covered here refer to poverty in relative and absolute perspective.

Relative poverty measures poverty as either income or consumption below certain standards that can be expressed as a proportion of the actual expenditure or income of the population as a whole (Ruggles 1990). However, the life of a poor person has far more dimensions than can be gleaned from calorie intake or

disposable income figures (Salmen 1992). According to Pogge, older people define poverty as ill-health with no treatment (Pogge 2002) and this goes beyond the measurement of per capita income equivalent to less than one international dollar a day (Ravallion 2003). The old in extreme poverty in Uganda define poverty in terms of social rather than economic capability.

Poverty is the inability of individuals and families to satisfy such basic human needs as nutrition, housing, clothing, drinking water, education and healthcare. Kimberly (2003) points out that poor people's understanding of poverty reveals important psychological aspects of poverty. Poor people focus on assets rather than income and link their lack of physical, human, social and environmental assets to their vulnerability and exposure to risks.

Thirlwall's (2003, p.44) definition brings out stronger concepts: "Poverty not only means low income and consumption and low levels of human development in terms of education and healthcare but also feelings of powerlessness, and vulnerability." Poor people are not free and are exposed to greater risk living on the margin of subsistence. From a human rights point of view, poverty is the lack of resources required by anyone in society in order to promote social cohesion and inclusiveness, which are inherent in the right to human dignity (May 2003).

The various definitions of poverty that use the concept of absolute poverty point out ideas such as a minimum standard of living, sustaining a healthy existence, minimum levels of food, clothing and shelter, and the ability to live in

a civilised way. However, critics of this concept still claim that this understanding is relative and not absolute in explanation (Eroglu 2010).

Although the concept of absolute poverty is clearly defined, this definition does not reflect social changes such as a rise in living standards. In addition, it ignores the psychological aspects of poverty such as the sense of shame and intimidation at not being able to afford what your peers can afford. An absolute concept of poverty presents an assumed picture. “Poverty is experienced when income levels are inadequate to enjoy a minimum requirement necessary to sustain a healthy existence” (Sen 1982). However, older people’s perception of poverty goes beyond health and physical existence. A 67 year old female respondent from Luwero district explained that; “I no longer care about myself, my concern is about my grandchildren.” Nearly half of the respondents had expressed poverty in terms of failing to meet their necessities such as taking care of their grandchildren and other social obligations. This idea clearly goes beyond the absolute necessities. Human beings are social beings who actively participate in complex social associations and who assume socially demanding roles as workers, citizens, parents and friends (Eroglu 2010) .

The concept of relative poverty brings out aspects of inequality but is inadequate for expressing how someone stands in relation to absolute needs. Poverty is defined with reference to the overall standard of living in any given society (Gordon 1998). Older people are poor when they are very much worse

off than other people in their society (Gabriel and Bowling 2004). From the themes that emerged from the present study, older people's understanding of poverty seems not to include comparability. In their definitions and explanations of poverty older people's responses refer to their own conditions rather than those of other groups or parts of society.

The debate about absolute poverty versus relative poverty is not as central as is often claimed (Eroglu 2011) and the weaknesses of both concepts, plus the failure to capture the multiple aspects that make up poverty among older persons, have led to the idea of a multi-dimensional definition of poverty.

The concept of multi-dimensional poverty recognises several factors that constitute people's experiences of poverty; conditions such as poor health, inadequate living standards, disempowerment, lack of income, lack of education and low-paid work. However, the understanding of poverty among older people goes beyond the individual poverty perspective and includes additional dimensions. The challenge with the multi-dimensional concept is to decide which dimension is the most important to address first. This approach requires the identification of different strategies to different dimensions.

1.1 The government perception and measurement of poverty

Mukasa and Masiga (2003), in a workshop presentation on ageing and poverty, pointed out that in Uganda the concept of poverty has several dimensions. In 1997, at the launch of the first Poverty Eradication Action Programme (PEAP),

the government, for policy purposes, defined poverty as the lack of access to the basic necessities of life (food, shelter, clothing and other needs such as education and healthcare). This definition is seen to be an absolute notion of poverty and composed of physical needs rather than social, psychological and emotional needs. It does not relate the conditions of poverty to any set standard of living and indicates a primary understanding of poverty that is felt and not assumed.

This definition is in line with the concept of absolute poverty associated with the works of early researchers such as Joseph Rowntree and Charles Booth (Alcock 2006). Rowntree described families in primary poverty as those whose total earnings were insufficient to obtain the minimum necessities for maintenance of physical efficiency. At that time it was too early for the notion of relativity to appear in their understanding of poverty; a relative approach to poverty involves a set of standards or comparisons of the conditions of people's welfare.

Definitions of poverty in Uganda began to change as exposure and comparisons started taking place. The relativity approach was introduced in 1998 when Uganda conducted its first Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA1) in which the definition of poverty was widened to encompass the lack of employment and survival opportunities coming from powerlessness, social exclusion, ignorance and lack of knowledge, as well as lack of material resources.

This matches the relative idea of poverty; being deprived of a minimum standard of living generally approved by a given society (Eroglu 2004).

Although there is no agreed definition of poverty, the Uganda government suggests that poverty is multi-dimensional and cannot be reduced to a single indicator. However, in order to estimate the distribution and depth of poverty, it is generally considered acceptable to use real per capita expenditure as a proxy for welfare (Jalan and Ravallion 1998).

A United Nations statement on the commitment of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination for Action defines poverty as follows:

“Fundamentally, poverty is a denial of choices and opportunities, a violation of human dignity. It means lack of basic capacity to participate effectively in society. It means not having enough to feed and clothe a family, not having a school or clinic to go to; not having *the land on which to grow one’s food or a job to earn one’s living*, not having access to credit. It means insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individuals, households and communities. It means susceptibility to violence, and it often implies living on marginal or fragile environments, without access to clean water or sanitation”.

(ECOSOC, 1998, p. 1)

This comprehensive definition encompasses all the areas of concern regarding poverty and closer analysis suggests that most definitions of the poverty phenomenon identify with the UN understanding of poverty. In this present study poverty is defined as a complex and huge phenomenon, too difficult and complex

to describe from one perspective. However, a combination of all the aspects of poverty seems to bring out the comprehensive understanding of poverty. Poverty among older people is multifaceted and the definitions of poverty have not been uniform even within older persons. Age, location, economic status, gender, health and educational level seem to influence the different definitions of poverty.

1.2 Profile of older people in Uganda

In this section definitions of old age, population, care and family arrangement of older people in Uganda are discussed. This section also presents some tables and figures: Table 1 presents the incidence of poverty using head count ratio percentage for all persons and for different household types in Sub-Saharan Africa; Table 2 presents the poverty profile by individual household type; and Figure 1 presents the incidence of poverty using the headcount ratio per cent for all persons and for different household types.

Older people are defined by the constitution of Uganda and the national policy for older persons as those aged 60 years and above (Male-Mukasa 2010). At the same time Bird and Grant (2005) define older people as those over 60 years. Mulindwa's (2003) survey of perceptions, experiences, and policy issues carried out in Uganda discovered that older people are not a homogeneous group and their personal definition of old age ranged from chronological definitions to physiological features.

According to Najjumba-Mulindwa's research in Uganda, older people define "old age" as that situation characterised by low incomes, depreciated asset bases, general body pain, physical discomfort and reduced energy leading to inability to walk long distances because of severe pain in the legs. This is a period when they can no longer take care of themselves leading to disability and dependence. It is a time when physical features and physiological states change, such as when women stop menstruating. Older people seem to refer to old age as that period when they can no longer do what they used to do when they were younger. They make a comparison between their life experiences in different periods of their life and this is clearly seen in their definition of "old age".

1.2.1 Population and life expectancy of older people in Uganda

The older people in Uganda comprise 4.2 per cent of the 30.7 million total populations (Male-Mukasa 2010). By 2017 there will be about 1.83 million older people (Male-Mukasa 2010).

In 2003 life expectancy in Uganda for women was higher than for men: 53 years, as opposed to only 51.9 years, according to UNICEF (2003). However, by 2011 life expectancy was reported to have increased to 57.1 years and 54.5 years respectively (World Bank 2012). Since 2000 the retirement age for government workers in Uganda has been at 60 years. However, there have been attempts to lower that age to 55 or even 50 years. This is because of pressure from younger

people, who comprise 65 per cent of the total population. Unemployment among the youth has increased pressure on government to lower the retirement age to 50 years, thereby creating job openings for younger workers.

Table 1 Selected characteristics of older persons in Uganda (percentages)

	Living banæa	Employed in agriculture	Economically active	Head of household	Disabled	Never been to school	Illiterate	Living in single person household	Widowed	
2005/6	Female	10.9	94.6	70.2	52.8	45.2	70.6	78.8	12.5	59.7
	Male	9.1	85.6	79.1	89.5	42.7	30.7	41.1	15.8	11.7
	All	10	90.1	74.4	70.1	44	51.8	61	14	37.1
2009/10	Female	7.4	87.6	81.8	58.7	66.9	69.8	79.5	9.5	63.2
	Male	7.5	82	86.7	87.4	61.6	32.8	40.5	12.1	15.3
	All	7.4	84.9	84	71.9	64.5	52.6	61.3	10.7	40.9

Source: Authors calculations using UNHS 2005/6 and 2009/10 data

1.2.2 Family arrangement and care

In Africa it is traditionally assumed that extended families and the community will care for their older people (Lombard and Kruger 2009), however, the position of older persons has changed a lot:

“Traditionally, the African society structure was organised around the family, the African extended family network knitted together a blood relationship with in-laws and close friends. This network acted as the insurance against all disabilities of old age and other shortcomings”.Nkoyoyo, (1995, p.2)

This network put the older people in a special position. Older persons were respected for their wisdom and experience. Their counsel was sought in times of crises and formed the final decision that could be made. They were also the vehicles through which traditional mores (customs and behaviour) and values were passed from one generation to another. Social gatherings could not be held without the presence of older persons (Help Age International 1999).

However, those traditions have been largely discarded today, and there is evidence that Uganda’s older persons do not enjoy the privileged position they were once assured of. While they continue to play an important role in society, they are not acknowledged to the same extent as before. Colonialism, modernisation and urbanisation are forces which have contributed to changes in social relationships, economic behaviour, attitudes, beliefs and behaviour

towards and by older persons (Cattell 2001). This is evidenced by changes in living arrangements as it is becoming less common for the extended family to live together. According to UNHS (2009), 82 per cent of households comprised of nuclear family members.

In the past, children easily cared for their parents, and with international remittances at household level, family income increased thus raising consumption of both durable and non-durable goods (Anyanwu and Erhijakpor 2010). However, times have changed and the support that parents used to get coupled with the remittances in whatever form have been affected by HIV/AIDS, the deadly disease that has significantly eroded sources of income and material support for older people(Lombard and Kruger 2009).

Despite Uganda being a success story in the fight against HIV/AIDS with AIDS prevalence reducing from 18.5 per cent in 1992 to about 5 per cent in 2000 (UAC 2012), the number of older people diagnosed with HIV/AIDS in 2006 was 6.6 per cent and is projected to accelerate the ageing process. AIDS has claimed most of its victims among the middle aged who are normally supposed to provide for the welfare of older persons. Worse still, many of the older persons find themselves faced with the burden of having to take care of orphaned grandchildren, yet the majority are too incapacitated to shoulder it amply (Nankwanga, Neema and Phillips 2013).

The above demographic changes have led to changes in family responsibilities and older people are now finding themselves in the role of head of household, and on average about 90 per cent of the men aged 60 years are identified as heads of families (Mussie 2010).

1.2.3 Older people and poverty in Uganda

In order to determine which groups are in poverty, Uganda uses three common measures: incidence rate, depth and severity of poverty, all calculated on a household basis. The headcount index assesses the share of households that are below the poverty line, while the depth of poverty measurement provides information regarding how close households are to the poverty line. The poverty severity measure takes into account not only the distance separating the poor from the poverty line but also the inequality among the poor (Coudouel, Hentschel and Wodon 2002).

The government of Uganda uses an economic yardstick to determine who is poor and who is not. There are two relative poverty lines drawn. A poverty line is defined in relation to the cost of attaining adequate calories given the kinds of food consumed by the poor (Ravallion 2005) . The first poverty line is drawn at UGX 6000 (\$2.30) per capita per month. The second yard stick is set at UGX 3000 (\$1.15) per capita per month. Ugandans falling below the UGX 6000 poverty line have been characterised as the poor and those falling below the UGX 3000 poverty line as the poorest of the core poor (World Bank 1997). These

figures are equivalent to income per person within a household reflecting the differences between households' per capital consumption and poverty line (UBOS 2012).

While there are very limited studies of old age and poverty in Uganda, the information that does exist indicates that older people, wherever they live, fall into poverty gradually and are the poorest members of society, whatever measure of poverty used. "Base line studies conducted in a number of districts by various non-governmental organisations (NGOs) using different methodologies all arrive at the conclusion that older people are disproportionately at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder." (WorldBank 1997, p.21).

According to Uganda National Housing Survey of (2009/10), older people are economically active, 84 percent being involved with agriculture. Nevertheless, the incidence of poverty remains higher in rural areas than in urban areas with 85 per cent of the total population and over 90 per cent of older persons living in rural areas. Older people are particularly vulnerable due to demographic changes such as the consequences of HIV/AIDS; 12 per cent of Ugandan children are orphans and around 3 per cent are more likely to be cared for by older persons than by other household members. In addition, out of the 16 per cent of the population with a disability, older people make up 53 per cent and more than half of older persons have never been to school.

Despite the scarcity of literature on older people and poverty levels in Uganda, it is clear that older people have a specific liability to poverty because of “ill-health, limited social support, lack of productive assets, lack of a source of income, loss of mobility, loss of family due to AIDS, and exclusion” (United Nations 2011). Scholten's (2011) systematic exploration of health and well-being among older people showed that basic health problems are very common at older ages and are poorly addressed by existing health services. A study by Kakwani and Subbarao (2007) provides useful information on the poverty level among older people and the rest of the population in Sub-Saharan Africa, including Uganda.

Table 2 Incidence of poverty all persons and for different household types, headcount ratio (percentage) in Sub-Saharan Africa

Country	No elderly person	Elderly persons only	Elderly and children only	Mixed household with elderly	Not headed by elderly	Headed by elderly	All persons
Burundi (1998)	61.6	67.5	58.6	59.0	61.4	59.8	61.2
Burkina Faso (1998)	48.9	47.0	59.3	58.1	51.0	57.5	52.6
Cote d'Ivoire (1998)	33.1	46.1	60.7	47.1	34.5	46.9	36.7
Cameroon (1996)	58.7	45.9	32.8	66.7	28.6	70.8	60.9
Ethiopia (2000)	40.3	42.4	42.3	43.5	40.1	45.2	40.9
Ghana (1998)	40.9	32.4	57.7	52.1	42.2	49.6	43.6
Guinea (1994)	34.8	37.5	58.4	42.8	37.0	41.1	38.1
Gambia (1998)	53.9	58.6	31.7	72.0	58.5	72.0	62.2
Kenya (1997)	47.9	45.4	55.2	59.3	48.1	58.8	49.7
Madagascar (2001)	62.3	50.0	62.1	60.5	62.1	61.1	62.0
Mozambique (1996)	69..2	53.8	75.5	67.6	68.9	68.9	68.9
Malawi (1997)	62.3	62.9	82.3	71.8	62.4	73.8	63.9

Nigeria (1996)	61.6	34.3	64.2	72.8	62.5	67.9	63.4
Uganda (1999)	48.6	56.4	65.2	45.1	48.3	47.4	48.2
Zambia (1998)	64.4	72.0	90.2	78.6	64.8	80.1	66.7

Source: N. Kakwani and K. Subbarao (2006, p.996)

In Uganda and Zambia not only is the proportion of single elderly the highest in Africa, but also this group experiences a higher than average incidence of poverty (Kakwani and Subbarao, 2007). In Sub-Saharan African, the ratio of household with older people and children living in poverty is high compared to the average household. “In Uganda, the UNHS 2005/06 report indicates that 2.1 million children (13.7%) who would be under the care of their parents are now under the care of older persons.” The disadvantage worsens when we consider households headed by the elderly (Kakwani and Subbarao 2007).

The incidence of poverty in Uganda is shown in Figure 1. The highest incidence of poverty is in households where older people are living with children. The second highest incidence of poverty is among older people living alone.

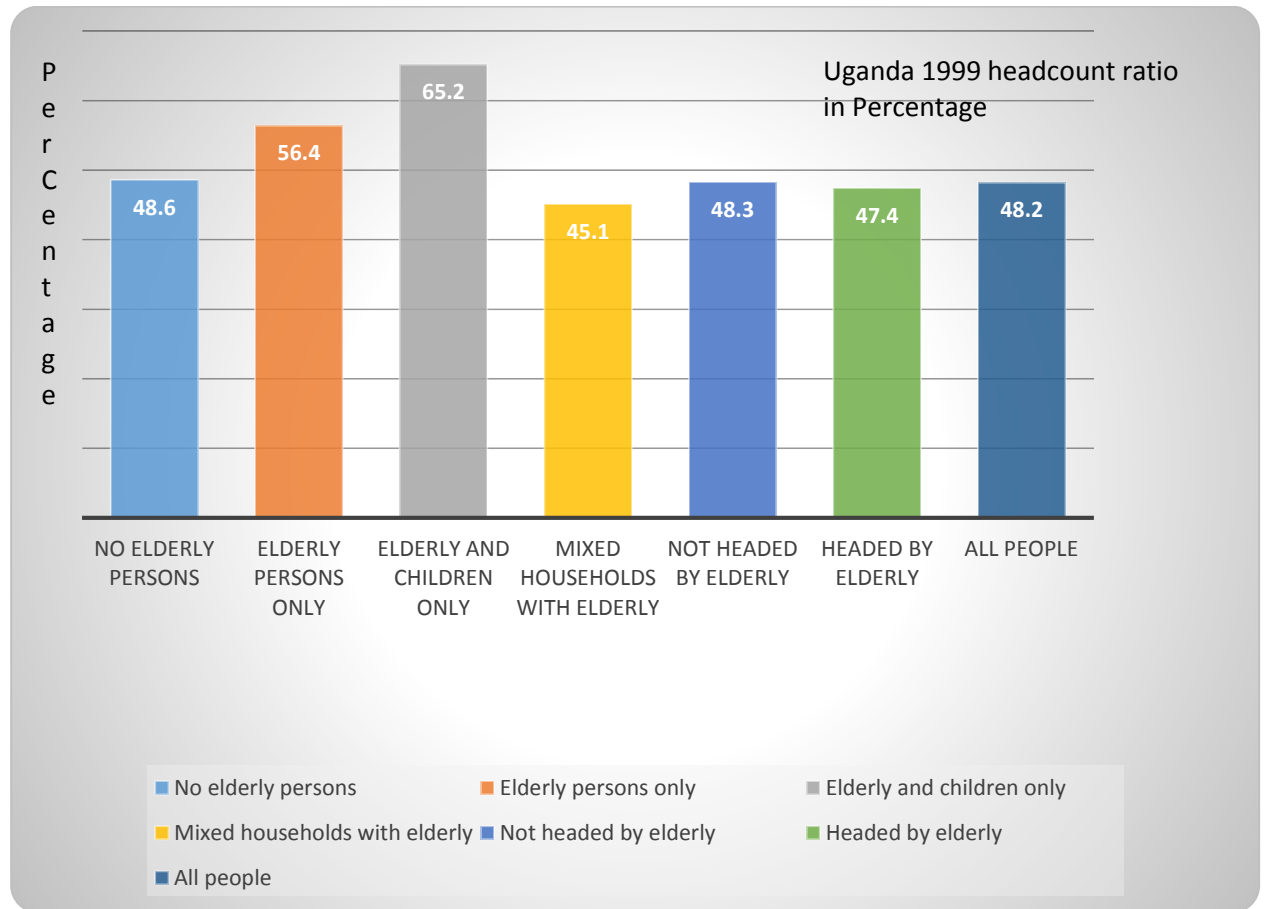


Figure 1 Uganda headcount ratio percentage

Source: Authors calculation using statics from N. Kakwani and K. Subbarao (2006:996)

According to The Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (MFPED) in Uganda (2002) there are a number of population groups particularly vulnerable to poverty: children, refugees, people affected by HIV/AIDS, casual/unskilled labourers, people with disabilities, isolated communities,

widows, orphans and street children. A large number of children live in households with elderly members, yet the poverty rates of these households are much higher than the national average at 32 per cent, compared to the national poverty rate of 25 per cent.

According to the Uganda National Household Survey 2009/2010, 94 per cent of older people in Uganda are not in receipt of a pension, yet would like to contribute to their household income. To make matters worse, recent changes in demographic structures in Uganda have excluded older people from community networks and kinship, and the majority of older people have to exploit opportunities in their environment in order to survive.

The poverty rate of households with an older person is almost 29 per cent. This reveals limited information of poverty in old age since household surveys provide only a snapshot in time. In reality incomes are dynamic with many families moving in and out of poverty (Male-Mukasa 2010). For example, around 85 per cent of active older persons are engaged in crop farming, which is characterised by fluctuations in produce prices, irregular income and low returns for labor.

The distribution of the population by household type indicates households headed by older persons are composed of 13.7 per cent of the child population and 85.2 per cent of the older people. Yet the prevalence of poverty is greater

among children less than 10 years of age in households headed by older people (Ssewanyana 2010).

Using the Uganda National Household Survey (2009, p.73) from where poverty indicators and measures have been taken, headcount poverty is “the per cent of individuals estimated to be living in households with real private consumption per adult equivalent below the poverty line for their region”, showing how wide and not how deep poverty is, whereas the poverty gap is the ;

“Sum over all individual of the shortfall of their real private consumption per adult equivalent from the poverty line, divided by the poverty line”. Severity is the “sum over all individual of the square of the shortfalls of their real private consumption per adult equivalent and poverty line divided by the poverty line” (UNHS 2009/10, p.73).

According to all the poverty measures in Table 3, older people show the third highest poverty rate and when compared to other groups, older people show a higher risk of being in poverty. The poverty headcount among children living in a household headed by older people is much higher than for children on average.

Table 3 Poverty profile in Per cent by age group in Uganda

	Headcount	Rank	Depth of poverty (%)	Rank	Severity of poverty (%)	Rank
Under 5	33.6	1	9.4	2	3.8	2
6-17	33.5	2	9.6	1	3.9	1
18-59 male	26.7	5	7.4	5	2.9	5
18-59 female	28.2	4	7.8	4	3.1	4
60 and above	29.9	3	8.0	3	3.2	3

Source: Author's calculations using UNHS 2009/10

Kakwani and Subbarao (2006) point out that, although certain categories of the elderly happen to be at risk of poverty, the case for a universal social pension for all elderly is weak both on welfare grounds and on considerations of fiscal affordability. Without social security a large portion of older persons live in poverty in all developed countries (Kebini 2005). The old in Uganda do not have access to a regular income, and only 7.1 per cent of the elderly have access to a pension (Onyango 2008). Yet non-contributory pensions have a measurable and significant impact upon poverty reduction and prevention (Barrientos 2003). In Uganda the impact of social security on poverty reduction is debatable since a pension is still contributory in nature.

However, Barrientos (2012), in a study of pensions, poverty and well-being in later life, reports that social pensions had a substantial impact on the prevalence and depth of poverty. He observed increasing levels of life satisfaction across groups in the study. Alternative approaches to poverty reduction among older persons have become vital in developing African countries. .

The Second Participatory Poverty Assessment Report (World Bank 2002) on deepening the understanding of poverty, reports that the elderly lack productive assets, are unable to exploit available resources, lack a social support network and are faced with the burden of looking after orphans. At the same time, older persons in communities are excluded from many government and non-government development interventions (Heslop and Gorman 2002). In Uganda the old and poor people seem not to contribute to public discussions or debates (Mugambe 2006). There is normally no considered effort to reach and consult them on their priority needs and concerns because society does not consider them as active members of society (Heslop and Gorman 2002). This lack of contribution seems to limit their participation in efforts of poverty reduction.

1.3 Background to anti-poverty interventions

It is important to see recent developments in poverty alleviation in the context of the changing nature of anti-poverty policy since independence. Uganda attained independence in 1962. The new administration, feeling the pressure of nationalism mixed with the fear of political rivals, in the same year on Labour

Day, declared that “the state was the best machinery” and had inherent authority to provide for its people. Following the declaration, Uganda formulated its first development plan, which was intended to raise the standard of living and fight poverty. The country showed prospects of sustainable development with high economic growth and savings rates and a well-developed education system. The country was running a trade surplus, primarily through agricultural, textile and copper exports. It was self-sufficient in terms of food and small-scale industry and supplied the domestic market with basic inputs (Fan and Chan-Kang 2004).

However, this situation did not continue for long due to civil wars. From 1971 a new administration, under the leadership of Idi Amin, took power through a military takeover, and immediately there were drastic changes in the economy. The situation changed for the worse; the country suffered from macroeconomic imbalances and this was worsened by the printing of money to finance public sector deficits, which led to inflation (Kayizzi 2001).

Following Amin’s departure in 1979, successive governments attempted to restore international confidence in the economy through a combination of development plans and austere government budgets. The second government of Milton Obote obtained foreign donor support, primarily from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), by floating the Uganda shilling, removing price controls, increasing agricultural producer prices and setting strict limits on government expenditure. In addition, Obote tried to persuade foreign companies to return to

their former premises, which had been nationalised under Amin's regime. These recovery initiatives created real growth in agriculture between 1980 and 1983 (Kayizzi 2001).

In May 1987, under the leadership of President Museveni, Uganda embarked on an economic recovery programme with support from the IMF, World Bank and other multilateral and bilateral donors. The principal objectives were to rehabilitate the economy and enhance economic growth, to reduce inflation and to minimise the potential for a balance of payments crisis ((Kuteesa et al. 2006).The period that followed saw quick implementation of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP), according to the ideologies of the World Bank and IMF. However, according to Stevenson and St-onge (2005), in their study of structural adjustment, there is overwhelming evidence that the impact of SAP took a political economic dimension, with some groups benefiting from the reforms and others being adversely affected, especially vulnerable groups like older persons.

Uganda's policy and strategy on poverty dates back to 1995 when a national conference was held on the theme: "The Challenge of Growth and Poverty Reduction". The conference culminated in consultations leading to the preparation of Uganda's first Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), launched in 1997 (Mukasa and Masiga 2003).

Early in August 2001, the World Bank and the IMF announced a comprehensive review of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) approach adopted in 1999 to “help poor countries and their development partners strengthen the impact of their common efforts on poverty reduction” (World Bank 2001). The Ministry of Finance explains that:

“Poverty Reduction strategy papers are prepared by member countries in broad consultation with stakeholders and development partners, including World Bank and IMF. Updated every three years with annual progress reports, they *describe the country’s* macroeconomic structure and social policies in support of growth and poverty reduction as well as associated external financing needs and major sources of financing.” (MFPED 2000)

Over the last two decades Uganda has implemented policies geared towards eradicating poverty, policies such as: the Structural Adjustment Program 1993, the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) 1997 and the Social Development Sector Investment Plan. This plan is in line with the first Millennium Development Goals that aim to halve the number of poor people living in various countries, including Uganda. In addition, Uganda is one of the signatories of the Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing (MIPAA). This is an international agreement which commits governments morally and politically to include ageing in all social and economic development policies (Aboderin 2012).

The National Planning Authority (NPA), through a countrywide consultative process, developed a five-year National Development Plan (NDP) with the theme, “Growth, Employment and Socio-economic Transformation for Prosperity”. This plan was launched in 2010 by the President of Uganda replacing the PEAP which had been implemented on a three-year basis through its translation into expenditure actions in the Three-Year Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) (NPA 2011).

The Local Government Development Plans have therefore been based on this framework and subsequent planning guidelines based on the PEAP arrangement. The NDP provides a strategic planning framework for the achievement of Uganda’s socio-economic transformation and consequent development for the next five years starting financial year 2010/11 to 2014/15. The National Development Plan is the planned successor to the three well-known Poverty Eradication Action Plans (PEAPs) published respectively in 1997, 2000 and 2004, whose ten-year existence has guided the formulation of the government policy.

1.3.1 The impact of strategies

Uganda experienced significant economic growth from 1992 to 2009. Following the diversification of economic activities, the aggregate national poverty rate fell from 56 per cent in 1992 to 24.5 per cent in 2009/10 (Male-Mukasa 2010). In spite of this reduction in the proportion of people in poverty,

in 2007, 60 per cent of older people were still living below the poverty line (Help Age International 2007) and the reduction in the number of older persons living in poverty was insignificant.

Okidi and Mugambe (2002) claim that PEAP policies seem to have contributed to a substantial reduction in poverty levels from 56 per cent in 1992 to 38 per cent in 2003, to 31 per cent in 2005/06 and to 24 per cent in 2009/10. According to the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS 2010) the economy grew at 7.9 per cent per annum between 2001/02 and 2008/2010. Uganda as a whole has made great strides, taking advantage of significant growth in the 1990s and it is considered a model of development in Africa (UBOS 2010). Given the remarkable economic growth Uganda seems to have achieved, from 56 per cent in 1992 to 24.5 per cent in 2009 as indicated in Table 4, why then is there anxiety about poverty among older persons? The reason is that despite all this growth there is a significant proportion of Ugandans, including a considerable number of older persons, who by any definition are still living in poverty. Progress has sustained a respectable economic growth rate; however, the situation of older persons has remained the same (Onapa 2010). While there is no detailed information about older people living in poverty in Uganda, Help Age International (2007) reported that 60 per cent of older people were below poverty line. Table 3 and Figure 2 illustrate the reduction in poverty over the years and

this is attributed to the government interventions at both national and international level.

Table 4 Percentage of population below poverty line 1992-2009

Year	Population below poverty line
1992	56 %
1993	55%
2001	35%
2003	38%
2005	31%
2009	24.5%

Source: Author's calculations using data from UNHS 2009/10

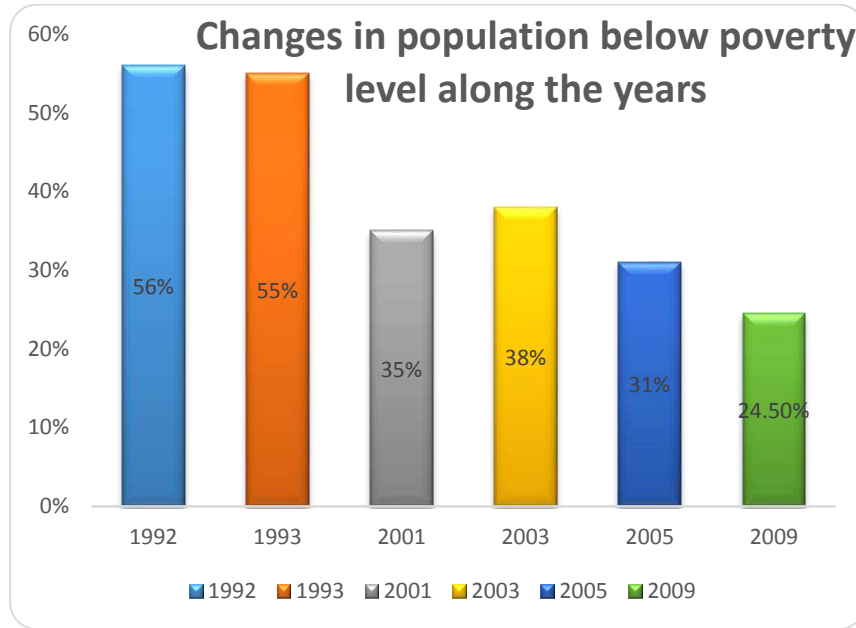


Figure 2 Changes in population below poverty level along the years

Source: Authors calculations using UBOS (2009)

Uganda has experienced a significant reduction in poverty: from 1992 to 2009, national poverty rate fell from about 56 per cent in 1992 to 25 per cent in 2009/10, but this aggregate poverty trend tells us nothing about what happened to individual households (Hulme 2004-5).

Uganda's strategy of growth, employment and socio-economic transformation for prosperity leaves an older person's position in the labour market uncertain. Participation in the labour market can be an effective strategy for older people with high potential earnings, but it is unlikely to be an effective strategy for those with low skills and productivity (Barrientos 2011).

While economic growth may be essential for poverty reduction, there is not an automatic relationship between the two since it all depends on the capabilities of the poor to take advantage of expanding economic opportunities (Krantz 2001). Therefore, it is imperative to identify the ways in which older persons are struggling to survive and examine their capabilities.

In developing countries, government forums tend to look at pensions as the only approach to poverty eradication among older persons. However, it is usually misleading to identify contributory pension reform as a solution to the old age crisis (Lloyd-Sherlock 2000). Ageing is still distant from the overall social development agenda at all levels (Heslop and Gorman 2002). Older persons in communities are excluded by many government and non-government development interventions (Second Participatory Poverty Assessment Report of 2002). The contributions, needs and concerns of older people are ignored or marginalised in almost all international and national policies. For example, the livelihoods issues and contributions of poor older people, including their role as carers of children under five, adolescents and people living with AIDS, are sidelined in programmes addressing the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). They are also often overlooked in poverty reduction frameworks such as the Uganda Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) (Help Age 2005).

Regardless of a variety of programmes, efforts and significant increases in African countries' GDPs, large numbers of older people continue to live in

poverty (Kalasa 2001). Kalasa advocates efforts to design effective and efficient systems to deal with the concerns of the elderly and intensive studies into the possibilities of self-support, family and public support.

Some older persons have adopted their own strategies to support themselves, including taking casual work such as cultivating other people's land, baby-sitting, domestic service, or collecting water. However, all this work is low paid and, in the case of Uganda, older people need to be protected from exploitation in exchange for labour. Others depend on remittances from children and friends. At the same time communities are also an important source of old age support. In Asia, for example, poor communities and vulnerable older persons with no children or family are commonly given support in an informal way by neighbours (Help Age International 2000). In developing countries it is households and community organisations which provide the greater part of old age support, especially in low income and rural areas. It is important to develop policies that complement these sectors and focus on reducing poverty in old age (Barrientos 2001).

Weak Poverty reduction programmes in developing countries could well make matters worse with regard to old age poverty. Lack of access to public services and programmes is another important dimension of poverty in later life; common priorities in service provision and delivery often discriminate against older persons (Barrientos 2003). For example, in Uganda the government

requires people to form groups to participate in and benefit from development programmes, but whenever groups are formed the older people tend to have little influence, for reasons such as illiteracy, lack of knowledge or education. This has led to older people being excluded or failing to benefit from most programmes. Services have been used by those that do not need them, while those that do need them are not able to access them. Access to Poverty reduction programmes has become a problem.

The definitions of poverty used are significant for poverty eradication strategies, according to Laderchi, Saith and Stewart (2003, pp.243-274) and this study argues that it is the yardstick used by international bodies such as the World Bank and IMF to measure poverty which determines the poverty reduction approaches used in Uganda. Several sectors have designed strategies to respond to poverty; for every action taken, there is always an objective or intention behind it, which then determines the approach or procedure to be designed in order to get the outcome. In fighting poverty, the government, non-governmental, and local associations, as well as the family, all have a role to play. However, each group has its own method of operation, which the researcher refers to as a procedure or approach. Each approach has different inputs, outputs and outcomes.

In this study the researcher intends to identify and examine the methods or procedures used in the implantation of anti-poverty programmes. Kalasa (2001)

points out that many Sub-Saharan African countries developing poverty alleviation strategies are addressing poverty in a comprehensive manner without specific targets or actions regarding elderly people. It is unfortunate that despite the older population growing at a high rate, African countries afford low priority in their national development policies and programmes to the old age population (Kalasa 2001).

1.4 Current literature and contribution of the research

According to Heslop and Gorman (2002), Help Age (2005, 2007); Barrientos (2003); Baigana (2008); PPA (2002); and Lloyd-Sherlock (2000) there is no concern, no access, and no impact on Poverty reduction programmes for older person poverty reduction. Lloyd-Sherlock further points out that there is no attention paid to older persons' own survival strategies. The methods and procedures used by all sectors involved with poverty reduction among older people and the operations within older people's households seem to be neglected by most studies.

Chronic poverty among the old has been analysed and studies carried out into poverty knowledge, perception, growing out of poverty and learning from the poor in Uganda (Lwanga-Ntale and Kimberly 2008, 2003; Muwaga 2011; Karen, McGee Adong and Ssuna 2003; MFPED 2000; World Bank 1990, 1993, 1996, 1997). However, these studies neglect to consider methods used by older persons

to fight poverty in households, and methods used by other sectors, such as community based organisations (CBOs), and older people's local associations.

Nelson (2004) confirms that a clear focus on the anti-poverty effects of separate social security programmes improves the possibilities of identifying and justifying some of the redistributive mechanisms at work in the welfare state. In conducting such analysis, it is necessary to take into account the distributional interplay between social transfers. "If we refrain from analysing how separate social transfers and benefits interact in the distributive process, then conclusions about the linkages between certain social policy structures and outcomes are negative" (Nelson 2004). The literature in Uganda tends to neglect the distributive processes and procedures involved in the Poverty reduction programmes. Nelson explains the analysis conducted in his paper and shows that;

"Welfare states achieve very different policy success in this respect, which in turn seem to be linked to the strategies chosen in the formation of social insurance. Issues related to the redistributive impact of the welfare state, in particular to poverty alleviation have become increasingly important in recent decades". (Nelson 2004, p.385)

Nelson emphasises the importance of identifying those distributive mechanisms at work in order to understand different strategies in poverty reduction. Identifying and examine the operations of mechanisms in programmes

offered by sectors involved in poverty reduction among older persons will be done by identifying the approaches used and examining their outcomes for older people.

One of the biggest challenges facing most Sub-Saharan African states is the lack of progress towards poverty reduction among the general population. According to Alcock (1998), in order to understand poverty it is necessary to undertake research into social policies that have been developed in response.

In Uganda 80 per cent of the population lives in rural areas (Gaseka 2009) and is not covered by any formal social provision, therefore with the absence of public funded social security, older persons in Uganda seem to rely more on provisions from family, the voluntary sector and non-government organisations. Furthermore, the role of the non-government sector is further emphasised by Kalasa (2001,p.14) where he states that “efforts to design efficient and effective systems to deal with the concerns of older persons should be reinforced by intensified studies on the possibilities of self-support, family support, NGO support and community support”. Therefore this study becomes imperative in closing the existing gap of knowledge.

Further studies have looked at poverty and anti-poverty strategies, but disregarded community based strategies and older people’s approach to the fight against poverty (Mackinnon and Reinikka 2000; United Nations 2006; Devereux 2001; Obici 2010). Other studies have considered approaches to poverty

reduction but are limited to other countries and categories of people. Examples are Hulme, Moore and Kazi (2006), Bado (2012), Bellu (2005), Kebin (2005), Lloyd Lloyd-Sherlock (2006), Barrientos (2010) and Barrientos, Lloyd-Sherlock, Moller and Soboia (2012).

Eradication of old age poverty in developing countries has not been a priority for academic research or development policy, and Poverty reduction programmes in developing countries seldom target older groups (Barrientos 2002). As a matter of fact, in Uganda there has been little research into what services older persons receive and the approaches they use to fight poverty. There has also been little discussion of the issues surrounding the government poverty programmes and how they contribute to the reduction of poverty among older people. This study is set to identify the programmes for poverty reduction at sub-county level and examine approaches used by the government, community based organisations and older people themselves to tackle poverty.

The Madrid Plan of Action on Ageing of 2002 provided a fresh perspective on the situation of older persons and presented a new global agenda to address issues of ageing. In acknowledging the demographic revolution taking place in countries all over the world, the Plan of Action called for a new approach to ageing policies and programmes that would promote a society for all ages. This framework provides information and suggestions about creating those policies and programmes (United Nations 2002). In line with the United Nations

framework, this study contributes knowledge in respect to how older persons are fighting poverty in their households and it contributes to the debates on what the ageing policies should involve.

1.5 Statement of the research problem

Despite the principle of provision for older persons being enshrined in the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, Article 32, which states that “the state shall make reasonable provisions for the welfare and maintenance of the older people” (UNHS, 2009/10, p.137), poverty in Uganda is still high among vulnerable groups, such as older persons. According to Bird and Shinyekwa (2003) older persons are among the chronically poor and this is attributed to a number of factors: ill-health; limited social support; abandonment; harsh economic conditions; lack of productive assets and lack of regular income. Incidences of HIV/AIDS and malnutrition are very high among older people in Uganda (Kikafunda and Namusoke 2006).

Barrientos (2002) argues that the evaluation of poverty programmes needs to take account of the economic contribution of the old and external support in old age. He recommends that the low priority given to old age support in developing countries needs to be reconsidered. This also marks a shift towards a more diversified approach of social policy by incorporating and publicly acknowledging the contributions made by welfare providers other than the state, namely the voluntary sectors (Hoff 2008, p.40).

The extent and seriousness of the problem with anti-poverty methods is often not well understood either by stakeholders, researchers or the government. Given the diversity of situations among individual older persons, and the direct and indirect impacts of policies and programmes on older persons, research on ageing is essential to understand the issues faced by older persons. There should be mainstreaming and it should be achieved through collecting and using analytical qualitative information (United Nation 2008). The present study is significant in using qualitative information in order to understand how older people are said to be excluded from the Poverty reduction programmes in society. Based on the above, and given the limited information available, this study is imperative and timely to answer the following questions:

- What explains the exclusion of older people from poverty reduction programmes?
- What is the understanding of poverty?
- What approaches do government and CBOs use to tackle poverty among older people in Uganda
- How do older persons address poverty in their households?

1.6 Objectives of the Study

- To explain why old age poverty persists despite efforts to counter it.
- To analyse the understanding of poverty in Uganda.

- To identify a range of different approaches to tackling poverty among older people.
- To identify the approaches used by older persons in poverty reduction in households.
- To recommend good practices to all stakeholders for reducing poverty among older persons.

In line with the research questions and the search for more effective measures for poverty eradication among the aged, the assumptions that guide the study are : older persons seem to have good strategies to fight poverty in their household. This study was conducted among people aged 60 years and above in the Wakiso and Luwero districts in Uganda. It focused on the poverty approaches used by different sectors in the fight against poverty among older persons. Sectors involved included older persons' associations, community based organisations and the government at sub-county level. The procedure, administration and methods of delivery were analysed.

This study aims to provide evidence to help policy makers recognise the significance of complementary contributions in poverty eradication in older persons. This research intends to guide the government and other relevant bodies involved in the campaign against poverty among older persons and it intends to further increase knowledge among the public of the methods used in delivering

services to older persons, with emphasis on the approaches used by older persons themselves.

Although various studies have been conducted into poverty among the old and into social services in general, there seems not to have been a study that examines the various approaches older persons use to fight poverty in their households. In addition, little is known about the role played by different sectors and their methods of delivery in poverty reduction among older people. This study intends to contribute knowledge and fill the existing gap.

1.7 Definition of terms

Some central concepts used in this research need to be defined.

Anti-poverty programme is understood as programmes of planned actions to reduce poverty at any level in the community.

Poverty would include failure to meet the basic needs in a household and appearing to live below the poverty line, as defined by the government. Poverty is relative and it depends on the location, time, age, gender and culture of those in poverty.

Older persons are those aged 60 years and above, considered to be the aged in the Constitution of Uganda.

Approach: This study uses the concept of approach to refer to the methods used in the implementation of Poverty reduction programmes at the sub-county level.

Programme: planned actions to achieve a specified outcome.

1.8 The structure of the thesis

This thesis is structured as follows: this first chapter presents the introduction and background to the research and situates the study within the literature by establishing the research field. The research problem is stated, along with the aims and objectives.

Chapter 2 sets out to identify and critically examine the approaches used to fight poverty. The theories behind those approaches are identified and examined in relation to the situation of older people in poverty. The social policy analytical framework is employed in order to understand whether the intentions of different sectors involved with the fight against poverty relate to the approaches employed. The main concern is whether intentions inform the objectives and whether these approaches constitute a practical approach to fighting poverty among older persons.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology of the study. Chapter 4 presents the findings of my own research drawn from analysis of the government programmes and approaches used at the Sub-County level. The objective here is to examine

their relationship with the older persons' struggle against poverty. Chapter 5 sets out older people's experience of government Poverty reduction programmes. The aim in this chapter is to identify the participation of older people in the government and the CBO anti-poverty strategies. Chapter 6 details accounts from community based organisations based on their activities, approaches and contributions to the fight against poverty among older persons. The aim in this chapter is to identify insightful theories behind the approaches used to fight poverty among older people.

Chapter 7 identifies and analyses the methods employed by older persons in the fight against poverty in the household and also presents accounts of specific older persons in their struggle against poverty and the implications of their methods for all stakeholders. The aim is to identify insightful approaches to poverty reduction for further research and analysis of the strategies that are formulated to fight poverty among older people. Chapter 8 is the discussion chapter and Chapter 9 concludes and summarises the findings of this research, addresses its policy implications and also discusses the limits of the research and raises questions that this work leaves for more research.

Chapter Two: Literature review

2.0 Introduction

This chapter is an overview of what has been studied, argued and established about poverty, and the government's and CBOs' attempts at poverty reduction. It reviews the literature on the strategies of the government, NGOs and older people to fight poverty. A conceptual framework is used to structure the discussion and help in establishing the intention, input and outcomes of the approaches. The aim of the chapter is to present a discussion and an analysis of definitions of poverty and strategies for fighting poverty, as well as arguments for understanding poverty and anti-poverty strategies adopted in this study.

2.1 Conceptualisation of poverty

Absolute definition

Poverty reduction is at the top of the agenda and the main objective for most developing countries. For more than a century there have been different attempts to define poverty and devise policies to reduce it successfully. As countries try to fight “poverty”, there are several arguments about what this concept means. In this section the different understandings of poverty are presented and analysed.

Gazeley (2007) explains that the history of the perception of absolute poverty can be traced back to Charles Booth (1891) in late nineteenth-century Britain and Joseph Rowntree (1901) early in the twentieth century. Mitton (2012) affirms that the idea of absolute poverty came from the ground-breaking surveys of

poverty by social reformers, such as Charles Booth's study of London in 1891 and Rowntree's study of York in 1901. Booth is generally recognised as being the first researcher of the concept of absolute poverty. Gazeley (2007) points out that Booth compared household income with the cost of a minimum needs basket of household items that varied depending on the household's structure. Booth emphasised that all those defined as poor had insufficient income to meet his minimum needs standard and therefore were in poverty (Townsend 1979). Years after Booth's study, Rowntree found that 27.8 per cent of the population of York was in poverty. Rowntree referred to all those families whose total earnings are insufficient to obtain the minimum necessities for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency (Eroglu 2011). He went on to describe the poor as living under a struggle to obtain the necessities of life and make both ends meet.

Just before the First World War, Bowley (2007) developed Rowntree's primary poverty measure in his analysis of poverty. Gazeley and Newell (2007) discuss Bowley's analysis of Rowntree's work; they argue that Bowley believed that Rowntree's standard was too harsh because it had not incorporated consumption of meat in the diet. Bowley further regrets Rowntree's description of what physical efficiency meant, leaving no room for doubt about the severity of his primary poverty standard and neglecting the fact that the requirements of life differ depending on time and place (Townsend 1979). Townsend argues that the needs of individuals differ according to the context that exists at that

particular time and that Booth used considerations that are not universal and cannot be applied across the world.(Veit-Wilson 1987) maintains that “Rowntree’s distinction between primary and secondary poverty was an empirical plan to persuade individuals that the life of the poor was at least in part caused by low income and not by extravagance” (Glennerster et al. 2004; Eroglu, 2013). Rowntree defined families as being in primary poverty if their total earnings are insufficient to obtain the minimum necessities for the maintenance of mere physical efficiency (Sen 1982). Secondary poverty is a condition whereby income would be sufficient if it was optimally spent (Bourguignon 2004).

Relative definition

With the aim to assess the number of people in poverty and identify the characteristics and problems of those in poverty, and consequently contribute to the explanation of an account for poverty, Townsend argues that, “when you talk about poverty in the UK today we see a relative concept. Poor people are those who are considerably worse off than the majority of the population.” Townsend explains that the term relative deprivation elaborated first by Merton and then Runciman was used to signify feelings of deficiency relative to others and not situations of deprivation relative to others. Townsend defines relative poverty as exclusion from ordinary living patterns, customs and activities when someone’s

resources are seriously below those commended by the average individual or family (Townsend 1979).

This relative approach seems to have laid a foundation for other researchers and scholars such as O'Connor (1991); Eroglu (2004); Ssewanyana, Matovu and Twimukye (2011); Appleton and Ssewanyana (2003); Bevan and Ssewaya (1995); Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones (2002); and Maxwell (1999), who defined poverty as being deprivation of minimum standards of living generally approved of by a given society. The relative poverty approach looks at poverty as a proportion of the actual expenditure or income of the population as a whole (Ruggles 1990). The relative definition of poverty comes in where one compares situations; but where comparison is not done relative poverty could seem a limited concept to explain poverty. Also, before one is exposed to a situation, it becomes difficult to admit that there is poverty.

Poverty is also defined by reference to an overall standard of living in any given society. As Gabriel and Bowling (2004) argue, people are poor when they are very much worse off than the people in their society. Townsend (1979, p.88) illustrates this argument as follows:

“Poverty, I argue, is lack of the resources necessary to permit participation in the activities, customs and diets commonly approved by society, different kind of resources and not just earning or even cash incomes have to be examined”. (Townsend 1979, p.88)

Critics of Townsend's relative approach to poverty argue that the indicators of deprivation were arbitrary and that by measuring indicators of deprivation the methodology failed to allow for difference and choice in how people live (Veit-Wilson 1987); (Sen 1982).

Capability notion

A concept of relative poverty brings out the aspects of inequality but is not good at letting you know how someone stands in relation to absolute needs (Gordon 1998). Sen emphasises that the idea of absolute need should not be abandoned because otherwise the distinction between the concepts of poverty and inequality would be unclear (Eroglu 2011). Relative deprivation of commodities in a wealthy society can lead to the denial of absolute needs (Bowring 2000).

Sen's arguments point out that the contrast between the absolute and the relative features has often been confused. For Sen, even though the specification of the absolute levels has to be quite different from the way it used to be done in the older tradition, "Ultimately poverty must be seen to be primarily an absolute notion". Sen specifically explains that, "It will be claimed that absolute deprivation in terms of a person's capability relates to relative deprivation in terms of commodities, income and resources" (Sen 1982, p.153). It is from these arguments that Sen was enthused to search for another concept to explain poverty. Sen asserts that capability is concerned with people's abilities to lead the life that they not only value but have reasons to value. Eroglu (2004) argues

that the basic notion of functioning in this definition means various things that a person can manage to do in their life. Critics of this approach argue that the capability approach represents a set of potential outcomes and as such is difficult to measure. The approach also fails to capture fundamental causes of poverty (Laderchi, Saith and Stewart 2003). They further argue that Sen does not provide a specific list of guidelines for drawing up a universal list. Even where scholars such as Alkire (2002), Desai (1995) and Quizibash (1998), have each arrived at a similar list, they conclude that the lists are broadly the same as the lists of basic needs identified.

In recent years, using the concept of powerlessness to define poverty seems to have caught the attention of researchers. Thirlwall's (2003, p.44) definition brings out stronger concepts: "Poverty not only means low income and consumption and low levels of human development in terms of education and healthcare but also feelings of powerlessness, and vulnerability." Poor people are not free and are exposed to greater risk living on the margins of existence. Byarunhanga's definition (2003) does not differ from Thirlwall's idea of poverty, as not only a situation of perpetual need for the daily necessities of life but a feeling of powerlessness to influence the things around you. Poor people focus on assets more than income and link their lack of physical, human, social and environmental assets to their vulnerability and exposure to risks; this reveals important psychological aspects of poverty. In her article on household poverty

reduction through beekeeping amongst Uganda's rural women, Ogaba (2002) states that poor people define poverty as not just the lack of income but also the lack of means to satisfy basic social needs as well as a feeling of powerlessness to break out of the cycle of poverty, insecurity of person and property.

With the intention of systematically covering the social relations of the labour market and service exclusion, the consensual method with its wider understanding of social exclusion forms the basis of the current poverty and social exclusion research. The European Foundation (1995) defines social exclusion as a process through which individual or groups are totally or mostly excluded from full participation in the society in which they live (Haan 1998). The concept of social exclusion as reported by C.Lu (2012) has been slowly extended to developing countries through the activities of various UN agencies such as the International Labour Institute.

The multi-dimensional approach to poverty is seen as coming from social exclusion. By being socially defined social exclusion makes the social perspective central, and this is a characteristic of groups such as the aged, handicapped, racial or ethnic groups rather than pertaining to the individual. Uganda has embraced the multi-dimensional concept in defining and addressing poverty. Poverty is seen as more multi-faceted, including aspects of psychological well-being, such as mental, health and shame. Although this approach is widely accepted, Williams (2008) argue that the multi-

dimensionality is lost, weakened or distorted when poverty is measured. They assert that the measure is incompletely used and unfair to the experience of people, and most likely to result in implementation of inappropriate policies.

Laderchi, Saith and Stewart (2003) makes this point as follows:

“Clarification on how poverty is defined is extremely important as different definitions imply use of different indicators for measurement. They may lead to the identification of different individual and groups as poor and require different policies for poverty reduction.” (Laderchi, Saith and Stewart 2003, p 244)

It is clear from the literature that poverty is relative, many having argued that there is no single definition that can fit all situations. The concept of poverty seems to have become complex to the extent that there are many understandings of poverty and this could be attributed to the different interpretations of earlier concepts of absolute and relative poverty. In this study the multi-dimensional approach to poverty is employed. However, although poverty is seen as a more multi-dimensional concept including aspects such as powerlessness and psychological welfare, the researcher also believes that in practical terms the multi-dimensional view makes poverty difficult to measure and understand in order to devise effective policies and appropriate methods to fight it successfully.

2.2 Approaches to poverty reduction

Approach: This section reviews the terminology used in literature in explaining action/s taken to reduce poverty. The term ‘approach’ is frequently used interchangeably with ‘strategies’ to refer to actions taken to address poverty. Other terms used include: actions, interventions, programmes and mechanisms.

In discussing poverty reduction ‘strategies’ in the United Kingdom and Ireland, Collin (2007) concluded that in order to reduce poverty, all government departments should ensure that the ‘actions taken’ by the UK government promoted social inclusion. In his examination of ‘livelihood strategies’ for old age income security, Barrientos (2007) assesses the extent to which different types of anti-poverty ‘interventions’ impact on poverty and vulnerability reduction. Discussing the ‘storm’ of poverty reduction strategy in Africa, (Agholor and Obi 2013) identify the South African constitution as a policy document which forms the basis for the ‘approaches’ to fight poverty. In their studies of governments’ approaches to old age poverty, Heslop and Gorman (2002, p.16) refer to “mechanisms for targeting of older people”. Meanwhile, Hulme and Shepherd (2001), while discussing the role of NGOs in alleviating poverty, use the term ‘approaches’ to refer to strategies developed to alleviate poverty.

The term ‘approaches’ has been used by Moser (2008, p.241) to refer to the “aspect of the process” in programme implementation. While discussing the

differences in anti-poverty approaches in Europe and United States, Caminada and Martin (2011) use the term ‘approaches’ to refer to anti-poverty policies. In their study of comparative approaches to poverty, (Dini and Lippit 2009) identify approaches as the level of analysis, definition and policy action to tackle poverty. In general, the above literature seems to use the term approaches to refer to government programmes and interventions. In developing the concept, ‘approach’ is used to refer to a poverty reduction strategy paper (Hunter 2003). However, in this study the term ‘approach’ is used to refer to the methods used in Poverty reduction programmes to fight poverty.

As countries try to fight poverty to meet the 2015 deadline for the UN Millennium Development Goals, various possibilities are being explored to search for an appropriate approach to reduce poverty (Hulme 2009). However, any attempt to justify a new approach to poverty reduction must begin with the previous approaches and programmes (Townsend 1979). As Laderchi, Saith and Stewart (2010, p.244) argue in their study entitled “Does it matter that we do not agree on the definitions of poverty, A comparison of four approaches” that the definition of poverty does matter for poverty eradication strategies. Whereas these approaches are formed for clarification on poverty definitions and measurements, the Laderchi, Saith and Stewart study confirms that different approaches in addressing poverty responded to different definitions of poverty.

2.2.1 Neo-liberal monetary approach

Understanding poverty from the economic point of view might have been the reason for the birth of neo-liberal approach to poverty reduction. This approach originated from the neo-classic economic theory which aims to promote economic growth by reducing the role of the state in the economy and allowing market forces to determine production, distribution and access to goods and services (Spiller 2008). The approach rejects interventions aiming to deal directly with poverty, because they would reduce growth and make beneficiaries lazy (Dini and Lippit 2009). Shepherd and Hulme (2003, p.1), in their paper *Conceptualizing Chronic Poverty*, point out that the approaches driven by the idea of neo-liberal vision (monetary approach) see the poor as those who are not effectively integrated in to the market economy, leading to an excessive focus on the role that market forces can play in poverty reduction. They argue that without doubt, such approaches can help many people, but there are two problems with them. Firstly, focusing on the market will not meet the needs of all the different types of poor people. Secondly, such an approach encourages a focus on those poor whom the market can liberate from poverty, but neglects the needs of those who need different forms of support.

It should be remembered that before the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), Uganda showed prospects for sustainable development with high growth and savings rates and a well-developed education system. The

country was running a trade surplus, primarily through agricultural, textile, and copper exports. It was self-sufficient in terms of food, and small-scale industry supplied the domestic market with basic inputs ((Fan and Chan-Kang 2004). Burton (2013) points out that the journey to neo-liberal economic development was laid out in the World Bank (2001) world report on poverty reduction, and he maintains that focusing on neo-liberal development has become a model for developing countries. However, he argues that neo-liberal developments do not tie in with a role in poverty reduction.

At the same time Townsend (2004) argues that the liberal-pluralism of capitalist democracy that is the set of values and explanations which provide the basis for policies which are applied represents a bundle of theories contributed by orthodox economists, some socialist and some political scientists. He asserts that this produces an amazingly limited approach to the development of social policy and anti-poverty policies. The general literature has demonstrated that the neo-liberal approach to poverty not only failed to fight poverty, but made matters worse (Bond 2008; Lindenberg and Deuarajan 1993; Hague 1999; Gary 1996; Cheru 1992; Rodrick 2007, Adedej 1999 and Nyamugasira and Rowden 2002). Spiller (2008) emphasised that the neo-classical view has proved to be inappropriate for Africa's stage of development.

2.2.2 Sustainable livelihood approach

The second approach is the sustainable livelihood approach; some scholars have called it a people-centered approach to reducing poverty. The main idea, by Krantz (2001), is an attempt to go beyond the conventional definitions and approaches to poverty eradication. This approach originated from the 1992 United Nations' Conference on Environment and Development. This advocated the achievement of a sustainable livelihood as a broad goal for poverty reduction (Krantz 2001). Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones (2002) explain that livelihood approaches propose that thinking in terms of strength or assets is vital as an answer to the view of poor people as passive or deprived. Central to the approach is the need to recognise that those who are poor may not have cash or other materials but have non-material assets such as their health, their physical labor, knowledge and skills, their families and natural resources around them. He argues that livelihood approaches require a realistic understanding of these assets in order to identify what opportunities they may offer or where constraints lie. Proponents of these theories argue that it is more conceptually appropriate and more practical to start with an analysis of strengths as opposed to an analysis of needs.

However, Krantz (2001) identifies some problems with this approach. The first problem is the identification of who are the poor. C. Lu (2012) argues that income has been used in the identification of the poor for targeting purposes, but

it has hidden policy bias in favor of private income generation rather than public goods provision. The second problem is with social relations of poverty, informal structures of social dominance and power within communities which influence people's access to resources and livelihood opportunities. However, Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones (2002) insist that implementing a livelihood approach implies that there should be direct support of assets by providing poor people with better access to the material resources as a foundation for their livelihood

Critics of the livelihood approach have pointed out the following as hindrances to this approach. Firstly, the gender aspect results in problems, the patterns of power are influenced by the inequality in the economic activities which often exists between men and women within a community. Secondly, the livelihood approach demands analytical capacity and information requirement yet it is unlikely that the benefiting community can provide that. Last but not least, this approach requires a highly flexible planning situation which is often unrealistic.

2.2.3 Basic needs approach

The basic needs approach emerged explicitly in the 1970s as a reaction to welfare in the area of anti-poverty policies (Streeten, et al 1981). The main idea views poverty as the deprivation of consumption. The basic needs approach tends to regard the well-being of the poor and social equity as the primary goals of development policy and not just potential long-term by-products of policies

designed to augment economic growth. Secondly, proponents of the basic needs approach manifest a laudable concern for the relationship between ends and means in social changes: If worthy goals cannot be thought through unworthy means then the means used condition the ends Sandbrook (1982). Streeten et al (1981) argue that in fighting poverty attention has been given to formulating economic policies to restructure patterns of production and income to benefit the poor, but no attention has been given to the consumption side. They assert that the basic needs objectives should occupy the center stage of development where they belong. Critics of this approach argue that it fails to include the income dimension as an alternative indicator for non-included aspects and also misses the breadth of poverty and seems not to allow for a flexible weighting system (Santos et al. 2010). It fails to show logically what and how much people should have: in reality people have different needs. In addition, the approach fails to connect poverty with people's values and aspirations (Santos et al. 2010). Yet Sandbrook suggests a radical approach to poverty which might seem unrealistic for most developing countries.

2.2.4 The capability approach to poverty

The central idea of the capability approach is empowerment. This approach comes with a slightly different method from the basic needs methods. Narayan (2002) argues that empowerment can involve development effectiveness and pro-poor impact at the individual project level. Empowerment refers to the expansion

of freedom of choice and opportunity to shape one's life. However, Cornwall and Brock (2006) assert that the use of concepts such as empowerment, participation and poverty reduction in development policy may offer little hope of the poverty-free world that they used to suggest. The concept of empowerment can be traced back to Sen's capability approach. By capability, Sen (1993) refers to the alternative combinations of functioning that a person can achieve, and from which he or she can choose. It encourages not the welfare policies but empowerment, insisting that people are responsible for their own lives and should have freedom. The capability approach would heavily contribute to poverty reduction if the monetary causes of poverty were considered. However, Ruggeri (2003) argues that the capability approach fails to capture the fundamental causes or dynamics of poverty and presents a set of possible effects that are difficult to see empirically. To some people the capability approach is forced to refer back to the fundamentals of the basic needs approach. The failure of Sen to provide a specific list of minimally essential needs resulted in attempts by several people (Alkire 2002; Desai 1995; Qizilbash 1998) to produce such a list, but each has arrived at the same list. This confirms Ruggeri's arguments that the lists are the same as the list identified in the basic needs approach.

2.2.5 The role of means-tested and non-means-tested benefits in poverty reduction

In a comparative study of social provision in five countries: Canada, Germany, Sweden, UK and USA, Nelson (2004) argues that there is empirical evidence suggesting that social transfer systems reduce poverty but that there are marked differences in the magnitude of this impact across the countries. The aim of the study was to account for variations and the extent of the social transfer system among the fore mentioned countries. In the above study Nelson discusses non-means-tested and means-tested benefits as two types of approaches used in poverty reduction. He points out that among the five countries considered, Swedish welfare has a high degree of poverty reduction emanating from the remarkable level of redistribution by non-means-tested provisions, at 50% poverty threshold. Non-means-tested entitlements in Sweden reduce poverty by 71.9% independently of the level of means-tested benefits. Nelson explains that a greater share of individuals in Germany, Sweden and UK receiving non-means-tested provision must supplement their incomes with means-tested benefits to escape poverty. Nelson further points out that, non-means-tested benefits achieve almost the same degree of poverty alleviation at each of the three poverty thresholds. He asserts that the anti-poverty effects of means-tested benefits decrease sharply every time we move up a poverty threshold. Precisely this characteristic of means-tested benefits renders welfare states with basic security insurance and strong emphasis on selective policies less effective in reducing poverty among the moderate poor than those living in grave poverty. Although Nelson clearly advocates the means-tested and non-mean-tested benefits

approach to poverty, this approach is limited when it comes to poor countries still struggling to make ends meet and to pay off their debts by adopting the prescribed anti-poverty approaches.

2.2.6 Community-driven development

Community-driven development is the transfer of responsibility to communities to manage their development. Dongier et al. (2003) points out that community-driven development gives control of decisions and resources to community groups and the approach treats people as assets and partners in the development process, building on their institutions and resources. Experience has shown that when given clear guidelines access to information, and appropriate support, poor men and women can effectively organise to provide goods and services that meet their immediate priorities (Dongier et al. 2003). However, in most developing countries poor people are often viewed as the target object of poverty reduction efforts and not as partners. Bado's (2012) findings show that the various national and international programmes did not have any significant effect on reducing poverty. He advocated a community-driven approach to development and made a case for its adoption for development and poverty alleviation in rural Burkina Faso. The participatory approach should be responsive to the needs of the beneficiaries, but until now, community-driven development programmes remain driven by a supply-led approach (Platteau and Gaspart 2003). It is important to include a demand-driven planning process that necessitates

flexibility on the part of government officials (Whittington, Davis and McClelland 1998). Community-driven development is a bottom-up approach to development that seeks to empower local people by giving them control over decisions and resources, while holding them responsible and accountable for their own development (Bado 2012). However, on several occasions older persons seem to be denied the opportunity to participate.

2.2.7 Welfare mix approach to poverty reduction

While discussing the welfare mix, Esping-Andersen (2013) highlights the factors which have been neglected in the large literature on welfare state origins. In his argument, the leading theme was that the historical political coalitions are the most decisive case of welfare the state variations. He followed a broader approach of the welfare state. He considered issues of employment wages and overall macro-economic steering as integral components in the welfare state complex. Despite some Marxist explanations, the field of welfare state research has been historically characterized by lack of theory.

Esping-Andersen argue that, there are three classical types of the welfare model; first, the Liberal Anglo-Saxons poverty relief state, second, the German Christian democratic state, third the Scandinavians model of universality. His model suggests a path dependency approach shaped by class coalition and institutional setup. He however argued that this constrains the scope of possible political action and also impacts on political culture. In this approach Esping-

Andersen identified welfare states as welfare capitalism. He explains how welfare came about, the cause of welfare variations and he explains the history of political classifications. He emphasized three elements of the situation; first the nature of mobilisation, secondly, class political coalition structure and thirdly the historical legacy of regime institutionalization.

Using the above three models of welfare Esping-Andersen talks about the characteristics of the three models; the Social-democratic Scandinavia is high in decommodification and has a strong universalism approach. The liberal Anglo-Saxons nations have low decommodification and strong individualistic self-reliance approach. The conservative central Europe has a corporatist, statist and modest decommodification. He provided explanations of who should do welfare services delivery. Using examples, he argued that it was common to let service delivery rest with the state, NGO and the market.

Although Esping-Andersen model filled a theoretical void and great body of research builds on his typology. His historical plan does not provide us with accounts as to why these groups of countries followed different institutional routes of the welfare state (Powel and Barrientos 2004). Nevertheless his work provides background to this study by outlining the institutions involved in poverty reduction. My study builds on this literature by providing explanations of why older people are persistently in poverty despite the available welfare mix and approach in Uganda.

The above literature is limited in showing the main intention of the approach to poverty reduction; also their explanation of why, how and where this approach fails in fighting poverty is limited. It is imperative to show how the approach has failed to impact on the poor and how the original intention of fighting poverty failed to lead to the intended outcome.

In this section various approaches to poverty reduction have been discussed and the next section looks at the literature on approaches to fighting poverty in Uganda.

2.3 Definitions of poverty and anti-poverty approaches in Uganda

Defining and fighting poverty in Uganda is complicated to the extent that there are many definitions of poverty. Poverty is fundamentally to do with lack of well-being (Dasgupta 1993). Lack of well-being implies a combination of inability to act and enforced misery, implying severely curtailed human capabilities (Sen 1993, 1997). The concept of poverty takes several dimensions. In 1997, at the launch of the first Poverty Eradication Assessment Programme (PEAP), the government, for policy purposes, defined poverty as the lack of access to basic necessities of life (food, shelter, clothing and other needs like education and health) (Mukasa and Masiga 2003). After the first Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA1) was conducted in 1998, poverty was defined as the inability to satisfy a range of basic human needs, and the lack of employment and survival opportunities stemming from powerlessness, social exclusion, ignorance and

lack of knowledge, as well as lack of material resources. Powerlessness was defined as lack of participation in decision making at community and household level, especially by women (Cornwall 2003).

In Uganda, the poor are distinguished from the non-poor by an economic approach that is preferred by economists, which uses the absolute poverty line approach based on consumption expenditure as proxy for income. Consumption is considered a better measure of well-being than income because it reflects the household's ability to shield its standard of living through savings and borrowing despite income fluctuations (World Bank 1996). There exists no officially approved poverty line, but (Appleton et al. 1999) using an absolute poverty line calculated that 56 per cent of Ugandans were poor in 1992, falling to 44 per cent in 1997/8. Bevan and Ssewaya (1995) report that poverty has been defined in terms of consumption and constructed three strategies: firstly, a headcount index, secondly, a poverty gap index and thirdly, the Foster Greer Thorbecke index, which incorporates a measure of changes in welfare among those below the poverty line (World Bank 1996). Using the total expenditure of UGX 6000 per capita as the measure of welfare and poverty, a daily intake of 2200 calories plus some reasonable non-food expenditure, 55 per cent of Ugandans were defined as poor in 1998. Worldwide, the measurement of poverty remains a major problem for social scientists.

As addressing poverty remains an overriding objective in developing countries such as Uganda, Uganda's National Household Survey collects consumption and non-consumption expenditure data and is used by the Ministry of Finance, Economic Development and planning to estimate the official poverty rate (Male-Mukasa 2011). Uganda National Housing Survey 2009/10 states how the Household total expenditure is derived;

“From all purchases by household members and items received free as gifts valued and recorded as per the current prices. The items consumed out of home produce were valued at the current farm producer price while rent for owner occupied houses was imputed to current market prices. Food consumption included food consumed from own production, purchase and free collection/gifts. Expenditure data was collected on an item basis, the expenditures were then aggregated according to the recall period used and by broader sub-components of expenditure to the household level. Given the different recall periods that were used during collection of data on households, some conversion factors were applied to change the data *to 30 days (monthly basis)*.” (Male-Mukasa, 2009/10)

In the 1990s Uganda focused on the measurement of consumption to develop a poverty line and separate the poor from the non-poor. Income is usually used as a substitute for consumption, making this method a monetary approach. However, Maxwell (1999) has argued that objective income or consumption strategies can be used to give a picture of the extent of poverty at a national level and be aggregated internationally, but for analysis and detailed planning more

qualitative strategies and participatory approaches would be most appropriate. These require decentralisation and local empowerment. In Uganda it was reported that there was a 10 per cent increase in monthly household expenditure between 2005/06 and 2009/10 (Male-Mukasa 2010). Critics of this approach argue that the measure is arbitrary in the sense that there is no exact calculation that this is a threshold of minimum income acceptable to society. Low income is just one indicator of poverty; a full picture looks at all resources, not simply income ((Townsend 1979). The use of income in the identification of the poor for targeting purposes has a clear policy bias in favour of private income generation rather than public goods provision (Lu 2012).

For the last fifty years Uganda has tried to fight poverty and provide for her people. Several different strategies have been used to fight poverty and these are discussed according to different periods. A state-oriented approach (social democratic approach) existed under Dr Milton Obote and Idi Amin, from 1962-1979, followed by the second government of Milton Obote (1980-1985) a period characterised by foreign donor support, primarily from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The period that has followed under President Museveni has consisted of a more market-oriented approach to economic growth. Different government and academic studies have attempted to identify and examine programmes and approaches used to fight poverty for the last fifty years. This study will now review those studies.

2.3.1 Structural Adjustment Programmes approach

The neo-liberal approach to development has its roots in neo-classical economic theory that seeks to promote economic growth by reducing the role of the state in the economy and by allowing market forces to determine the access to goods and services (Dini and Lippit 2009). Adjustment and stabilisation policies restore internal and external equilibrium by controlling aggregate demand and by liberalising the market to increase the efficiency by getting right prices, privatisation, liberalisation and deregulation (Ssemogerere, Mkandawire and Soludo 2003).

However, Dekker and Uslaner (2001) argue that the sudden disappearance of government from many social and economic functions has led to a collapse of trust and forced people to rely on local networks and informal associations. However, Lwanga-Ntale and McClean (2003) claim that government policies and practices were reported to retain the poor in poverty, as even when these policies are pro-poor they seem not to reach those living in chronic poverty. Deininger and Okidi (2003), however, point out that although this shows that liberalisation of agriculture markets has had a strong poverty-reducing effect, it also highlights the dangers posed by sudden falls in price. This is especially true for an agrarian economy with a very limited degree of diversification, despite the government's encouragement of diversification of commercial agriculture and

export of non-traditional agriculture commodities in the late 1980s (Fan and Chan-Kang 2004).

It is important to identify how all categories of poor people can benefit from the current economic growth. What are they doing in their households and how can they adapt to the system? Okidi and Mugambe (2002) have argued that economic reforms in the form of structural adjustment strategies adopted in Uganda over the past decade have worsened the state of poverty in some households. According to the poverty profile generated by the Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development using the 1997 household survey data, children, the elderly, women and people in large households form the majority of the chronically poor (Okidi and Mugambe 2002).

Deininger and Okidi (2003), in their article “Growth and Poverty Reduction in Uganda: to explore factors underlying growth and poverty reduction in Africa using micro-level survey and panel data evidence from 1999-2000”, emphasize that price changes for the country’s main tradable product, coffee, had a strong impact on increased growth. They argue that the poor benefited, as many small producers were able to enter the coffee industry. Chant, McDonald and Verschoor (2008) reported on computable general equilibrium analysis that explores the consequences of the 1994-1995 increase in the international price of coffee for the Ugandan economy. Evidence was found of a small effect on both medium-term growth and poverty reduction. Aid-dependence is among the

reasons why this effect is not found to be larger. The major beneficiaries group are not primarily the farmers, but urban wage earners and urban self-employed.

Literature on the performance of this programme and its approach to poverty reduction is ambiguous. Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS 2007) reported that after the implementation of SAPs there was a remarkable increase in production and output driven by macro-economic reforms, leading to Ugandan's highest GDP growth rates, low stable inflation and interest rates from the 1990s to present. However, Deli et al. (2012) argue that the neo-classical view has proved to be inappropriate for Africa's stage of development. He claims it was both too simplistic and not attuned to the African context. Structural Adjustment Programmes not only failed to solve African economic problems, but made matters worse. Inequality and poverty have increased since their implementation. Contrary to the latter claim, Fan and Chan-Kang (2004) looked at different types of government expenditure on agricultural growth and rural poverty reduction in Uganda and reported that government spending on agricultural research and extension improved production substantially. He claimed that this type of expenditure had the largest measure of returns to growth in agricultural production and also had the largest assessed impact on poverty reduction. He reported that Uganda has made great strides towards economic growth and poverty reduction since the late 1980s, citing economic growth and income distribution as the fundamental forces driving poverty reduction in Uganda. They

insist that government spending has been the most important instrument used by Ugandans to achieve these two goals. The IMF (2000) reports that, monetary restraint led to price stability, contributing to the restoration of confidence and external competitiveness. However, the latter also reports that in 1999 almost 40 per cent of rural people were still in poverty while poverty had dropped to 10 per cent in urban areas.

Despite 95 per cent of Uganda rural poor living in the rural areas and agriculture employing about 85 per cent of the people, urban residents benefited more from the recent economic boom than did their rural counterparts. However, from 1982 to 1999 agriculture grew at just 3.13 per cent per annum which was lower than the overall economic growth of 5.21 per cent. Such modest rates of agricultural growth will definitely hinder future reduction of rural poverty.

The above study seems to have failed to relate the impact of expenditure to poverty reduction among those in the agricultural sector. However, some arguments put forward point out that, while economic growth may be vital for poverty reduction, there is no usual relationship between the two, since it all depends on the capabilities of the poor to take advantage of expanding economic opportunities (Krantz 2001).

Obwona et al. (2006) explain the reason for the failure of the SAPs approach. He argues that growth with some degree of redistribution is critical for poverty reduction and that good policies are necessary for jump-starting the economy but

insufficient for poverty reduction growth outcome of recovery. SAPs had a negative impact on private sector employment, the living standards of retrenched civil servants and the country's land tenure system which might have led to SAPs failure to achieve its objectives (Bategeka 2003; Nankunda 2002; Kabuye2002; Ssemogerere, Mkandawire and Soludo 2003).

Murrisa (2008) argued that decentralisation was another strategy that came along with the SAPs. It came in as one of the World Bank's structural criteria, the idea behind which was to put most social services at the local level and to reduce poverty. The approach involved transferring administration, political, social and economic powers from the central to regional or sub-county government to improve services delivery and reduce poverty. However, with little local participation, limited resources, and high administrative costs, it remains to be seen whether decentralisation can uphold both efficient service delivery and poverty reduction (Francis and James, 2003). Rural people were also negatively impacted. Ellis and Bahiigwa (2003); Onyach-Olaa (2003); and Smoke (2003) argue that rural families encounter the rural taxation regime in association with fiscal decentralisation that is basically inimical to the expansion of momentary opportunities in rural areas. Decentralisation is unlikely to lead to more pro-poor outcomes without a serious effort to strengthen and broaden accountability mechanisms at both local and national levels (Crook 2003).

2.3.2 Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) approach

PEAP policy and strategy on poverty dates back to 1995 when a national conference was held on the theme: “The Challenge of Growth and Poverty Reduction”. The conference culminated in consultations leading to the preparation of Uganda’s first Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) that was launched in 1997 (Mukasa and Masiga 2003). In August 2001, the World Bank and the IMF announced a comprehensive review of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) approach adopted in 1999 to help poor countries and their development allies strengthen the effect of their common efforts on poverty reduction. For Uganda’s government:

“Poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSP) are prepared by member countries in broad consultation with stakeholders and development partners, including World Bank and IMF. Updated every three years with *annual progress reports*, they describe the country’s macro-economic structure and social policies in support of growth and poverty reduction as well as associated external financing needs and major sources of financing”. (MFPED 2000, p.8)

Previous studies on PRSP have not looked at the approaches of this programme and its impact on the categories of the poor in Uganda at the sub-county level. Most analysis has not gone beyond central government even though the war on poverty has been pushed to the sub-county level through decentralisation as emphasised by the President, who said:

“We shall use the war strategy to win the war on poverty and use the sub-counties like the war zones we used to have. We shall use soldiers

and deputies to implement and help, working with local leaders to *implement projects.*” (President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda 2013)

The approach proposed by the President appears to confirm the argument that once a moderate amount of democracy has been attained, a further expansion reduces growth (Barro 1996). The President seems to suggest that this approach will overcome the challenges of the implementation of government Poverty reduction programmes.

The Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) is the document recognised officially in Uganda and it is the basis on which donors provide aid to the government of Uganda. Major multi-national and bilateral aid agencies have now made poverty reduction their primary objective following renewed interest in poverty reduction within the development community inspired by the World Bank’s 1990 “World Development report on Poverty”(Moser 1998). The World Bank and the IMF, as global financial institutions in African development have pushed African countries to conform to neo-liberal principles since the 1980s. Structural Adjustments Programmes (SAPs) are intended to reduce poverty and promote economic growth. However, Wood and Gough (2006) contend that social policies must reflect the particular circumstances of a country’s or region’s welfare regime and he rejects the “one size fits all” policy solution to poverty eradication.

Kraybill and Bashaasha (2006) reported that there is a need for alternative poverty alleviation strategies in Uganda and according to the 2003 annual report of the PEAP, Uganda has fallen short of its poverty reduction goals. Uganda's economy experienced varying rates of growth when the PEAP was being implemented, with an average GDP growth rate of 7.2 per cent between 2000/01 and 2000/01 to 6.8 per cent between 2000/01 and 2003/04 and increasing to 8 per cent over the period 2004/5 to 2007/08 (NPA 2010). Ntale and Mclean (2003) note that despite the government's pro-poor policies there is concern amongst district and lower government officials below the district level that it is the implementation of the policies that fails the poor.

2.3.3 PRSP approach

Canagarajah and van Diesen (2006) report that in December 1999 the World Bank and IMF introduced the idea that low income countries applying for debt relief under the enhanced heavily indebted poor developing countries (HIDC) initiative should develop and implement a poverty reduction strategy (PRS) as a pre-condition. Five principles underpinning the PRS approach were articulated (IMF and World Bank 1999):

1. Country ownership
2. Result orientation
3. Comprehensive approach
4. Partnership framework

5. Long-term outlook

In May 2000 the executive boards of the World Bank and IMF approved the Uganda PRSP. The updated PEAP is said to be very comprehensive, identifying the critical poverty areas and prescribing the four broad goals for poverty eradication. Firstly, it creates an enabling environment for sustainable economic growth and transformation; secondly, it promotes good government and security; thirdly, it increases the ability of the poor to raise their incomes and lastly, it directly increases the quality of life of the poor (NPA 2011). PRSPs are intended to improve access for the poor to productive assets such as land, and credit-rising returns on these assets (Kalasa 2005). However, Murcus and Wilkinson (2002), after examining PRSP policies, argued that older people were found to be at particular risk of poverty. In Uganda the Poverty Eradication Action Plan is now in its third generation, policies put forward in PRS are of critical relevance to the chronically poor; whether or not they are directly targeting them, they potentially hold the key for eradicating poverty (Addison et al. 2008). But that claim is refuted. Burton (2013) maintains that PRSPs have generally followed the neo-liberal consensus in support of market reforms through liberalisation, privatisation and deregulation. The policy prescriptions do not lead to poverty reduction today any more than they had over 20 years before they were renamed. And a wide range of actors bring into policy intentions their own unique version of knowledge about poverty which informs their actions (Brock, Mcgee and

Ssewakiryanga 2002). Nyamugasira and Rowden (2002) argue that the enabling environment for sustainable economic growth is understood by the institutions to refer to the macro-economic stability that is maintained by the IMF's PRGF with deflationary programmes for tight monetary policies, strict budget surpluses and thresholds for financial reserves. Scholars, such as Bahiigwa (2005), argue that government Poverty reduction programmes are not intended for poverty reduction. Most developing countries have produced poverty reduction strategies in order to qualify for the Heavily Indebted developing countries' initiative and to access loans from international financial institutions. Sub-Saharan Africa spends over 14 per cent of export revenue to service debts (Boyce and Ndikumana 2001). Even after the debt relief the cost of servicing the debt has been greater than the amount spent on basic health and education and this has also caused a reduction in the investment levels necessary for economic growth (Poku 2002).

Uganda's intention in using this approach does not seem to be poverty reduction, but according to President Museveni, the poverty eradication discourse is the foundation for the development of the middle class which is the key to creating a social class that will have allegiance to liberal political issues like labour and democracy (Ssewamala 2011). However, Burton (2013) remarks that despite President Dilma Rousseff's claim of 36 million new middle-class people, the emerging middle class into which many of the recently poor are

graduating may not be especially secure. It is interesting to note that the presidents of both Uganda and Brazil make the same statements in their approach to poverty. However, Okidi and Mugambe (2002) argue that Uganda's poverty reduction action plan specifies medium to long-term plans of action that aim to streamline public service provision to be more poverty oriented and to facilitate the private sector to contribute to and benefit from the country's macro-economic growth.

The recognition of the PEAP as a PRSP has made the PEAP more focused on development partners, which undermines local ownership. The PRS approach is not locally owned and there has been limited progress in the result-oriented method. It is possible to argue that although the PRS approach was useful in focusing attention on the results agenda, it promotes development partner focused accountability as opposed to domestic accountability. Also, the PRS approach of partnership has been found to be costly and leads to high transaction costs for Ugandans and development partners, with a considerable proportion of local capacity being oriented towards serving the partnership agenda. This has come at the cost of addressing important implementation challenges (Canagarajah and van Diesen 2006).

The relevant literature discussed above does not show clear ownership of Poverty reduction programmes, although ownership of intervention is said to ensure successful outcomes in poverty reduction (Mills and Darin-Ericson 2000).

In all, the three programme objectives, government and development partners' practice surrounding the PRS, can undermine the very principles on which the PRS approach is based. When assessed against the five PRS principles, Uganda is found to have made marked progress in some areas such as partnership framework and long-term outlook, but limited progress in others such as country ownership, results orientation and comprehensive approach (Canagarajah and van Diesen 2006). According to Civil Society Issues Paper 2008, considerable progress has sustained a respectable economic growth rate of approximately 6 per cent per annum. Yet economic growth rate, groups and communities have remained unchanged. According to the Uganda Chronic Poverty Report of 2005 people in chronic poverty are generally not affected by current development interventions and these include people with disabilities, widows and the older people with no support.

The National Development Plan is the planned successor to the three well-known poverty eradication action plans (PEAPs) published respectively in 1997, 2002 and 2004. The National Development Plan's ten year existence has guided the formulation of government policy and the implementation of programmes (Civil Society, 2008). Uganda's government claims it has adopted a development approach intertwined with economic growth and poverty eradication while emphasising a business approach to pursue and improve public service delivery (NDP 2011). Another government objective is investments in developing

infrastructure such as roads and electricity generation. The President of Uganda has meanwhile urged civil servants in education and health to be patient with their salary increment demands. Discussing the poverty reduction strategies and the HIPC to access financial assistance, Burton asserts that much of the evidence today has focused on the construction of partnership and consultation between government and stakeholders. He points out that the approach used is more of a participatory method. “The conditional nature of HIPC’s PRSs has meant a stronger commitment to being participatory” (Burton 2013, p.199). PRSP has since been transformed into the national development framework for poverty reduction and economic growth (Kalasa 2005).

Through a countrywide consultative process the National Planning Authority developed a five-year National Development Plan (NDP) with the theme; “Growth, employment and social economic transformation for prosperity”. This plan was launched in 2010 by the President of Uganda, replacing the PEAP which had been implemented on a three-year basis through its translation into expenditure actions in the Three-Year Medium-Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) (NPA 2011). The NDP provides a strategic planning framework for the achievement of Uganda’s socio-economic transformation and consequent development for the next five years starting financial year 2010/11 up to 2014/15 (Magambe 2006).

2.3.4 Multi-dimensional approach to poverty

For a long time government strategy for poverty reduction has focused on the economic aspect by emphasising policies which accelerate economic growth and social economic transformation for prosperity (World Bank, 1996; Kuteesa, 2006; Reinikka 2005; Steiner, 2010 and Nathan, 2004). After Uganda PPA1 in 1998, a multi-dimensional approach was adopted. However, the President of Uganda has on several occasions pointed out that the millennium development goals will not be achieved unless socio-economic transformation takes place and adherence to liberal political issues would mean giving priority to economic growth over social policy. From the above perspective governments intention shows that social policy is conceived as subordinate to economic policy. Townsend (1984) emphasised that liberal-pluralism of capitalistic democracies represents a bundle of theories contributed by orthodox economists, some sociologists and some political scientists and this produces a limited approach to the development of social policy including anti-poverty policy.

Using the multi-dimensional approach to poverty, the government has launched several Poverty reduction programmes with the confidence that these will contribute to poverty reduction in the next few years. Using supplementary signs of poverty found in social aspects such as the concept of social exclusion, income security for all Ugandans in old age, the senior citizen grant for all Ugandans October 2011, the government, with the help of the United Kingdom, Ireland and UNICEF, began a pilot senior citizen grant (SCG) to test the

feasibility of a universal pension in Uganda. The scheme was entitled income security for all Ugandans in old age: the senior citizens' grant for all Ugandans, October 2011. The pension is universal, meaning that it is available for all citizens aged 65 years and above in the targeted districts rather than only the poorest. This follows the model used successfully in many developed and middle income countries. The SCG provides a monthly benefit of UGX 23,000 (\$10 US equivalent) to everyone over 65 years of age (Bukuluki and Watson 2012).

However, there are likely to be problems with this approach that might hinder the achievement of stated objectives. After the pilot study it was suggested that establishing the situation of the older people's households first would be a better approach because not all the older people are poor. Otherwise services will be used by those who do not need them and those who need them might be missed out because of limited resources. Bukuluki and Watson (2012) report that cash transfers are predictable payments made directly to poor people and there is growing evidence that cash transfers have a range of positive effects. However, the evidence varies: cash transfers are strong, for example, in reducing poverty and hunger and helping people to access health and education services, but it is weaker on more transformational effects. There is strong logic but little evidence of the effects of cash transfers on citizens' representation, empowerment, gender equality, social cohesion and state building.

Regardless of a variety of Poverty reduction programmes, efforts and significant increase in African GDP, a large number of older people continue to live in poverty (Kalasa 2001; Help Age, 2007). Help Age International country reports of 2007 show that older people in Uganda need to work into their 70s, 80s, or until they die in order to have a regular income. Current poverty reduction strategies have not paid attention to older people's own survival strategies (Heslop and Gorman 2002).

The studies on the approach to poverty reduction are limited when it comes to older persons. The few studies that discuss approaches of government to fighting poverty among older people point out that causes, concerns and outcomes of poverty among older people are not seen in the development agenda. Others insist that older people in poverty are neglected, and denied access to the existing international and national Poverty reduction programmes. More literature has debated the limited government spending on pensions and contends that government pursues limited action to the concerns of older people in poverty. They argue that the role of older people towards development could be a good start to including older people in development policy. (Gorman and Heslop 2002; HAI 1999; Kalasa, 2001; Help Age, 2007; Appleton et al. 1999; Bukuluki and Watson 2012; Craig and Porter 2003; Crook 2003; Dekker and Uslaner 2001; Greenstein 1991).

Different reports, such as the second chronic poverty report for Uganda as cited by Kaduru (2011, p.2), show how inadequate government policies still are, in addressing poverty in Uganda. Kaduru further emphasises that poverty is multi-dimensional in nature, that poverty is a chronic problem and that there is need for comprehensive approaches to deal with poverty. Kraybill and Bashaasha (2003) in a national survey carried out in Uganda reported that there is a need for alternative poverty alleviation strategies in Uganda. This statement is supported by the findings of the 2003 Uganda annual report of Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), which revealed that Uganda had fallen short of its poverty reduction goals. According to the Uganda Chronic Poverty Report (2005), 26 per cent of the total population lives in chronic poverty and is generally unaffected by current development interventions. The reports are limited to the inadequacy of government policies and do not mention the comprehensive approaches in their reports. In the current study it is argued that for proper evaluations of approaches to poverty reduction it would be important for the reports to mention the different strategies used by other sectors beyond government. More so, the above studies fail to show exactly how older people in poverty at the sub-county level are excluded from development policy and very little is mentioned about the older people's strategy in response to poverty. This study aims to fill these gaps.

2.4 CBO strategies and poverty reduction

In this part of the chapter the aim is to identify the approaches used by CBOs in fighting poverty as discussed in the literature. In this section the need to find out the approaches used by CBOs to fight poverty guided the writer's inclusion and exclusion criteria. A critical appraisal of the literature was carried out in relation to the research questions in the study. A thematic approach was employed and the following themes have been used in the presentation of the literature: Improving efficiency and effectiveness, making poverty reduction projects more inclusive, sustainability, identification of the poor, empowering poor people, limited contributions, and relationship to poor people, ineffective performance, and small-scale and limited innovation.

The term NGO, as Bigci (2007) points out, covers a wide variety of organisations. NGOs are simply agencies or groups, which are different from government bodies (Samuel and Thanikachalam 2003). Garilao (1987) makes a huge contribution by discussing southern or indigenous NGOs. He divides NGOs into types:

1. Grassroots or people's organisations in which beneficiaries are at the same time members and constituents.
2. Professional NGOs or intermediaries which while working with and for beneficiaries are usually distinct and separate from the communities they serve.

3. Grant-making NGOs, which function as resource channels to smaller NGOs and community-based groups.
4. Support NGOs which through economies of scale enable individual NGOs to have access to services that might otherwise be unavailable to them.

On the other hand it is important to discuss the differences between an NGO and a CBO. According to Global Network (1998) Non-government organisations are non-profit and voluntary citizens' groups on a local, national or international level. In his paper: Understanding Non-government organisations in community development Kang (2011) argued that several terms are used to indicate the level at which NGOs work. He explains that local NGOs are referred to as grassroots organisations or community based organisations.

Another body of literature has discussed that, Civil Society is an umbrella term covering NGOs and community organizations. A prominent scholar of this field, Anheier (2014), defined 'Civil Society' as a range of institutions, organizations and individuals located between the family, the state and the market in which people associate voluntarily to advance common interests. In this sense, civil society is the overlapping area/sphere which includes many kinds of organizations, institutions, and individuals located between the aforementioned sectors. Now, if civil society would like to make itself operate in policy arena, it needs to be organized or structured, commonly becoming the-called 'civil society organization' (CSO) or organized civil society. Here, the

problem that arises, some argue is that CSO is the characteristic institution of 'civil society' and can be defined as 'an NGO that has one of its primary purposes influencing public policy'. Hence, while all 'CSOs' are NGOs, by no means are all NGOs 'CSOs'. For instance, Najam (2000) suggests that only NGOs which emphasize public goals (such as those third sector organizations concerned with influencing state policy) can be seen as 'true civil society actors'. However, one could recommend that NGOs and CBOs can be regarded as CSO. Yet, both have different purposes. Although some NGOs are identical to CBOs, especially in developing countries, they are not the same thing regarding the value they hold. To put it simpler, there are three kinds of people's organizations. The first one is the 'mutual benefit' organization. The second one is the 'public benefit' organization and the last one is the 'pretender' which means an organization created by individuals or organizations conducted to pretend to work as the first and second one but actually works for the owner's benefits. A good example of the last one is NGOs. A CBO can be the mutual benefit one as it works for the community's sake. It is an area-based organization while NGOs can be either area-based or issue-based which cover a broader scale of work. Thus, NGOs can be for public benefit too, commonly characterized in advocacy organizations. Further, in terms of their organization and personnel, they might possess different resources. CBOs it is believed are usually small and unprofessional. Sometimes, they are informal (in case they do not register because they just work in the community and rely heavily on volunteers and people living in the area), whereas

many NGOs are formal and registered. Good NGOs are more professionalized and have full-time employees. Moreover, they may differ in terms of sustainability and budgeting.

For this study the focus was narrowed down to community based organizations, peoples organisations in which beneficiaries are at the same time members and constituents (Garilao 1987). According to Amutabi (2013), community based organisations methodologically saturates the contemporary NGO development discourse, it is part of a deliberate shift that NGOs have made in their relationship with the people that they work with and for their beneficiaries.

The general literature on CBOs shows that their role in reducing poverty is not a new one, because since the 60s CBO involvement in poverty reduction has become important; they have engaged in relief, emergency or longer-term development work, or the mixture of all three (Suharko 2007). However, since the late 19th century the expectation of research has moved from organisation strategies to considering development impact (Mercer 2002). The organisational features of these implementers tend to be assumed rather than studied (Srinivas 2009).

Examining Uganda's case from history, the literature shows that, local NGOs in districts are referred to as community based organisations (CBOs) or grassroots organisations. The welfare of all categories of people in society has

been in the hands of family and community members. If it were not for the demographic factors like migration, the HIV/AIDS epidemic and the uncontrolled inequality due to economic growth, then the family and community may have been able to provide adequately for their individual members. Gough and Wood (2004) clearly state that the welfare mix is the combination of institutions and organisations through which people seek to secure their livelihoods and welfare objectives.

Communities are an important source of old age support. In poor communities in Asia and Africa, vulnerable older persons with no children or family are commonly given support in an informal way by neighbours (Help Age International 2000). Traditional social mechanisms have stood the test of time, and given endemic HIV/AIDS and continued conflict in the country's traditional social networks, informal safety nets are key coping mechanisms for the poorest such as older persons (Fonchingong 2007).

The traditional society in Africa offered protection to the sick, old and orphans through the clan and extended family systems. Members of the community pooled resources to support others that could not help themselves. Society provided social protection and benefits of various kinds to its members who were in poverty and thus in need. It is this practice whereby society stands in solidarity with its members who are faced with social or economic difficulties that socially protected older persons. However, the situation is changing fast; older persons

do not have access to a regular income and the majority seem not to benefit from state provisions. They are discriminated against and denied employment opportunities once they reach retirement age.

The government of Uganda has seen a rapid explosion of CBOs. However, not all those registered are operational and also the local ones sometimes operate without registering. CBOs in Uganda are key stakeholders in the development process they have been involved in economic development and poverty reduction operating in the fields of education, health, environment and micro-credit, but the effect of these programmes on poverty reduction is negligible (Kebeer 2003). And the evidence of the CBOs' performance in poverty alleviation is mixed. CBOs have comparative advantages in expanding the available local resources to the poor for poverty reduction (Dongier et al 2003).

CBOs have become popular in many developing countries. Dongier et al (2003) discuss the reasons for that: community-driven development as a mechanism for enhancing sustainability, improves efficiency and effectiveness, allows poverty reduction efforts to be taken to scale, makes development more inclusive, empowers poor people, builds social capital, strengthens governance and complements markets and public sector activities (Mansuri and Rao 2004).

Poole et al (2002) argued that CBOs deliver services at relatively low cost and have the ability to find innovative solutions to solve local problems. The innovation is further illustrated in Hulme and Moore's (2006) examination of the

programme designed to reach the poorest people in Bangladesh. It identified laddered strategic linkage and the Targeting the Ultra-poor (TUP) approaches. The TUP method involved enabling the ultra-poor to develop new and better options for sustainable livelihoods. The TUP method employs two approaches pushing down and pushing out (Martin 1994).

More recently, researchers such as Juanah (2005) have sought to analyze the reasons behind CBOs employing micro-finance measures of anti-poverty to address the multi-dimensional nature of poverty. Individuals, communities and households often experience poverty as multi-dimensional; therefore focusing on a variety of activities could make the fighting of poverty easier and more effective.

CBO status attracts criticism for some reasons, as Galvin (2004) argued, that CBOs have gradually become potential vehicles for ideology instead of assistance, and this challenges the local leadership in the area. CBOs' funds are usually limited so they stay in need of government support and this often leads to transfer of government ideologies to community organizations (Kleemeier 2000). In some areas local leaders have manipulated CBOs activities to support political agendas (Schady 2000).

In addition, CBOs have been criticised for using top-down measures in implementation and overlooking local input and employing centralised management. Bado (2012) argues that CBOs come with a personal agenda that

has nothing to do with the needs of the people they are serving. The ineffectiveness of poverty alleviation programmes run by CBOs is attributed to the perception of people's needs and what the people actually need. The government of Burkina Faso, aware of the ineffectiveness of its interventions in poverty reduction in rural areas, "has embarked on a series of administrative reforms to realign the centre and give more autonomy and power to each rural community to plan its own development (Bado, 2012, p.37).

Khwaja (2001) argued that CBOs provide closer links to the poor than public sector institutions. However, Cleaver (1999) stated that it is difficult to find general evidence that CBOs are closer to the poor. Looking at the development process in developing countries, CBO groups have not been reorganised towards government development plans, and they have been referred to as minor, ignorant and inexperienced in addressing community and social problems of a society. Community based activities can operate in a fragile environment if not supported

There is conflicting literature on the relationship of the CBOs and the poor. Alderman (2002) argued that CBO are better placed to target the poor and provide services. Unfortunately, evidence of the role of community and targeting support for extremely poor older people is mixed (Conning and Kevane 2002).

Literature about CBOs and poverty in the 1980s and 1990s demonstrated that CBOs were alternatives to failed governments and they seemed to understand the local environment and provide a closer link to the poor than public sector

institutions (Hudock 1999; Buckely 1999). Other researchers such as Aldenman (2002) Garilao (1987), Elliot (1987), and Fernandez (1987) felt that CBOs were better placed to identify the needs of poor people and to provide services. However, the general literature after 2000 reveals doubts about the effectiveness and credibility of CBOs in fighting poverty (Paxson and Schady 2002; Baxi 2003; Omona and Mukuye 2012). Baxi argued that most CBOs have not been able to work in a significant way and inexperienced implementators are often manipulated (Botchway 2001). The role of CBOs has been criticised for being limited. Funds received by project managers assumed a mismatch between the size of the fund and expected cost of the project (Patel 2012).

In some cases, there are conflicting arguments about the role of CBOs and methods used in fighting poverty. Recently researchers have questioned CBO performance; Hulme and Edwards (2013) stated that concern over CBOs' unwillingness to invest in certain areas or activities, especially where the poorest beneficiaries may have limited resources may affect their activities. Debates about CBOs are mainly concerned with the role played in poverty reduction and very limited mention is made of the strategies used in fighting poverty among older people. However, the discussion provides a good background to the study of the approaches used in fighting poverty.

2.5 Older people's anti-poverty strategies

In an attempt to understand poverty among older people, scholars have increasingly argued that older people continue to be economically active (Ramashala 2000; Kalasa 2003; Barrientos 2003). Kalasa (2003) argues that older people develop a variety of strategies to earn a living for themselves and in support of their families or others. Many older people across the world continue to work as long as they are physically able. In Uganda, for example, the role of older persons is so much more important now because of the responsibility of looking after the orphans. However, their contributions to poverty reduction and social well-being are not discussed (Marcus and Wilkinson 2011). Furthermore, Barrientos (2002) states that households and community organisations provide the greater part of old age support in developing countries, especially in low income and rural areas. Therefore, it is important that these communities' and household's interdependence is complemented by supportive public policies focused on reducing poverty among older persons.

Older people's circumstances and the ways in which they participate in households in African societies have undergone many changes over the past century. Older people typically lived with extended families, but because of socio-economic and demographic changes a substantially higher proportion of elderly adults now live alone than do individuals in other age groups (Zimmer and Dayton 2005). The consequences of these changes for older people are not

yet fully understood. Whereas older people's roles and responsibilities in the community have been investigated and documented, little is known of their strategies to fighting poverty in their households.

Exploratory research about the experiences of older people in poverty by Hill, Sutton and Hirsch (2011) reported that older people were trying to adjust by living within their means. Older people kept a closer eye on their budgets and managed their resources carefully; they made sacrifices and also forwent meeting some needs. Older people were learning to adapt materially and psychologically; they set priorities in their spending. However, different contexts of older people in poverty are very likely to reveal different strategies to fighting poverty.

Older people often tend to need support for tasks such as cooking and shopping as well as material and psychological support to ensure their survival (Castro-Leal et al. 1999; Zimmer and Dayton 2005). In South Africa the majority of aged people continue to live in an extended family system and in the absence of other forms of support, and older people continue to be economically active most especially in the rural areas (Ramashala 2002). The aged have adopted various survival strategies which include reliance on an aged spouse, a social service provider, church members and friends (Eboiyehi 2010). The family structure can also serve as a means of older people's survival. Older people with more than one child may circulate from one child's home to another; examples

of this method of survival have been found in India and the Philippines (Martin and Preston 1994).

Meanwhile, in Cameroon, West Africa, older people without social security support have devised different strategies to survival. Fonchingong (2007) argued that older people in poverty are starting to organise their own resources depending on local skills and human resources to survive and improve their standard of living. Older people mobilise themselves in social capital to benefit from cultural, social and economic resources which benefit their households (Fonchingong 2013). However, it is important to note that not all older people benefit from groups. Schaaf (2010) concluded that groups have a limited influence on the community and its members.

Reporting on poverty and policy and older people in the south, Gorman and Heslop (2002, p.1149) discuss that older people are productive to their households and make reciprocal support arrangements within households. They assert that “the importance of intergenerational exchange to the well-being of older people and the younger generation” cannot be overemphasised.

Based on the above, and given the limited information available, to date no research on approaches to poverty reduction among older persons at the sub-county level appears to have been done in Uganda, although the number of older people is on the increase and poverty has become the biggest problem in their households. This review of the academic literature on the subject of how older

people fight poverty in their households reveals that there is a continuing need for more detailed research into the strategies older people use to fight poverty and their contribution to poverty reduction in their household. This study contributes to literature by identifying how older people address poverty in their households.

Chapter Three: Research Methods.

3.0 Introduction and design of the study

This chapter covers the research methods chosen to answer the research questions. The area under study is described focusing on the characteristics of the variables in the study. The method of inquiry and the period of research are outlined. The sampling procedure and data collection methods are discussed with emphasis on by why and how the methods were implemented. The ethical considerations and research procedure are explained noting the strengths, weaknesses and challenges faced while undertaking the study. Reflections on the research are presented. This chapter also describes the research strategy that was used to study the approaches to poverty reduction among older persons. The social practices of multi-faceted human systems such as families, community based organisations and government were examined, using qualitative inquiry as the most appropriate research strategy (Reid and Gough 2007).

As demonstrated by the research questions outlined earlier, the purpose of this study was to identify anti-poverty strategies among older persons used by different systems mentioned above and individuals. The researcher decided to use a qualitative inquiry approach through phenomenological research, in order to identify, understand and examine individual or shared practices to address poverty. It was important to understand these common practices in order to

develop a deeper understanding of poverty. The experience of poverty determines the appropriate approaches to the fight poverty among older persons.

The main reason for choosing a qualitative research design was that it constitutes a distinctive means of studying what is behind a decision, attitudes, behaviour or other phenomena. Richie and Lewis (2003, p.28) point out that “qualitative methods are used to address research questions that require explanations or understanding of social phenomena and their context.” Qualitative research is useful for studies at the individual level and to find out in depth the ways in which people think and feel (McLeod 2008). In addition, it reveals the context in which particular practices or approaches to tackling poverty took place.

The qualitative methods do have drawbacks, the most important of which is the amount of information embodied in the case studies. This presents a problem for subsequent analysis. Although each case study may provide rich insights into a specific situation, it is difficult to generalise about the studies as a whole (Yin 1994). In this study the resulting methods were used to aggregate the case studies’ experiences and to assess the quality of each case study in a reliable and replicable manner. Focus group discussions and in-depth interviews contributed to the testing of data reliability. The study also involved two districts, so the process of data collection was sequential and allowed the methods to be replicated.

Another disadvantage of the qualitative method is that the in-depth interview and semi-structured interview are said to lack standardisation, which leads to concerns about reliability (Robson 1993). Reliability is concerned with whether an alternative interview would reveal similar information (Healey and Rawlinson 1994). Reliability findings from using non-standardised research methods are not necessarily intended to be repeatable, since they reflected reality at the time they were collected in a situation which may be subject to change (Marshall and Rossman 1999). Therefore, an attempt to ensure that qualitative, standardised research could be replicated by other researchers would not be realistic without undermining the strength of this type of research.

However, in qualitative research, in-depth interviews and semi-structured interviews do provide an opportunity to probe for further explanation of people's responses, although these may be biased. This researcher avoided this kind of problem to a large extent, by ensuring plenty of preparation was done before carrying out any interview, including learning about the Sub-counties, the community based organisations and the older people's associations. A well-informed interviewer has a basis for assessing the accuracy of the information offered (Healey and Rawlinson, 1994, cited by Saunders, Thornhill and Lewis 2007, p.320).

At the very beginning of the field study, an initial preparatory / exploratory visit was made to all these organisations and documents about the organisations

were obtained. The knowledge acquired through reading these documents enabled the interviewer to demonstrate credibility, which in turn encouraged the interviewee to offer a more detailed account of the subject under discussion. Credibility was further promoted through the supply of letter of recommendation to take part in the study.

The in-depth research entails the use of a single case study (Bryman, 2003, p.90, cited by Couldry, 2002, p.201) which poses the problem of generalisation. In this study a number of settings were included and a wide range of people and activities were examined in order to reduce the contrast with the survey sample.

3.1 Area of study

The study was carried out in two districts: Wakiso and Luwero. In Uganda a district is the highest local government body and it is empowered by central government to manage, promote development and eradicate poverty.

3.1.1 Wakiso District

Wakiso district is largely urban, but with some rural areas. It is in the southern region of Uganda and covers an area of 2,705 square kilometres. Wakiso is characterised by high population density and has experienced the development of rapidly growing unplanned settlements. Wakiso is the second largest district in Uganda. Although only 7.7 per cent of the population is classified as urban,

the population density figures of 500 people per square kilometre suggest that there is a significant semi-urban population.

According to the state of Uganda population report (2013), an older person is one who is aged 60 years and above. Wakiso is a diverse district with a higher proportion of older people at 45,392 (UNFPA 2013) compared to the 111 districts in Uganda. Wakiso is divided into 15 sub-counties, six urban councils and two municipal divisions. A sub-county is an implementing level of a district within local government structure. This research was carried out in one of the sub-counties. The three CBOs and three older people's associations included in the research were selected from the whole district.

The sub-counties are managed by a Senior Administrative Secretary and the Older People's Department is under the Community Development Officer. The NAADS coordinator comes under poverty reduction programmes. The organisations and associations within the district are managed by elected individuals from groups and in some cases it was the founder member of the organisation who managed it.

Agriculture is the main economic activity and a major source of income. Of the population, 80 per cent are employed in Kampala city, the rest are involved in activities such as fishing, forestry and trade. The total district area as stated above includes 32.1 per cent open water (Lake Victoria) and 8.6 per cent under permanent wetland (UBOS 2006). Despite its closeness to Kampala, Wakiso

district is considered to be one of the districts in Uganda experiencing extreme poverty, with the majority having an income of a lot less than the per capita income of US\$280.00. However, inspite of the high poverty level, Wakiso district has been successful at forming regulated agricultural markets and has been identified by UNDP as a site of further potential economic development through the agriculture sector (Wagner 2010).

HIV/AIDS is a major factor in the high rate of orphaned children. AIDS has reduced life expectancy by an average of 11.5 years among adults with AIDS. Among infants with AIDS the mortality rate is 92.9 per cent nationally (Ministry of Health 2005). HIV/AIDS seem to have led to extended families settling in Wakiso. Grandparents who look after orphans seem to have migrated to Wakiso in search of better social services and employment near the city.

Figure 3 Map showing districts in Uganda

Wakiso and Luwero districts are the two areas marked with arrows.



3.1.2 Luwero District

Luwero District is bordered by Wakiso to the south, Nakasongola District to the north, Kayunga District to the east, Mukono to the south east, and Nakaseke District to the west. The district is a multi-ethnic area, with people of many different origins and ethnic backgrounds, among them the Baganda, the original inhabitants of the district. Other ethnic groups include the Banyarwanda Banyankole from the western part of the country, the Luo speakers from the northern part of the country and Nubians of South Sudan.

Luwero District comprises 13 sub-counties, 571 villages and 87 parishes. The district administration includes the Local Councillor who is elected by the people in the district, the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) who is the chief executive of the district, and the Resident District Commissioner (RDC) who is the government's political representative. The study was done in the sub-county of Buntutumula.

According to the 2002 population census it is estimated that there are 18,634 older persons out of a total population of 336,600 people in Luwero district (UBOS 2007). The older people in this district have faced the burden of taking care of 50 per cent of the 2.3 million orphans in Uganda. This is simply because Luwero district is home to a high concentration of orphans and this is attributed to the district's high incidence of HIV/AIDS which stands at 12 per cent and it higher than the Uganda national average of 7.1 per cent (AMREF 2010).

Luwero was the site of a brutal insurgency by the rebel National Resistance Army and a counter insurgency by the government of Milton Obote known as the guerrilla war that left many thousands of people dead during the early to mid-1980s (Ssengonzi 2007). The district faced destruction between 1981 and 1986 and it was then that many people lost their lives, and those who survived were very weak and susceptible to diseases. Therefore the government put in place measures to provide access to medical services in the district. Luwero has over 75 health centres.

The district has 85 per cent of its population involved in agriculture and livestock, which together with bee-keeping, dominate the economic activities. Luwero is a fast- growing district with the construction of permanent houses and small-scale business activities booming. NGOs such as World Vision, ‘Send A Cow’, Hunger project, Care Uganda, Action Aid and CBOs have not spared any efforts in fighting poverty through various projects.

3.1.3 The choice of Wakiso and Luwero districts

There are many other districts in Uganda that would fit the selection criteria, but Wakiso and Luwero were chosen partly for three main reasons. Firstly, Wakiso is an urban district whereas Luwero is a rural district. Poverty levels in urban areas are said to be different from those in rural areas, therefore citing the differences would give this study insights that would otherwise be missed if only one district was considered. Secondly, Wakiso’s case in particular is very

interesting, because despite its urban central location, a high population of older persons seems to be part of a significant percent age of the vulnerable poor people in Uganda. Thirdly, the 1997 poverty action plan was drafted highlighting Luwero with key development areas to be tackled and according to Uganda's human development report (2007) compiled by UNDP, Luwero has lived up to the yardstick (New Vision, 2008). Luwero is one of the fastest growing districts in the country. Given the context of Luwero district, it was found to be a good location, compared to other districts, to meet the research objectives of study.

Luwero district is also a place where the original idea of this study started, after seeing and visiting a large number of older people. The background and questions of this study were developed from this area. In this district most older people joined community based organisations and associations which support the elderly, an indication of self-determination and of people not waiting for government support.

Lastly, both districts were selected because of the likelihood of having older people that met the selection criteria and also the population, incidence of poverty and poverty interventions among older people is higher in these districts compared to the other districts in Uganda.

3.2 Characteristics of sectors in the study

The focus of this study was the sectors providing services to older persons. Sectors involved are local government at the sub-county level, CBOs and older persons' associations in Uganda. Each sector has its own inputs, outputs and outcomes for every programme carried out as a strategy to reduce poverty among older persons. The decision to use the sectors involved in older person's poverty was based on Esping–Andersen (1990) theory that describes the contributions of these sectors and the relationship between these sectors as a welfare triangle. The theory seemed strong enough to help in answering the research questions in this study. If personal services are as essential a node in the success of postindustrial welfare regimes as Esping–Andersen and others argue, it is surely worth investigating how actors situated at this node attempt to shape reforms (Graefe 2004). It is due to the focus of this remark that the study examines the methods and contributions of the sectors in poverty reduction among older people. The actors in this welfare triangle included older persons' associations that exist at local levels, the government sub-counties, and CBOs.

The government delivers services to older persons in the districts through the Ministry of Labour and Social Development and it is at the district sub-county level that procedures and methods can be identified. In Uganda service delivery is under the decentralisation system of governance which was adopted in 1995, where services were intended to be brought near to the user so as to overcome

the barriers of centralisation. A district is the highest unit of administration in local government setting and the sub-county is the lowest level. At district level there are many functions carried out on behalf of the government, but Poverty reduction programmes were the only programmes examined in this current study.

This kind of mixed operation made it necessary for this research to identify the procedures or approaches used to deliver services to older persons and also identify best practices in poverty reduction activities. These would refer to the outputs used by the officials when delivering the services to the beneficiaries. It is these methods that were examined against their performance on the set objectives and contribution to poverty reduction among older persons.

3.3 Period of research

The research period covered six months (from 5 September to 28 February 2013). This required obtaining ethical approval from the University of Kent, Bugema University and the Ugandan government. A pilot study was conducted in a nearby district to check the reliability and validity of the research instruments. Visits were made to the selected districts of Luwero and Wakiso (see Figures 1 for maps of Wakiso and Luwero districts).

3.4 Sample and Sampling Frame

According to the literature on research methodologies, it is often impossible to study the whole of the target population. Therefore, it is necessary to define and identify the accessible population in the study (Mugenda 1999). In this study,

older people in Uganda were the target population and the accessible population was defined as all older people in Wakiso and Luwero districts. The areas were defined consistently with the purpose of the study.

In addition, there are several reasons why the defined accessible population cannot be studied in its entirety, so it is important to study a smaller sub set or sample of the accessible population. Sampling schemes are specific strategies used to select 'units, people, groups, events and settings (Omwuegbuzie 2007). When choosing a sample there are several ways of classifying sampling and the common ones are probability and non-probability sampling. The method of choosing the sample will be influenced by how far the researcher wants to generalise the findings to the wider population (Rees 1997).

A probability sampling method is one where the probability of selecting any element of the entire population is known (Rees 1997). In non-probability sampling, on the other hand, the probabilities of selection in the sample are unknown and the units are drawn on a non-random basis. The main goal of probability sampling is to select a reasonable number of subjects that represent the target population (Mugenda 1999). While probability sampling includes strategies such as: simple random sampling, systematic random sampling, stratified random sampling and cluster sampling; non-probability strategies include: purposeful sampling, snowball sampling, quota sampling and convenient sampling. Streubert and Carpenter (1995), as cited by Mofokeng

(2009), explain that in qualitative research there is no need to randomly select individuals because manipulation and control are not the purpose of the study. Most qualitative studies use non-probability sampling because the focus is on the in-depth information and not making inferences. So the sampling methods used in this study were not based on probability methods but non-probability methods.

The aim of this study was to gather information from sectors such as government sub counties, and CBOs on specific approaches used to address poverty in older people. The most important reason for choosing those sectors is that they have knowledge of the phenomenon being studied, rather than to achieve a large representative sample from which generalisations can be made. As Rees (1999) stated, “Those who are part of the qualitative study do not stand for the larger population, but are included on the basis that they are members of the appropriate group.” Appropriateness and adequacy are the two principles that guide the qualitative sampling (Morse and Field 1995).

Purposive sampling was used to identify participants for the study; this helped in grouping respondents according to preselected criteria relevant to a particular research question. CBOs and local associations were also selected purposefully. Information about the CBOs and their areas of operations were received from the districts, where CBO registration takes place. The officials from the CBOs and government at the sub-county level were identified as key informants for the

study. The selected CBOs provided information that was used to identify the sixty respondents from those institutions.

A purposive strategy proved to be the most appropriate in the selection of the respondents from CBOs. The method enabled appropriate informants to be found, who happened to be knowledgeable and reliable. The purposive method is characterised by the use of judgment and deliberate efforts to obtain appropriate samples, by including typical areas or groups in the sample (Tongco 2007). Purposive sampling enabled the selection of older persons with relevant facts for the study. Individuals, groups and settings are purposely considered for selection if they are information rich (Patton 1990:169) as cited by Omwuegbuzie et al (2009).

However, some research claims that purposive sampling is prone to researcher bias. In this study this kind of unfairness was avoided by having the researcher base the judgments on clear or accepted criteria. Data review and analysis were done in combination with data collection and this made this sampling strategy successful. With the purposive sampling the researcher had reasons to make analytical overviews from the sample that was being studied.

Identifying the older persons

Given the study's objectives the researcher was aware of the selection of respondents involved in the fight against poverty in different organisations both in rural and urban areas, with a bias towards respondents of 60 years and above

involved in poverty reduction activities. The research focused on older people who were involved with the sectors under study such as government programmes and community based projects as well as older people themselves who were involved in poverty reduction activities. There were three criteria for selecting older people who were participating in government programmes to interview. Firstly, the older people in government programmes had to be residents from the two selected sub-counties in the two districts under study. Secondly, they had to be in group projects, since government programmes at the sub-county level require individuals to form groups before they can access the programmes. Thirdly, the older people had to agree to participate in focus group and individual interviews at agreed locations.

Another small group consisted of those older people that were not in any groups and these were selected through a snowball approach. The last group contributed a lot in providing information as to why they have not joined any groups, either government or community based organisations, and their perspective of poverty was analysed. This particular group helped in further understanding the accessibility issues in government and CBO programmes of poverty reduction.

The community based organisations selected for the study had to be involved with older people of 60 years and above, living in any of the two districts under study. Furthermore, the CBO had to be registered with the district and actively

involved in programmes for poverty reduction among older people. The older people in those CBOs had to be fully registered members. Cases where some older people happen to be in more than one sector or group were welcome, because they contributed a lot to the comparison of approaches used in those sectors. The members had to agree to take part in the study at any time and any place suggested.

The CBOs studied had to be located in the two districts of Luwero and Wakiso and registered with the sub-county where they are located and had to agree to take part in the study. There were some cases of older people who appeared to have interesting methods of poverty reduction. Those were requested for narrative interview in order to identify the theories that lay behind their approaches.

One of the main aspects of the study was to identify different approaches to poverty reduction and the inclusion of urban and rural locations was very insightful to the study since significant differences were identified in the approaches to poverty reduction among older people. It was therefore of interest in terms of poverty reduction [policy implication] to examine the poverty reduction approaches of older people in both rural and urban areas.

A total of 120 old women and men participated in the study. The participants were deliberately selected. Peter De Paulo (2000) asserts that 30 respondents is a reasonable starting point for deciding the qualitative sample size that can reveal

the full range of potential information. The sample is generally representative of old people in the two districts of Wakiso and Luwero. Participants selected for the study were those who fall within the age group of 60 years and above based on the fact that 60 years is retirement age in the Uganda constitution. Those older people who were participating in government programmes were some of the participants in the study. Another group consisted of older people from community based organisations some of which used to be referred to as older people's associations. The sampling frame took into consideration the geographical and regional specifications and limitations.

Table 5 Sampling frame

Localities, organisations studied and distribution of interviewees

DISTRICT	NO. OF INTERVIEWEES
WAKISO	
Government Sub-county Officials (Katabi Sub-county)	2
Community Based Organisation Officials	6
Older Persons with CBO	30
Older Persons Under Government	25
Older people with no group	5
LUWERO	
Government Sub-county Officials (Butuntumula sub-county)	2
Community Based Organisation Officials	6
Older Persons with CBO	30
Older Persons under government	25
Older people with no group	5
Composition of interviewees	
Male	40
Female	98
Total	136

The study selected six CBOs, and two sub-counties from the two districts. Each conclusion was used as information contributing to the whole study. Careful discrimination at the point of selection helped the researcher select cases to represent a variety of geographical regions.

The high number of female respondents is explained by the nature of the activities and their eagerness to participate in poverty eradication programmes. Another reason is because of the gender variation in access to white-collar jobs, which means that women make up the majority of informal workers (self-employed) and are more open to group work than men. In the case of Luwero, the district suffered a loss of men during the war 30 years ago. “In early 1983, to eliminate rural support for Museveni’s guerrillas, Luwero district was targeted for massive population removal and civilian loss of life was extensive, affecting almost 750,000 people.” (Kintu, 2009, cited by Observer, 2009)

Districts are examined in this study because the government put anti-poverty strategies at the sub-county level for implementation. Given that the total population of older people in Wakiso and Luwero Districts is estimated at 60,333, the sample of 120 older persons from the two districts is assumed to be inclusive of all the segments of the older persons in the sample and large enough to discover all the views that the study would want to know. This sample of older persons is assumed to provide information on the approaches to poverty

reduction, since they are the beneficiaries of the provisions from those approaches.

The study included six officials from three CBOs in Wakiso district and six from three CBOs in Luwero district. The two officials from each CBO included the chairman and one executive member. The officials were deliberately selected because of the significant role they play in the implementation of the programmes for older persons.

3.5 Data collection methods and Research Instruments

The study made use of various methods of data collection. These included, the collection of public documents, face to face interviews, focus group discussions, observation and photography. In the following discussion the focus is on explaining why and how the methods were useful to this study, and also the potential limitations of each method and how far such drawbacks were avoided.

Table 6 Data collection methods and research instruments

Research Question	Source of information	Instrument to collect information	Sampling strategy	Data analysis	
1	Understanding of poverty	Older persons, government officials and CBO officials.	Semi-structured interview	purposive	Tables and content analysis
2	Approaches used	Government, CBO officials	Semi-structured interview	purposive	Coding of themes
3	Programmes and approaches	Older people involved with projects/activities	Focus group discussion	purposive	Coding of themes
4&5		Older persons in groups	Semi-structured interviews	purposive	Coding of themes
6	Alternative practices	All participants	Interviewing	purposive	Content analysis

3.5.1 Document review

The document review method was employed at the very start of fieldwork. Bardach, as cited by Weimer and Vining (2005,p.321), suggests four basic ways of expanding information gathering: documents lead to documents, documents lead to people, people lead to people and people lead to documents. A review of documents related to anti-poverty strategies and practice aimed at poverty

eradication at the sub county level was carried out. Appendix G gives details of the application forms for government support. This provided several types of documents.

Having a broad sense of the issue before going to talk to people is very productive for the study. However one should guard against bias by bracketing the pre-conceived information only to be used in cross examination and validation of information. The first group of documents involved government programme manuals that set out all procedures of how programmes should be implemented. Combined with government officials' in-depth interviews, information regarding methods of poverty reduction within programmes was collected. The second group included sub-county records of the programmes, needs assessment forms in the form of eligibility criteria forms, applications from beneficiaries and their contact details within the sub county. This provided information on strategies government has used to address poverty at district level. At the same time a document review was further carried out on the official documents from community based organisations. These records included addresses of given households, their participation and registration in the organisation.

Using this method of data collection before any other contributed to the researcher's knowledge of the society and avoided awkwardness during

interviews. Having prior knowledge enabled further probing and searching for clarity from the respondents.

Obtaining the above documents was not a problem and it was actually done at the very start of the study. Visits were made to the organisations involved in the study, and after lengthy conversations the officer availed the identified documents weeks before the actual interviews took place.

3.5.2 Interviews

Firstly, multiple individuals who had experienced poverty and had done something about it were identified. This was not a problem since most people in poverty have had to participate in activities of poverty reduction.

Before the start of all interviews, a brief questionnaire was distributed to obtain information as to the interviewees' socio-demographic details, current and previous work, level of education, and religion. Interviews were carried out with 120 individuals using semi-structured and focus group interviews. In some instances several interviews were carried out with the same individuals where insightful approaches were revealed.

3.5.3 Semi-structured interview

Semi-structured interviews were used with officials involved with programme implementation and management. Appendix D shows the above instrument. After collecting the biographical data, the next inquiry was on the type of Poverty reduction programmes available at the sub-county or in the organisation. Questions about the type of programmes and approaches used in fighting poverty were discussed using in-depth and information was obtained from an organisation official. Interviewing the official effectively helped in obtaining historical background and the context of the programmes delivered and the procedures used. Using this method of interviewing produced basic facts about the services and objectives of programmes, and the research questions of the study were answered.

Creswell (2013) points out that one might view interviewing as a series of steps in a procedure. In this study the steps of interviewing were used in the following way. A decision was made regarding which research question needed a particular method of interview and which group of respondents needed to be interviewed to obtain the data. There was a need to understand the way people defined poverty, so an open-ended question about poverty was posed to every participant in the study.

However, there was a problem with ambiguity of some of the concepts used in the interview. Concepts such as programme, service and approach were not

clear to the respondents, so there was a need to explain and illustrate the context in which the concepts were used in order to support the intended meaning. “Prosody and syntax may be mediated by the context in which an utterance is used” (Snedeker and Trueswell 2003, p.2).

Another problem was with the discussion on the implementation process. The officials seemed hesitant to describe the actual process of implementation, and they seemed not sure of what actually takes place, so they decided to refer me to the programme guidelines. However, these guidelines would not provide me with information about the actual process of implementation. I attributed the whole situation to a lack of trust that some officials could have had towards me. But after several visits to the district, the chief executive allowed me to visit the sub-county where implementation actually takes place. The interviews with the implementing officials were very helpful in revealing the process and procedure which projects go through and this contributed greatly to my objective of finding out the approaches used in poverty reduction programmes.

Using the purposive method of sampling, programme coordinators and older persons belonging to these organisations were identified. Whereas the coordinators answered through in-depth interview sessions, older persons were interviewed using a semi-structured questionnaire. Reference can be made to appendix E.

3.5.5 Observation

Observation was also part of data collection, and every time a respondent expressed a non-verbal communication it would be noted down and included in the analysis during the transcription time. During the focus group discussion there was some non-verbal communication, so it was helpful to observe those communications in order to bring out good analysis of the discussion. Capturing each act, word and gesture, expression, gestures, jokes, tone of voice, verbiage and body language help enrich the data, (Ritchie et al 2013). However, during focus group discussions there was a danger of misinterpreting the gestures that were observed. The local people sometimes develop their own communication gestures that seem difficult to interpret. So it was essential to clearly acknowledge any theoretical frameworks that may influence the interpretations and analysis made after the interviewing sessions. As the interviews progressed it became necessary for the research team to involve some local older people in the analysis of the focus group discussion immediately afterwards.

3.5.6 Focus group discussion

Focus group discussion was also used. This method fitted in well because of the following: older persons were found to be working in groups for their different activities of fighting poverty, so this interaction generated valid information. Members in these focus group discussions seemed to have gone through similar experiences and this made them open up more than they would when interviewed

alone. The respondents felt more secure and confident discussing government programmes and their approaches in this setting than in an individual stand-alone setting.

During the focus group setting, members were encouraged to give their own view and not to simply agree to what was already said by another member. This was done by calling on quiet members of the group to also contribute what they thought of their own methods of fighting poverty and those of the government.

During the individual interviewing and focus group discussion, after seeking consent from the respondents, audiotape recordings were made. This was because it is difficult to focus on guiding the interview while making notes (Cohen and Crabtree 2006). In order to avoid mixing up issues from subsequent interviews, transcription would take place immediately after the interview. The researcher was able to probe for answers and seek for more explanation to build on their responses (Longfield 2004).

During the focus group discussion members insisted on mentioning their names and where they came from. They also clarified that they did not mind being quoted in any reporting. Although the participants were constantly reminded of the purpose of the study, through observation the members seemed to attach their participation and exposure to the future benefits the study would lead to. Though it was imperative to get good data from participants, it was also vital to avoid manipulating people and relationships.

It was also helpful to introduce the topic and give some examples of poverty experienced by the researcher at one point in time. This introduction raised enough trust and commitment to lead to more authentic information being generated. According to Oakley as cited in Seale (2004), researchers ought to tell interviewees about their own experiences so that the encounter becomes a mutually cooperative event. In some cases it was necessary to bracket one's experience in order not to bias the respondent's perspectives.

Participant recruitment

Participants were recruited by Katabi and Bututumula NAADS coordinators and CDOs of the two sub-counties. The characteristics mentioned earlier were used to select participants. The officials had information and contact details of some of these participants. A list of participants in government Poverty reduction programmes containing names and telephone contacts was available to the researcher, who contacted the beneficiaries by telephone. Selection of the required age group was done from the registration documents provided. Potential participants were telephoned, and a day before the interview the members were telephoned again as a reminder to increase the likelihood of their participation.

Focus group discussion guides in English and Luganda were formulated by the researcher in consultation with the student supervisor. Appendix C shows the focus group instrument. A participant information form was distributed before beginning the focus group discussion. The demographic data required meant that

the participants needed to fill in the information and help was provided to those that needed it. Five locations were selected as the focus group sites because they were accessible to the participants. These included the Bututumula sub county, Katabi playground office, Peniel hotel in Wakiso, Entebbe sports beach hotel, and Kawuku.

Six focus groups were conducted at five sites between 1 January and February 28, 2013.

The groups were composed of older persons involved with NAADS and CDD programmes at the sub-county.

Table 7 Locations for focus group discussions

Date	Location
27/1/13	Peniel Beach Hotel, Entebbe
1/2/13	Katabi field
11/2/13	Christine Restaurant, Kawuku
11/2/13	Sports Beach, Entebbe
25/2/13	Mbututumula sub-county

Within the focus group discussions, the respondents were all allocated numbers from 1-12 for easy identification in each group to avoid the use of names, and ensure confidentiality for the purposes of the study. The groups were purposely arranged according to projects carried out in different groups, in order to maintain homogeneity in the type of activities. Under NAADS groups there

were four groups all with different projects. Members did not come from the same groups.

Data analysis of the focus group discussions on older people's experience with government Poverty reduction programmes was qualitatively compiled. Three major themes were maintained which were: experience, challenges, and alternative approach. Under each major theme were sub-themes where data was arranged into organised responses. The major theme 'experience' comprised six sub-themes, which were: assessment, health, knowledge, empowerment, group formation, and failure to implement programmes. The major theme 'challenges' comprised five sub-themes, which were: quality of provisions, delay of provisions, sustainability, loan payback, and participants' weaknesses. The major theme 'alternative approach' comprised five sub-themes, which were provision of relief, elderly centres, needs assessment, targeting, and empowerment, motivation, and capacity building. For recognition purposes, respondents were awarded codes in correspondence with their age, gender and district.

3.6 Ethical considerations

Ethical issues were taken into consideration. The study was cleared by the Ethics and Research Committee of the School of Social Policy, Sociology, and Social Research of the University of Kent, by Bugema University, and by Uganda National Council for Science and Technology, a body in charge of research clearance in Uganda. Appendix A shows ethical clearance forms from university

of Kent. All interviews were tape-recorded and later transcribed. An interpreter was used where the respondents did not understand the researcher's local language and where there was misunderstanding of questions to allow for clarification.

Before the in-depth interviewing the researcher developed the interview guide and reviewed the questions in advance. These techniques enabled the researcher to appear organized and experienced. More time was considered as there was a need to try and explain each and every detail in the participant's information sheet. This information appeared in the local and official language, consent forms were from a social work and administration department which strongly emphasises the use of basic tools in research ethics. This study emphasised consent, confidentiality, fairness and consideration to those who participated.

The researcher was careful not to put pressure on the participants, there was no excluding or silencing of any group member and consideration of the respondent's views was upheld. All the researcher's decisions in the field were guided by ethical considerations. There was clarification and discussion of positions with one another and with the participants. After the study the researcher hopes to give back to the communities by providing them with research findings where possible.

Although Uganda has over 40 languages, Luganda is spoken by the largest ethnic group and the districts being studied are located in the Luganda speaking

region. Therefore, this language was the most suitable means of communication for this study. The majority of the members expressed themselves in Luganda and a great deal of insight was gained from their use of local proverbs to emphasise their point. Switching from English to Luganda was not a problem since the researcher is well conversant in the local language having been a lecturer in the same area.

The respondents' privacy was a priority consideration. The respondents were always informed of what to expect and what was expected of them beforehand. The respondents were informed of the protection to their identity and they were treated with respect. Cooperation before the research began was very helpful in reducing any tension between the participant and the researcher. The researcher negotiated and sought permission to do the study and the terms of agreement were always made clear for both parties. There was an assurance that the truth would be written down and reported in the findings.

3.7 Procedure

After approval from the University of Kent ethical committee, Bugema University ethical committee and Uganda National Council for Science and Technology, respondents who met the selection criteria were contacted and requested to participate. The recruitment process was determined by institutions involving older persons in poverty reduction such as government sub-counties, CBOs known as community based organizations, older persons' associations and

families. Visits to the district offices of Wakiso and Luwero, CBOs and older persons' associations were made and key people were identified and letters of introduction prepared and sent. Identified organisations provided documents detailing programmes, projects, operations, mission statements and work plans, as well as brochures describing the organisations and their purposes. The district officials were asked to provide information about CBOs and older persons' associations dealing with provisions to older persons.

The researcher's history of teaching, supervising and monitoring students involved in community development and local government field practicum, facilitated in identifying organisations and respondents who are involved in poverty reduction activities. It was not a problem to recruit older persons for the survey who are involved in activities to tackle poverty as they were targeted in groups in local organisations and local government institutions.

3.8 Pilot study

A pre-test of research instruments was carried out in order to test whether the right questions were being asked to obtain the required information. This was done purposively on selected groups identified as having similar characteristics with the population of the study; this was done to ensure the reliability and validity of the research instruments. From the Sub-counties, programme coordinators provided contact details and names of groups involved in projects provided in the Sub-counties and it is from there that the researcher purposely

recruited persons of sixty years and above. In most cases the telephone contacts of respondents were taken and an appointment made for the interview in convenient places. Poverty eradication programmes involving older persons were purposely selected.

In some cases, group leaders provided names and telephone contacts of respondents and the interviews were held at the respondents or the group leaders' residence at an agreed date and time. Thereafter, the researcher contacted CBOs and associations who helped identify the members in their associations and later the arrangements were made for contact. The details and the purpose of the study plus what was expected of the interviewee were all explained. Thereafter consent for participation in the study was then sought. On getting informed consent from the interviewee, the researcher and the interviewee decided on the time, date and place of the interview.

For the focus group discussion, contacts were given by the programme coordinators and respondents were contacted, informed of the study purpose and objectives, and their need to participate. They were then informed of the date and location of the focus group discussion (FGD). On the day of the interviews, introductions were made, information sheets were presented and explained, and consent forms were also presented and signed. After giving their consent, participants filled in the bio-data forms and thereafter the discussion took place.

The focus group discussions then ended with refreshments and a photograph for documentation purposes.

3.9 Data processing and analysis

All collected information was transcribed, organised into files, and named according to the source. Since the study involved several groups, such as older persons in different organisations and from two districts, pieces of information from each group were filed separately according to district and organisation. Information was arranged according to the research questions under investigation. All responses per question were read through several times to summarise the ideas of the responses. After identifying similar ideas from the responses, phrases were used in the initial coding of data. After coding, the prevalence of codes was summarised, and similarities and differences in related codes across distinct original sources/contexts of the two districts were discussed. This contributed to the critical analysis and separation of data. Data had to be read through several times to obtain an overall impression of the findings. Significant statements and expressions connected to the people's personal experience of poverty were identified. Codes were categorised and an initial listing of categories was developed. Through a process of reading through the categories, meanings were formulated from the concepts, statements and expressions used and put into themes.

After listening to the audiotape several times, the transcript was examined to discover items that may have been misunderstood by respondents, and the researcher made notes of short phrases, ideas, or concepts that occurred. Thereafter, a description was written of personal experiences of fighting poverty through time. After listening to the audiotape several times thoughts and comments were made in put in a different file. Individual and group experiences of fighting poverty were brought into context, trying to describe how poverty is experienced and how it is addressed. An interpretation of what respondents do and how they do it was developed. Presentation of basic methods and activities used were put into tables.

3.10 Difficulties and challenges faced during research

Some logistical challenges were experienced in this study. Long distances were travelled to locate the old age respondents in remote areas and visits were made to some areas for the first time in the researcher's life, so getting used to the local setting required time. The topic of research generated a lot of excitement as the respondents first thought the researcher was an undercover government official planning to supply logistics to the poor! However, a lot of explanation and detailed information on the purpose of the study was given.

Another issue was with meeting and disappointing respondents' expectations. The study was conducted at a sensitive period when Christmas celebrations were approaching; this is the period (October, November and December) when rural

people start getting excited about receiving gifts from urban people who happen to visit their homes. These expectations led to an inevitable expenditure on the side of the researcher. Some respondents openly demanded a “Christmas package” in return for the hospitality accorded.

The study incurred expenses that were not budgeted for. There was an underestimate on how much to give participants to refund their travel costs. The researcher’s expectations were challenged by the type of respondents and means of transport used. Prior to the focus group discussion the study had organised a travel allowance for the poor people, who, it was assumed would use the cheapest means of transport. But the respondents that attended happened to be of high status and used their personal cars, so this implied that the financial incentives be raised to fit the social status of the respondents. This was a significant finding showing the type of participants in government poverty reduction programmes.

Another challenge was encountered during the identification of organisations. The community based organisations seemed to all start off as associations and at the registration period they were advised to become community based organisations. Therefore, at the very beginning of the study it was very difficult to differentiate CBOs from associations. However, following clarification from the government official regarding the registration of organisations in the district, a decision was made to select those organisations registered with the district and

in possession of a certificate of operation. At the start of the study the distinction was only the formal registration.

Another challenge faced was overcoming cultural norms. In Africa generally, and especially in Uganda's central region, asking respondents about their welfare status is a challenge because of the cultural context. Therefore, questions that touched sensitive issues required patience and special attention. People regard their living conditions to be confidential and revealing them to a stranger is regarded as shameful, especially, information concerning food intake/eating habits and health treatment practices. In Buganda culture where the districts are found, old people have a common saying, 'Ebyomunju te bitotolwa', meaning household issues are private matters never to be revealed to strangers.

3.11 Reflections on and assessment of the methods used

There were some obstacles encountered in using the semi-structured interview guide due to the multiple choice questions it included. The aim of this instrument was to assess the extent of poverty among older people. Among the questions asked were: How many meals do you take a day? How many clothes do you have and what type of house do you sleep in? The alternative answers listed were perceived by the study as good indicators for identifying the conditions of poverty and the decisions as to which alternatives to include were made on the basis of the literature review and data from UNHS. The alternative answers provided turned out to be more subjective than objective.

In order to ensure the validity of the findings, it was necessary for the study to include the context or social setting in the analysis of those findings. For example, some people may not eat three meals a day because of the nature of their activities. In rural areas, for instance, people go to work in their gardens as early as six a.m. and leave at three p.m. so they don't have the opportunity to prepare meals, but they may have a lot of food in their stores. On the other hand, there are some people who eat more than three times a day but they are not nutritive. At the same time the standard of housing may not necessarily indicate poverty in rural areas. Some older people still value traditionally built houses made of materials such as wooden poles and mud for the walls and grass for the thatched roof. There is a lot of bias attached to traditional materials. A house built of traditional materials may be regarded as an indication of poverty, but is not necessarily a sign of poverty.

Another challenge was with the focus group discussions. The nature of a focus group sometimes discourages some members from participating (Gibbs 1997). Focus group discussions can be intimidating at times (Gibbs 1997). To bring all members in a group to the same level of readiness and confidence in participating was a problem. For example, some responses from shy members would be contradicted by the more active members, the quick thinkers and those with more experience and ideas. A focus group method sometimes discourages people from participating for fear of embarrassment and conflict (Chan et al 2003). Some

respondents experienced a challenge of exposing their personal efforts in the fight against poverty, because of cultural and religious practices that seem to conflict. For example, some Muslim members felt offended when some members praised their piggery business as the best option in poverty reduction. Some Muslims felt uncomfortable, others disapproved of someone speaking well of pigs.

People within a group have different levels of understanding. Interpretations of a given concept are sometimes relative. For example, when respondents were asked what they understood as poverty: “My husband died during the war and the government has not compensated us” There are reasons why someone would give such an answer but because of the reaction from the rest of the members this person could not give details of her concern. This kind of reaction intimidates some less confident members and discourages them from further discussion. The researcher was forced to rotate the discussion so that everyone could be involved.

A focus group can be very difficult to assemble (Gibbs 1997). It is advised that respondents in a focus group should not be familiar with each other. This method was used in order to find out about government performance on poverty reduction. So the respondents involved had to be those participating in government programmes. Given the scope of the study respondents came from all over the sub-county, and the design of government programmes necessitated the members meeting for workshops and other discussions. So it was very likely

the respondents would know each other. The idea of minimising respondents from knowing each other was very limited.

Another challenge was that the researcher has less control over the data produced (Hewson 2003). During the discussion members had freedom of choice of the language, words and examples to use with no interference from the researcher. Ample time was given during the discussion of definitions of poverty. This elicited responses from different perspectives, some of which were found to be out of context. Focus group discussions are open ended and cannot be predetermined. The questions asked led to detailed information from different members and there was a challenge in analyzing data (Onwegbuzie 2009). Careful transcription of responses and grouping of concepts was necessary. It was also difficult to trace answers to an individual in case one needed more information. This was because some answers would be discussed before being openly discussed.

Another challenge encountered was with the concepts in the study. Although the central concepts in the study were properly defined, more interpretation and analysis had to be done. The reason why these approaches were used was not easily understood and responded to by the respondents. Some respondents talked about programmes used in fighting poverty but could not tell the difference between the approach and programmes, so it was very important for the researcher to help them distinguish programmes from approaches. It became

imperative to have all programme implementers describe their process of delivery and it was from here that methods or approaches were identified.

Some government officials found it difficult to discuss the process of implementation. And others were not comfortable being recorded, some would ask to give bits of information off record despite the confidentiality explained before the interview. This lack of trust can be attributed to the culture and practice in Uganda where ethical adherence is a new issue and the laws do not seem to be handled as expected, so most people think it is better to be cautious all the time.

Conclusion

The qualitative design allowed for the identification, analysis and examination of poverty reduction programmes and methods used in fighting poverty at the sub-county level. Using semi-structured focus group interviews, older people's understandings of poverty and their experience of the government methods of fighting poverty was captured. The documentary review and in-depth interviews helped understanding of how older people are excluded from poverty reduction programmes. The narrative method allowed older people to present their own measures in fighting poverty and brought out the lived experience of older people, which revealed the links between the social and cultural aspects of and the background to people's lives and strategies to fighting poverty. Although there were challenges in the study as mentioned above, the methods used contributed to obtaining relevant information for this study.

Chapter Four: Research findings: Government methods

4.0 Introduction

The President of Uganda's 2013 speech while commissioning a power line plant appeared to propose a military-style strategy that seems to suggest presence of mind amidst the chaos of poverty. The President seems to detach himself from the confusion of fighting poverty. He suggested abandoning old methods and using military methods through the identification of "the enemy" at the sub-county level:

"We shall use the war strategy to win the war on poverty and use the sub-counties like war zones we used to have. We shall use soldiers and deputies to implement and help, working with local leaders to implement projects"(President Yoweri Museveni, Uganda, 8 July 2013)

This comes after the President of Uganda expressed disappointment that the agricultural sector, which is the backbone of the economy and employs the majority of Ugandans, was performing so badly with an annual growth rate of only 1.4 percent far below the country's overall economic growth of 6 per cent. This statement outlines Museveni's intense efforts to implement a military-style strategy. It also captures dimensions of Museveni's personality, political style and policy views that would eventually shape his management of the war on poverty.

This chapter looks at the government's approaches to tackling poverty among older people at the sub-county level in Uganda. The aim was to consider the range of different approaches and explain the exclusion of older people from poverty reduction programmes. Government officials were interviewed about their views, experience, concerns and the nature of their role in government Poverty reduction programmes. Documents were also analysed for information concerning the relative size and scale of programmes, the approaches involved, which gets what and how much is involved in the way of resources, and then the impact of government Poverty reduction programmes. Reviewed documents included the Community Driven Development (CDD) Implementation Manual, and assessment tool and the NAADS Implementation Guidelines. The data collected was analysed in relation to the research questions and objectives covered in Chapter 1. Officials were asked: "What poverty reduction programmes and approaches does the government use to fight poverty at the sub-county level" (Details of the in depth interview guide are given in Appendix B).

Intensive individual interviews were carried out with a small number of technical heads, responsible for the day-to-day running of the districts, to explore their perspectives and experience of Poverty reduction programmes. These included two chief accounting officers (CAOs) of the two districts of Luwero and Wakiso. This was followed by interviews with the two community development officers responsible for the elderly in the districts. Further interviews were carried

out with community development officers and NAADS coordinators at the sub-counties, where implementation actually takes place. A decision not to interview politicians was made after interacting with the CAO, who confirmed that poverty eradication programme implementation was protected from interference by local politicians. Seeking to prove claims made by the CAO, a pilot interview with one of the political leaders was carried out and it became apparent that politicians shunned poverty reduction programmes, and only got involved during election campaigns. An interview with this group was also conducted to examine their experience, thoughts and expectations, concerning programme methods of operation, procedures and outcomes used in poverty reduction programmes.

These government officials provided the names and contact details of their claimed beneficiaries, who were later to be contacted and interviewed about their participation in government programmes. The researcher had to rely on local contact for recruiters since they were able to use existing community contacts and networks which an outsider would never be able to access. At the start of the interviews, interviewees were given the consent form, followed by a brief introduction by the researcher about her history and educational background and the institution where the researcher is based. This method was used to gain people's confidence and trust in order to benefit from reliable information.

This chapter is organised as follows: the next section looks at the characteristics, views and experience of government officials. The following

section examines government officials' conceptualisation of poverty. The third section looks at government Poverty reduction programmes and methods used in implementation. The last section looks at the how older people participate in such programmes.

4.1 Characteristics of government officials

Although only a small number of government service providers were interviewed in this study, and the fact that they cannot be a representative of all the service providers and poverty eradication implementers in the areas studied, this section looks at some of their characteristics, such as age, sex, education and experience. It is also important to look at the following areas: the skills, levels of job satisfaction and career aspiration of the staff, whether there are any mission statements for the staff on their role in the anti-poverty programme. For example, are they mediators or supervisors? All these areas may impact their attitudes to their jobs and their practices when dealing with older persons. The term "service provider" or "officer" is used to refer to all those involved with the implementation and provision of government services to the community.

Out of the ten officers interviewed three were female: one being in charge of NAADS at Katabi in Wakiso district and the other two from Luwero district, one of which was in charge of services for the elderly at the district level and the other one in charge of community-driven development at the sub-county level. Due to the cultural background in Uganda women have only recently started to occupy

technical positions of administration, so it is not surprising to see more men than women. However, this situation is contrary to the community-based organisations where women comprise a higher percentage as chairpersons of groups involved in poverty eradication.

The officers involved with the day-to-day implementation of the programmes were between the ages of 26 and 45 and it is only the Chief Accounting Officer at the districts who was above fifty years and this could be due to his roles and responsibilities of running a whole district and being in charge of all the personnel at the district level. With respect to their level of education, all implementers had a degree in community development and the NAADS coordinators had degrees in agriculture. With regard to experience most officers claimed to have enough experience since they have been involved in several government workshops and seminars provided by donor countries. However, one could argue that attending workshops and seminars is not actually “experience”. The role of government officials in government Poverty reduction programmes at the sub-county level includes the organisation of the participatory planning process, community mobilisation, co-ordination of grants and monitoring ongoing established projects.

Using the observation method, it was clear that the majority of the officers had not been in the role for long and they also seemed to be involved with lots of other business and their work seemed to be part-time. During the interaction

some officers claimed they were looking for better jobs and others had plans to enter further education. Others did not seem happy with their jobs and planned to look for other places to work. Morale appeared low among officials at the sub-county level. This could be related to several issues such as salaries and working environment, for instance, offices and equipment. During the interviews at the sub-county offices, dusty, abandoned offices with empty desks were an indication that some government officials only come to work when they have to attend meetings. One CDO in charge of a whole district and supervising over thirty sub-counties preferred to meet at his local shop for the interview. He actually confessed that he was not happy with the salary and the job, so he had to spend some time at his business to make ends meet. In fact he said, “Most government officers who claim to be in the field do not report for work and nobody is there to monitor them, most of them are out there doing their own businesses”.

However, an examination of the characteristics of the two districts reveals that government recruitment is highly structured and uniform. Out of the eight officers none of them has social work training. Their background was development and agriculture. This cannot go unnoticed; addressing poverty is closely related to social work and welfare practice. Therefore, one would expect a social worker on the team to help with some specialised duties such as

assessment, mobilisation of resources and coordinating programmes for different groups of participants.

4.2 Official perspective of government Poverty reduction programmes and older people

The understanding of how government officials at the sub-county level operate and deliver the Poverty reduction programmes and services to the community needs to be set within the context of what powers and resources and guidelines they are given. In this section the perspectives of government officials are analysed.

Government officials at the sub-county level are workers under the local government system of governance using a de-centralised system of service delivery. They are workers with limited resources from both central t and local government. They fall into two categories. The first group comprises political heads and the second is technical in operation. The latter have specific skills developed through experience and training as is the case with community development officers (CDO) and National Agricultural Advisory Development officers (NAADS). In terms of service delivery and poverty eradication programmes, the level of government concerned with the delivery and implementation of projects is the local government through the district to the sub-county level. Below this level are parishes and villages which serve as administrative units within a sub-county.

An understanding of the range of poverty reduction programmes available is vital, if a worker is to give the beneficiaries sound information and guidance. Interviews included asking the officers about the availability of poverty reduction programmes at sub-counties level. This was followed by asking about approaches used and requesting contact details of older persons using those services and programmes in that sub-county. The following questions were posed:

What services do you offer to older people? What programmes and strategies are used in Poverty reduction programmes?

Interviews were used to investigate this question, since these officials were in charge of the provision and implementation of the programmes and it was assumed they were a rich source of information for these questions. All officers were interviewed using an interview guide. Their response in words, characteristics and behaviour pattern are presented below. In answer to the first question, “what services do you offer to older people?” it was reported that older people did not seem to have any special consideration in the government Poverty reduction programmes and despite their vulnerability they have to fit in to the available mainstream programmes. One government official responded:

“I think that older persons have been a deserted group. I have not seen a specific programme at this place targeting the older persons. Actually there are no specific services offered to older persons. Programmes are for all people regardless of age; however, the older

persons can compete from the available programmes used to fight *poverty.*” (CDO Luwero district)

The situation seems the same at all government levels. The above quote implies; there are no direct services provided to older people. The services provided are received through the mainstream system, which involves provision to all categories of people in society. So the older people are supposed to pass the criteria like any other person in order to access the services. Government has recently introduced a universal pension scheme for all people aged 65 and above. It is still a pilot scheme and has been introduced in some districts but at the time of this study Luwero and Wakiso districts had not yet received the programmes so the officers did not have much to say about them.

Generally, there seem to be no services or specific poverty reduction programmes for older persons at the sub-county level, only mainstream programmes for poverty reduction. There has been a growing body of research questioning the provision of government Poverty reduction programmes for older people. (Heslop and Gorman 2002; Help Age 2005 and 2007; Barrientos 2003; Baigana 2008; Lloyd-Sherlock 2000) and the PPA 2002 survey, pointed out that Poverty reduction programmes have neither any concern or access for, nor impact on older persons in poverty. There is no attention paid to older persons’ personal survival. After understanding that older people do not have specific Poverty

reduction programmes targeting them, it was important to identify how older people participate in government programmes.

4.3 Conceptualisation of poverty

As the original aim of this study was to identify methods used to fight poverty at the sub-county level, it was essential to understand poverty from the officials' perspective. In this section officials' understanding of poverty is analysed.

During this research, government officials were asked, what is poverty? Inherent in this question is the assumption that poverty is relative and have many facets and the possibility of a variety in responses led to subsidiary questions: How does your office define poverty? And after interacting with the poor, how do you define poverty? One government officer answered the first question as follows: "You know poverty is difficult to define, I do not know whether to give my own understanding of poverty or government definition of poverty." (Senior Administrative Officer, Bututumula sub-county).

This statement clearly supports the argument that poverty is different for different people, depending on the context and time. The government officer knew that his understanding of poverty differed from the government definition of poverty, and that is why he inquired as to whether to give his own definition or not. Five out of eight officers defined poverty as the inability to meet basic needs such as food, education, health. "Poverty is when people cannot afford recommended standards of living. However, the meaning changes when it comes

to older persons” (Chief Administrative Officer). The understanding of poverty from the CDO, Butuntumula sub-county seemed to bring out the concept of relativity: “Poverty can be defined as people who cannot live at the recommended standards of living.”

Other officials interviewed had a different definition of poverty, “For government, poverty is defined as lack of employment and survival opportunities coming from powerlessness, social exclusion, ignorance and lack of knowledge, as well as material resources.” A closer look at this understanding of poverty shows that the officers’ definition seems to have come from the First Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA1) conducted in 1998 in which the definition of poverty was widened to encompass the above notions of poverty. After the first Uganda PPA was conducted in 1998, a multi-dimensional understanding of poverty was employed.

However, the understanding of poverty on the part of the government officers seems to be different. Three of the officials mentioned the concept of a “recommended standard of living” in their definition. This is related to Townsend’s definition of people failing to achieve living conditions which are customary in societies to which they belong (Alcock and Campling 2006). Detailed explanations from other officers seem to point to the different aspects of denial in people lives. On the other hand, the government officials’ definition

seems to hang on to the income aspect of poverty, while pointing out the multi-faceted nature of people's problems in society.

Overall, in Uganda, the government has since employed the multi-dimensional understanding of poverty, but has not offered a specific measurement. However, among the government officials implementing the Poverty reduction programmes, the understanding of poverty is diverse.

4.4 Government programmes and strategies

This section examines Poverty reduction programmes and strategies at the sub-county level and focuses on the strategic characteristics of these programmes. The characteristics analysed included: objectives and design, the ways in which the needs of users are addressed, the rights and entitlements of users, staffing and financing of a programme, how much is involved in the way of resources, relative size and scale, who receives what, and what is the impact?

The available Poverty reduction programmes at the sub-country level are: Driven Development (CDD) Grant, Community Functional Adult Literacy (FAL), National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS), Universal Primary Education (UPE), Primary Health Care (PHC), Community Access Roads Improvement Grant (CARIG Road Fund), Persons With Disability (PWDs) Special Grant, Local Government Management and Service Delivery Improvement Program (LGMSDP). All the services and programmes existed in the two sub-counties. The programmes can be divided into two types:

programmes such as LGMSDP and CARIG are public programmes for community development while the rest are human development programmes.

4.4.1 Design and Objectives

The origin of Poverty reduction programmes at the sub-county level could be related to the desire to establish a strong relationship between the community and government bodies. The programmes employ a de-centralisation method of operation that entails transfer of authority from central to local government to perform certain duties to increase service delivery (Muriisa 2008). Transferred authority includes powers to make administrative and financial decisions in programme delivery. Barrientos (2013) argues that the political and economic circumstances within which anti-poverty transfers have emerged in developing countries has encouraged focus on self-standing flagships. It is very likely that because of economic hardships Uganda's Poverty reduction programmes seem to exist as self-standing projects rather than long-term established services. In fact, Uganda experienced a major challenge of a weak interface between communities and their local governments which resulted in weak accountability (Murrisa 2008). To manage this challenge, central government with support from the International Development Agency (IDA), formulated the Community Driven Development (CDD) model of service delivery, designed to re-direct and target resources to the lowest service delivery centres at the lowest level on condition that they meet the assessment criteria.

Uganda employs both human development conditional programmes that involve cash and in-kind transfers to households and individuals in poverty, and integrated Poverty reduction programmes that focus on the economic and social inclusion of the poor. NAADS are an anti-poverty programme at the sub-county level which aims to enhance food security in homes as well as people's general well-being. The goal was to eradicate poverty by increasing people's household income through the enhancement of the rural livelihoods designed around agricultural productivity and profitability in a sustainable way to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of agricultural extension services (NAADS Secretariat 2007).

In addition, education was identified as a long-term poverty reduction strategy (Agholor and Ajuruchukwu 2013). Therefore, in an effort to fight poverty, the Ugandan government also introduced Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1997 as a 23-year poverty eradication strategy (Ministry of Planning and Economic Development 1997). This programme aimed to provide primary school tuition fees for four children per household. Besides UPE, FAL (Functional Adult Literacy) was also introduced to provide adults with functional literacy skills together with numeracy and algebra skills to help them read, write, count and acquire better life skills. Adult classes are established in the community by community volunteers who are trained by the district (government) to facilitate adults.

Furthermore, the Ugandan government identified primary health care (PHC) as another route through which poverty can be reduced. PHC is the first point of contact for a person in the health services. This programme is delivered at the sub-county level under the health sector strategic plan of 2000/01 to 2004/05. This plan clearly states the health sector's mission, which is to reduce illness and mortality from major causes of ill health in Uganda and to reduce the disparity in contribution to the poverty eradication and economic and social development of the people (Tashobya 2006).

Lastly, Uganda government identified Community Access Roads Improvement Grant (CARIG) and Local Government Management and Service Delivery Improvement Program (LGMSDP) as channels that can be used to fight poverty at the sub-county level. CARIG is an anti-poverty programme aiming to improve standards of living through the improvement of community roads which ease access to markets, schools, and health centres. LGMSDP is the Local Government Management Service and Service Delivery Improvement Programme which was introduced in order to improve district management of resources and programmes. Emphasis is put on the establishment of community infrastructures such as classrooms construction, health centre premises construction, water sources protection, classroom desks procurement, staff house construction, market construction.

The Poverty reduction programmes in the sub-counties seem to reflect central government's ultimate goal of fighting poverty through de-centralisation. However, the guidelines used to deliver the programmes have been used in methods that seem to undermine the original goal of poverty reduction. It remains unclear whether the design and objective strengthen the poor to fight poverty. In order to understand the purpose of the design used in these programmes, it is essential to identify the people targeted in these programmes.

4.4.2 Programme targets

The Poverty reduction programmes' targets in the sub-county seem ambiguous. Programmes such as CDD re-direct and target resources to service delivery centres at the lowest level, but it is clear who the beneficiaries are in the structure. At the sub-county level, the government's community-driven development approach requires all individuals within a parish to form a group made up of people with a common interest based on needs, productivity or livelihood, but the condition does not specify whether one is in poverty or not. Approaches that organise the poor without specific attention to the vulnerable groups are likely to miss out those in poverty. The objective of including in social and economic ways all those excluded from development is clear in the guidelines, but if the poor are to be included then the method of providing human development conditional cash transfers to organised groups at the sub-county level seems vague in its implementation.

Some of the key features of NAADS are similar to those of other programmes at the sub-county level: empowering farmers, targeting the poor, mainstreaming gender issues and deepening de-centralisation are some of the key features (NAADS Secretariat 2000). It is also estimated that over 80 per cent of Uganda's population are involved in agricultural activities (Bahiigwa, Rigby and Woodhouse 2005) and therefore, anti-poverty strategies depend heavily on agriculture (Muwanga 2001). However, although NAADS states that it is targeting the poor, it is not clear how the poor are targeted. The categorisation method used to put beneficiaries into groups does not show how the poor are identified. Farmers are put into three categories:

- 1) At the top are the educated and rich farmers who are quickly able to organise themselves and make use of the advisory services offered,
- 2) In the middle are those who are not as rich and well-connected as the first ones but if properly supported may use their existing organisations and social networks to access advisory services.
- 3) At the bottom are the poorest and the socially excluded, often including the marginalised groups such as widows and old people, who are rarely aware of existing opportunities to improve their standard of living?

The guidelines seem fair in their categorisation, but the strategy used in the implementation leads to ambiguity about the participation of those in poverty.

UPE is not a targeted programme but a universal programme which was intended to equip every pupil in a family with basic skills, provide free education to all primary school-going children in government schools. The government pays most of the tuition fees, while the parents have to cover the cost of books, pens, and pencils, uniforms and provision of lunche. However, people who fail to meet those costs do not benefit from the programmes. It is difficult to determine whether UPE as a government anti-poverty social service programme is intended to strengthen the families or to step in where families have failed to provide for their children.

Functional Adult Literacy (FAL) programmes target adults who did not have the opportunity to get an education when they were young and FAL's services are free of charge to all. Persons with Disability (PWD) programmes support people with disabilities and interested groups apply for a grant and are assessed by the district PWDs' council. Later successful groups receive funding through their group bank accounts.

Generally, a closer look at the targets of the strategies used in the Poverty reduction programmes at the sub-county level reveals that older people in poverty are not targeted in the war against poverty. Although central government has put in place various anti-poverty interventions at the sub-county level, the older people in these areas have got to participate like any another person involved in government poverty reduction programmes. Some programmes target the

community as a whole and others are at the household level. From the programmes and methods used, it is clear that Uganda's government has embraced economic growth, employment and social transformation for prosperity as an approach to poverty reduction. However there seem to be limited efforts towards integrating all categories of the poor in the economy. In addition, social policy seems be perceived as secondary compared to economic policy, According to Townsend and Gordon (2002), social policy has got to create an enabling environment for economic growth in order to reduce poverty.

4.4.3 Conditions for participation in programmes

Significantly, many of the strategies used to determine eligibility in the interest of increasing participation in other government programmes may actually limit participation by those in greatest need. Generally, based on the definition of poverty in Uganda, around sixty-four per cent of older people would be eligible for participation, but due to the eligibility conditions, the participation rate for older people in poverty may be lower than that. Eligibility conditions seem to be subjective and the application procedures are often complicated, slow and liable to corruption. Most of the time the decision as to who may participate in Poverty reduction programmes depends on the attitude of the government official towards the applicant. For the Community Driven Development (CDD) programme, for example, eligibility to apply for government Poverty reduction programmes is

determined using a complex set of assessments covered in the “community expression of interest form” (NPA 2011).

Applicants must meet the minimum hygiene and sanitation conditions, eighty per cent in the first year and a hundred per cent in second years. There should be an enrolment rate of at least seventy per cent of eligible primary school pupils and there should be a report from households about enrolment in FAL, and at least sixty per cent enrolment, retention and completion rate for the group. Eligible members should possess immunisation record cards as evidence of children completing the age-specific cycle of immunisation. Applicants should own their projects and have knowledge of, contribute to and maintain a community account. Members should show monitoring strategies to projects. There should be an up-to-date proposal with environmental issues included in the plan and group leaders should be aware of their role in the projects (NPA 2011).

The ten-page community expression of interest form (attached in appendices) seems too long for the average older person’s groups to cope with. Some of the conditions attached seem out of context. The conditions are the selection criteria of participants but at the same time technically eliminate the poor.

Furthermore, requiring a community contribution is another condition which could prevent needy people from benefiting from government Poverty reduction programmes. For example, CARIG is a programme designed to improve community roads which ease access to markets, schools and health centres.

Community contribution and participation are expected conditions for the maintenance of the community roads, but the capacity of the community for involvement has not been considered. In addition, Universal Primary Education is conditional in that it only provides support for four children in a household, thereby discriminating against families with more than four children. At the same time parents are expected to contribute towards a pupil's school requirements such as scholastic materials and other needs. Furthermore, the NAADS programme has conditions attached. It requires beneficiaries selected at the parish level to return 70 per cent of their yields in cash or in kind to the group rotation after an agreed period of time. Failure to comply with the conditions results in the decline of support. The programmes are meant to share responsibility between government and community, indicating what each party will contribute to the programme.

4.4.4 Collective participation/social capital

Another feature of most government poverty reduction programmes is a shift in strategy from individual cash transfer (Bonna bagagawale programme) to collective activity or making use of social capital. It is more or less common in all poverty reduction programmes. Social capital refers to the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks (Portes & Alejandro 2000). The approach assumes that: "One of the basic ways to combat poverty is

to strengthen the social networks which are considered as social capital” (Dini and Lippit 2009).

The researcher asked the government programme implementers about the approach used in delivering these programmes and the responses included: “People form groups, write proposals and send them to our office. We sit with technical people and make assessments based on necessary criteria, we then decide either to recommend for funding or not” (CDO, Katabi). Fukyuma has argued that social capital is the capability that arises from the prevalence of trust in a society and the benefit that exists because of an individual’s relationship (Falk 2009). However, participants in the study reported a lack of trust among group members, as one of the major challenges.

4.4.5 The focus of Poverty reduction programmes

Poverty reduction programmes at the sub-county level still tend to focus on the income dimension of poverty, on the perception that poverty is due to lack of income and assets because of economic exclusion. Programmes such as CDD and NAADS are human development programmes implemented on a large scale to provide direct support in cash and in kind to groups with the objective of empowering the poor to fight poverty in their household. However, in spite of the tendency to focus on the economic aspect of poverty, Uganda has also embraced the multi-dimensional approach to tackling poverty. Programmes such as primary health care and UPE are employed to address social exclusion among

some members of society such as the old, the disabled and internally displaced people (people who have left their home areas to escape war or instability within the country). By providing such people with social services, they would be socially included in the system. However, there is still very little progress towards the social inclusion of some groups such as the poor older people in rural areas. Poverty among older people manifests itself in many dimensions of deprivation which are beyond income, so it is important to identify methods of understanding the most important dimensions of poverty among older persons.

Poverty reduction programmes tend to emphasise the individual's capability, livelihood and participatory techniques. Capability is a person's ability to function in various ways as part of living (Sen 1993). The programmes tend to target people's capabilities by providing human development programmes for poverty reduction, for example the Universal Primary Education scheme. The entire community actively participates towards administration, contributing towards the construction of schools buildings by providing local materials such as bricks, stones, sand, water, and manpower. It is important to sensitise and encourage all community members to send and motivate their children to keep them in school; provide security and safety of school children, and the entire school premises; contribute ideas, time, and energy towards the improvement of the teaching and learning programmes.

In the CDD programme the “bottom-up” approach to participation is emphasised and reflected in the name, Community Driven Development. It was assumed that people would manage their own development including the design and implementation of income generating projects for poverty eradication. The bottom-up approach is emphasised (NPA 2011), CDD treats poor people and their institutions as assets and partners in the development process.

Under the NAADS programme selecting the benefiting member of a group involves demonstrating their ability by assessing the assets the member has in their possession. This method appears similar to the livelihood approach that entails focus on poor households and the assets they possess. Although Rakodi (2002) points out that livelihood approaches propose that thinking in terms of strength or assets is a vital remedy to the view of poor people as passive or deprived, he advises that central to the approach is the need to recognise that those who are poor may not have cash or other savings but have non-material assets such as health, physical energy for working, knowledge and skills, friends and family and the natural resources around them. However, there is also a risk with this method that the emphasis may restrict policy and actions to households that have some assets on which they can build and neglect the poorest and destitute who may be effectively asset-less (Rakodi 2002). This approach seems to contradict the defining principle of NAADS that the “programme targets the poor households” as emphasised in NAADS Secretariat manual.

4.4.6 The relationship between Poverty reduction programmes and people's needs

The National Agriculture Advisory Service (NAADS) programmes were created in 2001 to improve rural livelihoods by increasing agricultural productivity and profitability. The programme was put in place by an Act of Parliament, (NAADS, and Act 2001) and is implemented under the Ministry of Agriculture Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAIF) with the goal of increasing the incomes of the poor and contributing to the achievement of the Government's Prosperity for All (PFA) programme (NPA 2011). Although Poverty reduction programmes in Uganda are meant to fight poverty, poverty manifests itself in many different forms and the programmes which work for economic inclusion may not necessarily work for social inclusion. A solution to one poverty problem might not basically work for the other problems, so it becomes difficult to relate people's needs to the available programmes. However, it is possible to look at the objectives of the programmes and relate them to problems in their household.

Another factor which can undermine the attempts of a programme to increase the income of the poor is the assessment criteria for eligibility which have excluded the poorest from participating. The whole process of selecting the benefiting member of a group involves demonstrating the eligibility by assessing the assets the member has got in his/her possession. The Community Driven Development programme (CDD) is a programme which involves the assessment

of the beneficiaries. Contrary to the desire to include the economically excluded, applicants are assessed for eligibility, but the majority of the poor cannot meet the eligibility criteria. By any definition of poverty they are eligible, but when it comes to eligibility to participate in Poverty reduction programmes such as CDD, they do not qualify.

The Universal Primary Education programme provides free education to all primary school-going children in any public (government) school but the cost of providing requirements such as uniforms and stationery has led some households giving up sending their children to school. The first few years of UPE implementation saw a rise of over 100 per cent in school enrolment from 3.1 million pupils in 1996 to 7.6 million pupils in 2003 (African Development Bank 2005). It is, however, unfortunate to note that, although UPE aims to reduce poverty by equipping every individual with basic skills, many poor people cannot afford the additional expense of sending their children to school. While UPE is said to have been successful in increasing pupil enrolment on a huge scale, as well as improving the gender balance (i.e. an increase in the number of female pupils) in primary schools, there remains the serious test of increasing the completion rate (i.e. the number of pupils completing primary school education), improving pupil results and increasing the number of pupils advancing to secondary schools (Witter 2004).

Overall, the objectives of the Poverty reduction programmes at the sub-county level do seem to be connected to the needs of the poor but strategies used exclude those in greatest poverty from participation. This section looks at some of the programmes and how they relate to the needs of those in poverty. In summary, research has revealed that Poverty reduction programmes are simply not aimed at those in greatest need. In fact, for many years Poverty reduction programmes seem to have been aimed at economic growth and this has often meant supporting the better off more than those in real poverty. The assessment criteria for eligibility for CDD and NAADS programmes are an indication of the government's plans to support the more capable people. This could be associated with the government's priority of increasing economic growth over direct poverty reduction.

4.4.7 Partnership and networking

The government has encouraged partnerships against poverty. The more recent Poverty reduction programmes have facilitated local government at the sub-county level to play an important role. However, the direct involvement of the community in local partnerships, especially those in poverty, is not yet seen as a central element of the partnership strategy. For example, the ministry responsible for agriculture has overall national responsibility for NAADS. The NAADS Organisation Act provides for the establishment of a NAADS Board, supported by a Secretariat, to provide advice and guidance on programme policy and

strategy at national level. Other stakeholders are also involved in NAADS as partners at all levels, including private sector organisations, professional bodies, research and training institutions, NGOs, community-based organisations, local and central government agencies, and external development partners (Lightfoot et al 2001).

Service provision is no longer the monopoly of government but is mainly through contracts with private service providers, who may be: individuals, small groups of advisers, professional companies, corporate agencies, academic institutions or commercial companies. The awarding of contracts is based on the expressed needs of the community and will be through competitive bidding mechanisms. Further community involvement in partnerships could be seen in CBOs, local associations and local occupation forums such as NAADS forums. However, the research found very limited evidence of community representation in partnership structures and most strategies used in the partnerships did not make use of local knowledge and experience nor target the needs of specific local groups. Without the local people benefiting directly from the partnership strategy, it becomes a challenge examining the role of partnership at the sub-county level on poverty reduction to older people in poverty.

4.4.8 The relationship between participants and government officials

Many studies confirm that some Poverty reduction programmes have not achieved their intended objectives, and hence lose trust among the intended beneficiaries of those programmes. Despite NAADS implementation and international support, farmers still experience budget cuts in their programmes. For example, farmers in Jinja petitioned the NAADS Secretariat over a financial shortfall. The petition came arose after a cut in the NAADS funding which was announced some time ago. Farmers argue that funding was cut without clear reasons, leaving them stranded with their gardens, which they had cleared for the planting season (Kavuma 2010). Agriculture involves a systematic planning process, where one phase impacts on the next phase, and budget cuts demoralise the beneficiaries.

Although the background of CDD involves adopting the Demand Driven Governance, some demands of people have not been specifically adopted in this programme as stated by the CDD implementer; there are no special services (grants) that target the older persons but they are mainstreamed in general programmes with other age groups, but because of competition, most older people are left out (CDD, LUWERO).

4.4.9 Rights and entitlement

Rights are legal and fundamental normative rules about what is allowed of people or owed to people according to some legal system, or social convention (Schwarz 2013). In Uganda the constitution charges the state to fulfil the fundamental rights of all Ugandans to social justice and economic development. However, a significant proportion of the population is not currently benefiting from anti-poverty actions by government and other non-state actors (Golooba-Mutebi and Hickey 2010). Reasons for the failure of people to demand rights and entitlement in Uganda's Poverty reduction programmes seem complex and numerous. They include incomplete information about their rights and lack of regulation on social rights. Ugandans seem to have a lack of right to entitlement, lack of knowledge of available services, lack of accountability for service providers and lack of clear rules on the implementation of poverty reduction programmes at the sub-county level. Some reasons could be related to poverty. Ravallion (2013) argues that the same factors that create poverty may make information about one's legal rights largely irrelevant to one's actions in accessing services. In Uganda fulfilling people's rights and entitlements seems difficult. The government has tried to legally protect political rights of different groups through different Acts and regulations. However, very little is done for the economic and social rights of the poor. This could be related to the government's limited resources and their distribution to priority sectors such as security and administration.

4.4.10 Accountability and citizens' participation

The war on poverty has become a government administrative effort to make its programmes and approach accountable to the poor through methods of community participation. However, the lack of a compliance audit of Poverty reduction programmes at the sub-county level could prevent participation by poor people. A compliance audit entails examining the implementer's actions against the set guidelines. Although guidelines seem to be clear, government officials seem to suspend them. Programmes such as CDD emphasise a bottom-up approach in their programmes, giving control of decisions and resources to community groups. However, the community does not seem to have any choice about the methods the government uses in supporting them. Although NAADS participants are empowered to express their views to the government official and in their groups, they have limited participation in the budget process and methods used in government programmes. The idea behind these programmes was that participants would choose from the available programmes offered through the funding guide of the programme but this seems not to happen because of limited choices open to the participants.

The government has gone ahead to emphasise that the Equal Opportunity Act should operate at local government level in order to encourage participation in government programmes. However, findings from the study reveal that most decisions over resources allocation and methods of implementation are always

taken in advance by the experts and higher authorities of government. It then becomes unclear over whose interests to serve in the implementation and who to account to.

Findings from the study further reveal a contradiction as to who to account to. Confusion over accountability channels tends to undermine the implementation of government Poverty reduction programmes. At the same time, the community fails to demand for accountability simply because there is limited information on the programmes; also, others might be ignorant of the programmes available. Kawooya, a programme coordinator for the people, lamented over apathy, ignorance and indifference among community members of CDD and NAADS programmes, saying that it was true that people distrust or do not understand the system (Munywaniwawe 2014).

Lack of accountability has led to poor performance of programmes. For example, the President of Uganda on several occasions has threatened to sack poverty reduction coordinators for failure to account for money given for implementation. NAADS Secretariat has wrestled with tough questions in parliament on its failure to account for UGX 7 billion during the 2010/2011 financial year (Bogere 2014).

Overall, poverty of information is as significant a problem as economic poverty. Limited access to information makes it difficult for older people to participate in poverty reduction. In addition, the older persons find it difficult to

demand their rights, insist on accountability and influence decisions on the strategies employed to address poverty in their area.

4.4.11 Government social spending and poverty reduction programmes

This section examines the financing of government poverty reduction programmes. It focuses on the following: the source of funding, the scale of funding and how much is involved in the way of resources.

Scale and sources of funding

There seem to be various sources of funding applied to some Poverty reduction programmes at the sub-county level. Programmes such as NAADS receive funds from a variety of sources. For example, in 2001/2, which was NAADS first phase of funding the total cost was US \$108 million and this came from four sources:

- Government of Uganda 8 per cent
- Cooperating partners 80 per cent
- Participating local government 10 per cent
- Participating farmers 2 per cent
- NAADS phase two was from 2007/8 was funded by:
 - Government of Uganda 75 per cent
 - Development partners 25 per cent

NAADS has an annual budget of Uganda shillings 97 billion, which is equivalent to US \$51 million. It is also funded by international donors such as the European Union, The Department for International Development (DFID), DANIDA, the World Bank, the Netherlands, Irish AID, ID, and IFAD (Kavuma 2010). NAADS covers above 80 districts and 748 sub-counties including semi-urban centres (NPA 2011). This suggests, if properly implemented, NAADS has the capacity to lift the older poor out of poverty.

The agriculture sector supports the lives of about 80 per cent of Ugandans, but the sector was allocated only 4.6 per cent of the total annual government budget for public spending, making agriculture appear among the least-funded sectors in Uganda (Tabaire and Okao 2010). Over 80 per cent of the funds allocated to the agriculture sector are spent on development, yet largely development money is from co-operation partners. Despite the various sources of funding for agriculture, Honourable Oduman Okello, MP, said that there is a mis-match between the government's priorities and where it puts its money: "We talk about supporting agriculture yet the actual allocations speak a different language" (Tabaire and Okao 2010).

Table 8 below shows the funding of some sectors over the decade between 2001/2 and 2011/12. Uganda's financial input in the agricultural sector, including Poverty reduction programmes at the sub-county level, does not match the intentions of improving household food security and household income

generation to fight poverty. Government spending on agriculture is too modest to make a difference to the household poverty in any case. Tibaiduhira has argued that from 2006/07 to 2010/11 in some districts there was a reduced allocation of funds to development (Tibaidhukira and Consult 2011) and recurrent expenditure, yet this expenditure is mainly focused on household food security and income generation for poverty reduction. Based on this situation it becomes very difficult for the poor to achieve effectiveness in fighting poverty.

Sennoga and Matovu (2013) further argue that the reduction of public expenditure in unproductive areas such as security and public management and an increase of expenditure to major sectors such as agriculture, health, energy and water would lead to higher rates of poverty reduction. We notice that spending on sectors that are relevant for older people; such as agriculture, health, water and the environment make up just a small fraction of social budgets throughout the years.

Table 8 Social expenditure in Uganda

Sectors	Financial years										
	200 1/2	200 2/3	200 3/4	200 4/5	200 5/6	200 6/7	200 7/8	200 8/9	2009/ 10	2010/ 11	2011/ 12
Agriculture	135.2	113.1	99.4	115.6	148.9	146.6	202.5	223.2	310.7	366.0	437.0
Education	514.3	550.8	587.3	618.9	635.7	720.8	767.1	899.3	1079.6	1243.0	1393.0
Health	314.1	337.9	385.6	383.4	506.1	381.8	428.3	628.5	735.7	660.0	995.0
Public administration & public sector management	347.6	380.6	373.5	421.5	505.6	576.7	739.4	784.2	487.7	649.0	1286.0

Security	229. 2	261. 7	331. 2	371. 8	373. 9	377. 3	443. 2	477. 2	487.7	649.0	674.0
Justice, law & order	131. 3	147. 5	162. 6	117. 2	181. 6	195. 8	234. 6	280. 4	359.6	532.0	546.0
Roads & works	346. 9	316. 7	325. 3	402. 3	374. 2	464. 9	625. 6	108 3.7	1214. 8	1038. 0	1219. 0
Water & environme nt	107. 3	126. 1	96.6	111. 1	110. 1	121. 2	156. 3	150. 3	172.2	250.0	270.0

Social Spending in Uganda (%of GDP)

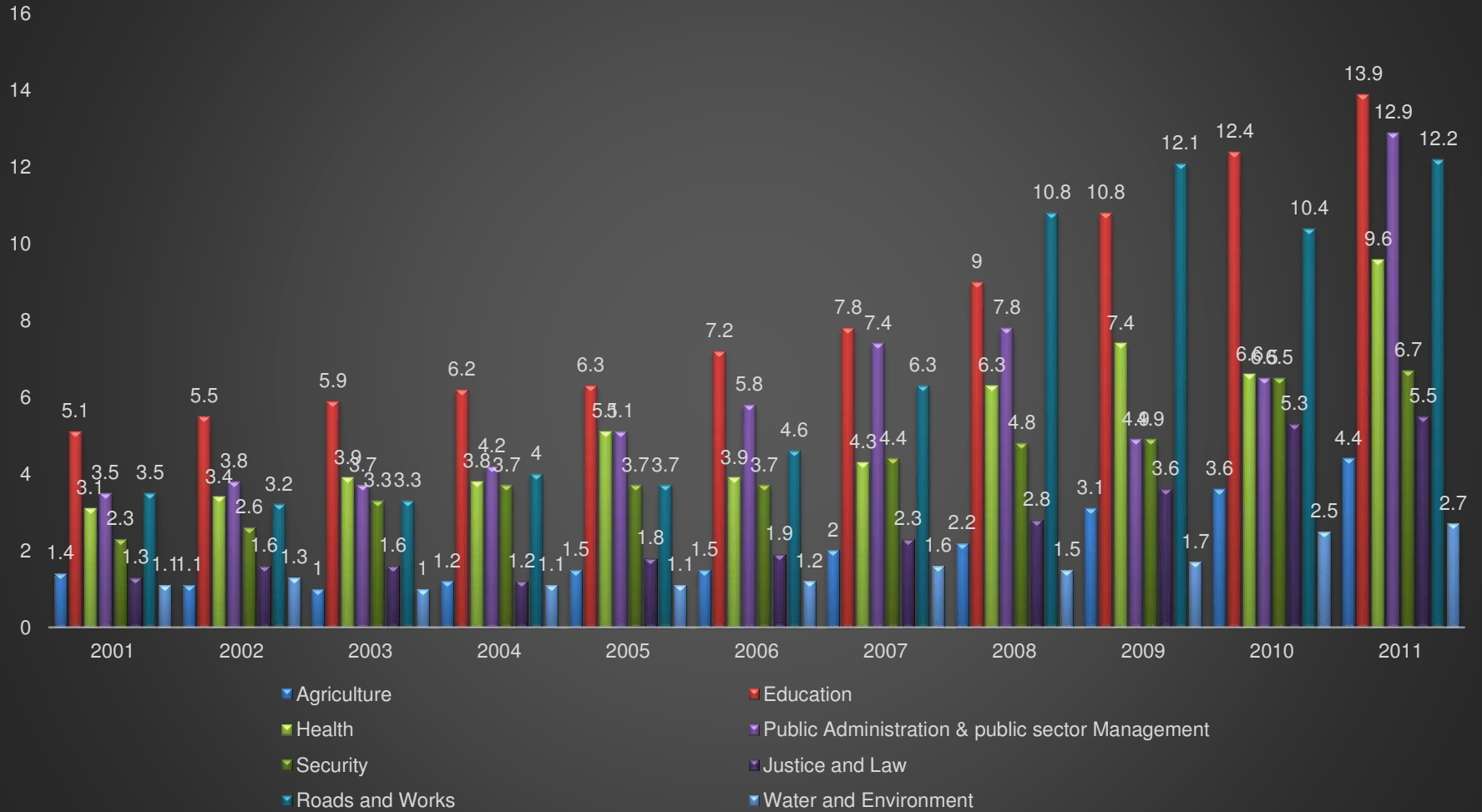


Figure 4 social spending in Uganda

Source: Author's calculations using MFPEd data approved estimates of revenue and expenditure for various years.

Hazell and Haddad (2001) argue that the primary goal of agricultural research has been to increase agricultural production and this contributes enormously to reducing the number of people living in poverty worldwide. It is vital to establish agriculture's share of the national budget and relate it to the impact it has on agricultural performance. Government spending priorities in Uganda from the late 1980s and 1990 were defence, general administration and security. Agriculture share declined from 7.4 per cent in 1982 to 1.2 per cent in 1999 (Zhihong, Zhizhang and Xiaoying 2013) .

Some financing methods and decisions used in government Poverty reduction programmes do not seem to be clearly intended to fight poverty. Findings from the study reveal that administrative costs incurred in Poverty reduction programmes are not budgeted for. Administrative cost includes a performance budget, which includes the cost of various outputs such as support services. These services may include transport costs to carry out monitoring, food allowance for workshop participants, facilitators' communication costs, and costs of mobilisation meetings. Performance budgets seem not to be planned for in for some Poverty reduction programmes. Findings from this study revealed that in programmes where an administrative performance budget was not allocated, performance costs would be covered by funds transferred to the participants in the programme.

This was a major challenge in the implementation of the CDD anti-poverty programme.

CDD treats poor people and their institutions as assets and partners in the development, so participants in CDD and NAADS programmes are expected to contribute some money in cash or in kind through cost sharing. However, CDD officers complained about community contributions stating that “although community is to contribute in a way suitable to them, there are challenges in collecting the contribution.” The CDD coordinators expressed concern over inadequate funding of the programme, which has led to insufficient monitoring on the part of the implementers of the projects. Poor performance on the side of the government and the members in the projects has been blamed on lack of monitoring. Funding under UPE seems to suggest that the government objective is for investment rather than to fight poverty among the poor.

Overall, despite the government’s mission of “Growth, employment and social economic transformation for prosperity” the government’s financing of Poverty reduction programmes at the Sub-County level is very small. Furthermore, Poverty reduction programmes and the methods of their delivery are not focused on the poor or the poorest households. The social support in the forms of cash or in kind has been focused on capable individuals with the ability to meet the tough assessment criteria to qualify for eligibility. Some Poverty reduction programmes provide group project funds in conjunction with service provision. The CDD programme, for example, links the receipt of funds with the compliance to sanitation

requirements and participation in education. Households are required to participate in UPE and also each household should possess a toilet of a given standard. The nature of public spending can best be understood by examining the pattern of government expenditure on Poverty reduction programmes. The Table 1.5 shows that government financial input in Poverty reduction programmes does not match the intention to reduce poverty to 50 per cent by 2017. From 2006/07 to 2010, for example, there has been a reduction in the allocation of funds for recurrent expenditure, yet recurrent expenditure at the district level is primarily focused on income generation for poverty reduction. The findings indicate poor management of public spending. The government puts a lot of emphasis on where to spend the money and how much to spend, but little effort seems to be put into ensuring that the money is properly spent and assessing the extent to which it has achieved the intended result. Despite the intensification of efforts on poverty reduction, government anti-poverty spending is still very low considering the economic growth experienced by the country.

4.4.12 Outcome of strategies and programmes

Farmers are said to have a direct input in planning and decision making. They are also engaged in direct procurement of needed services (Benin et al. 2007).

The strategy of UPE as an anti-poverty programme is said to have been successful in increasing pupil enrolment on a huge scale from 3.1 million pupils in 1996 to 7.6 million pupils in 2003 (African Development Bank 2005). The Poverty Action Fund (PAF) enabled UPE to improve equitable

access to basic education by removing the burden of paying school fees and enhancing the quality of primary education by providing schools with most of the necessary resources (Okidi et al 2005).

The impact of the UPE programme has been noted for increasing access to education. According Ssewamala et al (2011), 84 per cent of poor households now have access to education and there has been a reduction in the ratio of pupils per text book to 3:1 for lower primary classes. It is, however, unfortunate to note that increasing the number of pupils completing primary school, improving quality and increasing the number of pupils moving to secondary schools remains a serious challenge (Witter 2004). In addition, although UPE aims at reducing poverty by equipping every individual with basic skills, a good number of poor people cannot afford to send their children to school due to the associated costs outlined above.

The success of the FAL (functional adult literacy) programme in poverty reduction is attributed to its potential for country-wide coverage. There were many literacy classes that started outside the project scope and this was seen as helpful to the government in redressing the imbalance of education opportunity, as the majority of participants are women (Okech and Carr-hill 2001). The empowerment of individuals with literacy skills able to address demographic, geographic and economic challenges increased and this corresponded to significant expansion of the FAL programme. Adult learners' responses showed that the fight against illiteracy received an overwhelming majority (Hasaba 2013). The majority of FAL participants exhibited the skills to write and sign documents and the power of literacy in learners' lives was

valued as a communicative tool. However, the strategies used seem to exclude the people who have never attended school. Of the FAL programme graduates sampled three-quarters had been to school before the FAL projects, meaning they were not the most in need of the services (Okech and Carr-Hill 2001)

Community contribution and participation in the maintenance of the community roads is insufficient and this is made worse by inadequate road funding for rural areas. It is a big problem to force the community to participate. The community claims not to see the benefit of their participation. Although Uganda's government has invested in infrastructure to alleviate poverty, Nyende, Alumai and Nabiddo (2010) argue that not all the resources reach the beneficiary levels, and there exist capacity challenges among both the staff and service providers. Performance audits need to be carried out on firms involved with construction and roads, and machinery should be maintained in order to have better and efficient roads to contribute to poverty reduction (Magidu, Alumai and Nabiddo 2010).

In general, the main objective of this section was to identify government approaches to fighting poverty and how older people are involved at the sub-county level. Older people in poverty are far from benefiting from government Poverty reduction programmes. The approaches the government has used to address poverty seem to exclude older people in poverty and this could be explained by the outcome of the approaches.

The strategies used to deliver the programmes seem to employ methods that undermine the original goal of poverty reduction. There seems to be a

mis-match between the objective and the design for fighting poverty. The government's ambiguous intentions of fighting poverty seem not connected to the outcome of the war against poverty. Furthermore, from the findings it is clear that conditions attached to eligibility tend to exclude those in needs and favour those more capable of participating. In addition, the over-anticipated benefits of social capital have not yielded the expected results.

At the same time government perspectives behind anti-poverty methods are an indication of incorrect assumptions about older people in poverty. They tend to view the poor as lazy, and unfit to participate in government Poverty reduction programmes, and most of the Poverty reduction programmes have not addressed the needs of older people. There seems to be a high degree of incompatibility between the needs of the poor and the Poverty reduction programmes and methods addressing poverty at the sub-county level. As a result older people have no trust in government programmes or officials to combat poverty in their households. In fact, older people in poverty do not feel a sense of entitlement and right to any support, so accountability seems not to exist in the delivery of anti-poverty programme at the sub-county level.

The way government understands and frames the nature and causes of poverty among older people seems to be wrong. Although the government mission is to support, mobilise and empower older people to participate in the economic growth and social development process, the strategies used do not support the mission. Findings from the study provide evidence that older people in poverty seem not to relate to the anti-poverty strategies employed and implemented by government to fight poverty.

Universal programs such as UPE and Primary Health Care (PHC) have failed to help those in poverty because they do not have any way of identifying those who need support with their children's education. Some people have argued that UPE is a form of government investment and not an anti-poverty programme. It has been recognised that Poverty reduction programmes such as NAADS and CDD which provide cash transfers, as well as those charged with the delivery of in-kind services are normally overwhelmed by current, rigid financial planning, and budgets that may not correctly reveal utilisation. In some of these programmes funding comes from different sources and therefore for the local authority involved with the budgeting process and accountability for different funding bodies. At the same time some funding bodies realise small amounts for every given activity, without considering the available resources and the resources required.

In addition to liberalisation, government's actions seem to reflect its view that liberalisation and privatisation lead to getting prices right, increasing profits leading to more capital accumulation, in turn leading to new production, turning into new jobs and high labour productivity, thus improved income among the poor (Kotz 2003). A quotation from the government's budget speech, 2013/14: "Government will pool its resources to support private sector growth and development, by lowering the cost of doing business in Uganda." (Budget speech, 2013/14) This supports the arguments that strategies aiming to directly fight poverty would reduce growth and also make beneficiaries of these programmes lazy (Dini and Lippit 2009).

However, Bahiigwa (2005) rejects this approach and insists that the private sector is not instrumental in achieving poverty reduction. As Nwaobi Chukwudu (2013) acknowledges, potential economic growth need not necessarily manifest itself in more jobs, there may be jobless growth, and people who want work cannot find as much work as they would like.

4.5 Conclusion

The study revealed that there were no significant differences in the ages and educational backgrounds of government officials; there were more men than women in government offices; there are no specific services for older people but participation in Poverty reduction programmes is open to all age groups.

Definitions of poverty varied among government officials. Through analysis of government programmes, the needs of the poor do seem connected to the Poverty reduction programmes at the sub-county level, but the strategies used exclude many of those in poverty from participation. The government employs de-centralisation, community-driven, universal, conditional, collective and neo-liberal strategies to fight poverty.

Poverty reduction programmes were more strongly linked to the government's agenda than to the needs of older people. Government strategies were found to be highly influenced by neo-liberal, capability, participatory and social exclusion perspectives of poverty. Older people are seemingly not targeted in the war against poverty, and they tend to be excluded by strict eligibility rules and conditions and by individual relationships within the groups formed to tackle poverty.

Findings revealed that there was very limited evidence of community participation, representation and partnership at the sub-county level. Older people lack the right to entitlement, knowledge of and accountability for services in their area. The central government's financing of Poverty reduction programmes at the sub-county level is very insignificant. The government strategies employed to address poverty seem to exclude older people in poverty.

CHAPTER Five: Older persons' experiences of government programmes

5.0 Introduction

This chapter looks at older people's understandings of poverty and also analyses their experience of government methods of fighting poverty. The purpose of this chapter was cited in the presentation of the 15th Annual Celebration of the International Day of Older Persons in 2005. Kofi Annan emphasised, that "we will not eradicate poverty, or achieve our other goals, without understanding how older persons and women in particular experience poverty, unless we promote the active participation of older people in the design and implementation of appropriate programmes and activities" (UN 2005, p.3). If government has an interest in addressing poverty among older people then it will have to do something about the programmes and approaches used and how older people in poverty participate in those programmes.

Uganda's government has focused Poverty reduction programmes at the sub-county level such as: the National Agricultural Advisory Development Service (NAADS), Universal Primary Education (UPE) and Community Driven Development (CDD) programmes in sub-counties in Wakiso and Luwero districts. The content of this chapter covers some details of the programmes covered in the Chapter 4. Data was collected from 60 respondents associated with the government Poverty reduction programmes and based in Wakiso and Luwero districts. (For further information about the respondents see Chapter 3). The focus group discussion was the main tool used to explore older people's understanding of poverty and their experiences of government Poverty reduction programmes. (Details of the focus group

instrument are given in Appendix C). The in-depth interview was used with a few focus group members who seemed to have insightful methods of fighting poverty. The questionnaire was qualitative in nature, seeking to examine the attitudes and experiences of older persons with the government Poverty reduction programmes.

This chapter is organised as follows: the first section looks at respondents' demographics and includes tables on age, sex, and religion, and education level, current and past occupations. The purpose of this section is to show the relationship between the demographic variables. The second section focuses on older people's understanding of poverty. The third section looks at older people's experiences of government Poverty reduction programmes. The fourth section outlines the challenges faced by government poverty reduction programmes and alternative approaches suggested by the older persons in the study. The last section looks at reasons why some older people have not joined any anti-poverty programme to fight poverty in their household. A semi-structured interview guide was used for this group.

5.1 Demographics

This data relates to findings from focus group discussions with older people involved with the government Poverty reduction programmes in both Wakiso and Luwero districts. This section presents respondents' socio-demographic and other characteristics together with observed similarities and differences between respondents in the two districts. Information regarding respondents' religion, gender and education level is also given. This described the

characteristics of research participants, it allowed to break out qualitative analysis across demographic data for greater insights

Participants in the six focus group discussions were 60, 30 in Wakiso District and 30 in Luwero District. Even though the sample included people of 60 years and over, it was found that nearly 50 per cent of the older people were in the early years of old age and none were above 84 years old (see Table 1 below). It might be assumed that there are fewer very old people in the population, but when asked about this high percentage of older people in their early retirement years, a big percentage reported that older people's physical state meant they were unable to cope with the government programme activities because they involve a lot of hard work and regular training.

In Wakiso, around 86 per cent of those interviewed were in the 60–70 age group, and only four older persons were between 71 and 80 years. Similarly in Luwero District, 86 per cent were in the 60–70 age group, but in the age group of 65–70 years age, the older population are more than double compared to the 65–70 age group in Wakiso. Both districts have the same number of older people in age groups 71–74 and 75–80.

Table 9 Focus group participant's ages in Wakiso and Luwero District

	Age group	Number	Percent
Wakiso	60-64	2169.3	
	65-70	5	17.2
	71-74	3	10.3
	75-80	1	3.4
	Total	30	100.0
Luwero	60-64	14	45.2
	65-70	12	41.9
	71-74	3	9.7
	75-80	1	3.2
	Total	30	100.0

Sources: Author's research results 2013

In Wakiso, 69 per cent of those interviewed were female, and only 31 per cent were male. In Luwero District, 61 per cent were female and only 38 per cent male. Participation of respondent by sex in both districts is roughly the same. The higher percentage of women participating could be evidence of the population difference in Uganda. According to UNHS 2009/10, out of an estimated population of 30.7 million in Uganda, 49 per cent are male while 51 per cent are female. Other reasons for the difference in participation could be the role women play in household poverty reduction. Women make up a clear majority of the older population in almost every country and their majority increases with age (Kalasa 2005; UN 2005). The findings could also

be connected to the nature of projects the government places at the sub-county level in the sense that men and women tend to prefer different kinds of work. But it could also be related to cultural issues such as men’s self-esteem and wanting to keep their position in the community. This is no surprise considering the cultural context in which patriarchy is still strong and in which men are in denial in terms of accepting their failure to provide for their household.

Table 10 Respondent participation by gender

District	Gender	number	Per-cent age
Wakiso	Male	9	31.0
	Female	21	69.0
	Total	30	100.0
Luwero	Male	11	38.7
	Female	19	61.3
	Total	30	100.0

Catholics comprise the largest religious group in Uganda at 42 per cent of the total population, while 37 per cent of the population belong to the Anglican Church of Uganda. Muslims are the third largest group making up 12 per cent, followed by Born Again Christians, Seventh Day Adventists and others (UBOS 2006). Table 11 shows that in Wakiso District 65.5 per cent of those interviewed were Catholics, 31 per cent were Protestants, and only one was Muslim. In Luwero 29 per cent of those interviewed were Catholics, 51 per cent were Protestant, 9 percent were Muslim and 9 per cent Born Again

Christians. There were marked differences between districts, with just 29 per cent Catholics in Luwero compared with as many as 65 per cent Catholics in Wakiso District, but with only one Muslim. Traditionally some religious groups, such as Catholics and Protestants seem to emphasise group formation in their approach to solving problems.

Table 11 Respondent participation by religion

District	Religion	Number	Percent
Wakiso	Catholic	19	65.5
	protestant	9	31.0
	Muslim	1	3.4
	Total	29	100.0
Luwero	Catholic	9	29.0
	protestant	16	51.6
	Muslim	3	9.7
	born again	3	9.7
	Total	31	100.0

It has been noted that education is the key to success and the higher the level of education an individual has attained the more knowledgeable they are about the resources and opportunities available. Comparatively high rates of illiteracy typify many Sub-Saharan countries; however, patterns of illiteracy vary considerably in terms of age, gender and location (UNHS 2009).

As Table 12 shows, in Wakiso, 62 per cent of those interviewed had senior four and above level of education, meaning these are literate, 27 per cent had

attained education level primary one to seven and only 10 per cent were illiterate. In Luwero District, only 19 per cent of those interviewed had attained senior four and above, while 54 per cent had attained primary one to seven. The number of illiterate respondents was higher in Luwero compared to Wakiso. This could confirm that illiteracy levels are higher among the rural population than the urban population.

Table 12 Respondents by education level

District	Education level	Number	Percent
Wakiso	Never gone to school	3	10.3
	Primary 1-4		17.2
	Primary5-7	3	10.3
	Senior 1-4	16	55.2
	College	2	6.9
	Total	29	100.0
Luwero	Never gone to school	8	25.8
	Primary 1-4	7	22.6
	Primary5-7	10	32.3
	Senior 1-4	5	16.1
	College	1	3.2
	Total	31	100.0

Formerly in Uganda older persons could be assured of survival without any occupation because the family network provided for their needs. However, colonialism, modernisation and urbanisation have led to demographic changes leading to changes in the living arrangements. Despite low incomes, depreciated asset bases, general body pain, physical discomfort, and reduced energy leading to inability to walk long distances because of severe pain in the legs (Mulidwa, 2003), older people are the heads of

households and on average about 90 per cent of the men aged 60 years are identified as heads of family (United Nations 2012).

Table 13 below shows the previous occupation of respondents. In Wakiso 11 out of the 30 interviewed were at one time involved with agriculture, and 19 had held other occupations. In Luwero 20 out of the 30 interviewed were occupied in farming, and only two were in other occupations. Table 14 shows current occupations: in Wakiso 21 of those interviewed were occupied in agriculture, and only nine appeared in other occupations. In Luwero, 28 were occupied in agriculture and only two appear in other occupations. There are marked differences between occupations, with just 11 people of those interviewed appearing in other occupations and 49 of those interviewed occupied in agriculture. This could have been expected since three of the programmes used in the study targeted farmers. There seem to be no significant differences between districts in the number of people occupied in agriculture, although Luwero has more farmers compared to Wakiso.

Table 13 Respondent previous occupation

Wakiso		Luwero	
Previous job	N	Previous job	N
Midwife	1	Butcher	1
Accountant	1	Army officer	1.
Teacher	3	Teacher	1
Trade /Business	5	Trade/Business	1
Shopkeeper	5	Lay leader	1
Farmer	11	Farmer	20
Receptionist	1	Civil servant	1
Cartographer	1	Builder	1
Distiller	1	Driver	1
Mat maker	1	Mat maker	2
Total	30		30

Table 14 Respondent current occupation

Wakiso		Luwero	
Current job	N	Current job	N
Farmer	21	Farmer	28
Poultry	6	Lay leader	1
Business	3	Business	1
Total	30	Total	30

With good approaches farming could be an appropriate programme for poverty reduction among the older persons in both districts.

In summary, the majority of the participants were between 60 and 70 years of age and no one was above 84 years of age. Although the percentage of people in the early years of old age seems higher in both districts, Luwero, a rural district, shows a much bigger percentage with 41.9 percent of the 65–70 age group participating, compared to Wakiso, with 17.2 per cent of the 65–70 age group.

Overall, the age group participation does not differ much across the two districts. Although the government Poverty reduction programmes are open to all people in the sub-county, Table 10 shows that the majority of participants were female. Older women were in deeper poverty. In Wakiso 69 per cent were female compared to 31 per cent male. In Luwero 61 per cent were female compared to 38 per cent male. This could be attributed to their absence from the labour market, poor wages, or to social characteristics such as male social status, position in society and nature of occupation in the Ugandan context. Generally there are no significant differences in the number of participants by sex in both districts.

Older people living in rural areas are more likely to experience economic poverty than older people in urban areas. This could be due to a mixture of economic pressure and mode of exchange in accessing goods and services. The much older people in poverty are more likely not to participate in Poverty reduction programmes. This could be due to the nature of activities and mobility issues involved. The much older people tend to ignore activities that require their personal effort. Catholic participation was 65.5 per cent in Wakiso, significantly higher compared to 29 per cent in Luwero, while Protestant participation in Wakiso was 31 per cent, lower than the 51.6 per cent in Luwero. Muslim and Born Again Christian participation was almost the same in both districts. The difference in participation could be attributed to their social background.

The study revealed that Wakiso had higher levels of education with 55 per cent above senior four compared to 19 per cent in Luwero District. The number of illiterate in Wakiso was 10 per cent, much lower than 25 per cent in Luwero District. The difference could be attributed to location.

Many older people would apply for a programme that targeted and fitted in with their already established area of work. Farming appears to be one activity carried out by a big percentage of older people in the focus group. Data from both rural and urban districts indicate a much higher percentage of members involved in agriculture than other occupations mentioned in the focus group discussion.

In this section older people's characteristics have been discussed and it can be argued that there are some demographic differences between Wakiso and Luwero districts, which could be attributed to their social and geographical context.

5.2 Conceptualisation of poverty

In order to examine older people's understandings of poverty, it was important to interview older people participating in the government programmes at the sub-county level and the following questions were posed:

- What is your understanding of poverty?
- How did you join the programme?
- What was required of you?
- What do you call poverty?
- How many members are you in a group?
- How do you select beneficiaries from your groups?
- How has the programme contributed to poverty reduction in your household?

The analysis of information from the older people's definitions of poverty revealed that poverty was defined as the lack of capacity to meet basic household needs such as food, water, shelter and clothing. Lack of money, employment, assets, market for their agriculture products, poor health, psychological pressure, negative attitudes from service providers and lack of information (knowledge and skills), were emphasised. Most significant, however, was the failure to provide for their household.

5.2.1 Social obligation

Poverty experienced by older persons goes beyond an individual to household level. Social obligation is the social responsibility that older persons have in meeting the basic requirement of members in their household. Basic requirements include basic needs, education, and health, social and physical security. In addition, Kalasa (2005, p.13) emphasises that “older people are faced with the social obligations and responsibilities of fostering grandchildren.” In Uganda, the average household size has been estimated at 5.0. Although the distribution of household heads by age group is relatively lower for age group 50 and above, the number of orphans per households is higher in households headed by people of 60 years and above. It is much higher compared to households headed by people aged 30 and below, but also relatively higher in those households headed by people aged 30–59 years. (Male-Mukasa 2010)

The majority of the respondents talked about the failure to support their household. One older person’s comment conveys the feeling of failure on her part: “I no longer care for myself but my worry is about my grandchildren” (67 FL). This statement can be generalised because over 1.2 million orphans in Uganda are in the care of grandparents. The prevalence of poverty is greater among children less than ten years of age in households headed by older people than households headed by an adult aged between 26 and 59 (Ssewanyana 2009). It is noted in the reviewed literature that the incidence of poverty among the older persons is exacerbated when they bear the burden of grandchildren. This makes Uganda one of the Sub-Saharan countries where the incidence of poverty in households with older persons living with

grandchildren is twenty points higher than average and statistically significant, (Kakwani and Subbarao 2007).

The most common living arrangement for older people is with children and grandchildren (Kalasa 2005). The majority of the older people, especially those from rural areas expressed a failure to meet their social obligation as the major reason for poverty in their household. Expressions of poverty seem to go beyond individual support, while at the same time the responsibility of older persons has expanded from individual to household support.

In addition, older persons' definitions of poverty were also expressed in terms of the inability to do something either as a household or an individual. A majority of the older persons felt they were unable to help themselves and their households: "I am too old to work." Lack of well-being implies some combination of inability to act, and enforced misery, implying severely curtailed human capabilities (Sen 1982). The concept of capability was mentioned several times and could be identified in many different aspects, hence indicating a qualitative aspect to this particular concept. A female respondent from Wakiso highlights her failure to take her grandchildren to school;

"I do not have the capacity to earn daily income not even anything to save. I have my own children, and then my grandchildren but I cannot pay school fees for all of them, with this poverty I cannot manage." (60 FL)

5.2.2 Lack of money

Poverty is also defined as the lack of money. This sub-theme included the high cost of living and having no internal or external financial aid, no savings for emergencies and no daily income to buy necessities. One respondent said: “I do not have any income, not even capital to start anything.” A variety of statements pointed to a lack of money in the household. For example, one respondent said: “I cannot buy food for everybody, I do not have money” (LF 65). Lack of employment, lack of market and lack of assets were concepts associated with the lack of money. Money seemed to be a springboard for social problems (Townsend 2007). Older people’s lack of assets is one main indicator of poverty; this was clearly expressed by a 78 year old female respondent; “I do not have anything at home, not even chicken to scratch the ground”; the expression “chicken to scratch the ground” was used to refer to the minimum requirement for any household to qualify as not being the poorest in society.

5.2.3 ill-health

Poverty was also expressed as ill-health, un-wellness of the physical body. Poverty is the failure to attain minimum requirements to sustain a healthy existence (Ooms 2007). Older people define poverty as ill-health without treatment, for example: “I do not have peace at home, everybody is sick, no peace at all and no money. I cannot help my children, I do not have peace.” The older people refer to poverty as illness; that is the concept they think explains poverty best. Others compared their life in the past with the life now. They pointed out the disabilities that have come due to old age, for example: “I have made mats and reared chickens for a long time in my life. I have

survived on mat making to pay school fees and also feed my grandchildren, but now I have lost sight.”

5.2.4 Psychological torture

Some older people said that poverty had caused them emotional pressure and high blood pressure. Stress denies older people a healthy existence. In his life this 77 year old male respondent from Luwero district feels psychological pressure; he is tortured, because he feels that;

“Life is bad, poverty is killing me, I lost my children in the war and another one died because I did not have money to treat him, and I used to be a farmer but now I do not have energy to farm my land. I have tried rearing animals but the animals have become a problem they roam and destroy people’s property and I have to compensate for the losses.”

This theme was recurrent by other respondents in the study. All these were expressions pointing to psychological effects of poverty experienced by participants. Others described poverty as suffering severe losses. For example: “I am a farmer and I rear animals, but all the goats have died and some crops have failed because of not spraying, I do not have money to spray.” Some older people argued, blaming and accusing the government for failure to reduce poverty. They emphasised it was because of the government that they are poor “This government has brought poverty to us.” They seem to view poverty as structural in the making and not due to individual failure. A 66 year old male farmer outlines when discussing government and its role on poverty;

“Poverty is here because this government has changed our original coffee and cassava, they have brought their new breed, which has many problems. The seeds cannot be planted more than twice and they are prone to pests and diseases. Things do not move, in farming my crops have failed, because all plantations are for spraying and everything you should spray and if you do not you lose everything.”

Similar feelings were expressed by older people in the study. However, the majority of respondents from urban districts pointed out that poverty was an individual responsibility that requires an individual effort to escape. Repeatedly in the focus group discussion, older people from Wakiso seemed to suggest that the cause of poverty was laziness. They seemed to suggest that poverty is a circumstance of a poor person’s own making. This expression is shared with the right wing thinkers, who think that the poor are not doing enough to help themselves. To put this scenario into context, the majority of these members were benefiting from the government Poverty reduction programmes. They seemed to argue that the poor are those people who have failed to join programmes. An urban older person emphasised that poverty was like “nasal hair” that should be pulled out by an individual and not a group or another person. They insist that a person in poverty understands better the nature, extent and depth of poverty in his household and it is the same person who should identify the appropriate method of reducing poverty.

Poverty seemed intimidating to older people’s lives. Some older people described poverty using the most fearful concepts in their lives. The threat of poverty among older persons is strongly expressed in their own words.

“Obwavumpulogoma, enateraokunzita”, which means “Poverty is a lion that is almost killing me”. Older people look beyond monetary terms. They define poverty as sickness with no treatment and this goes beyond life threatening illness and the measurement of poverty as per capita income equivalent to less than one dollar a day.

Among the themes that come out of older people’s understanding of poverty, comparability does not seem to exist; responses seem to go beyond absolute and relative notions. Absolute poverty is based upon the idea of subsistence, which is the minimum needed to sustain life, so living below subsistence level is to be experiencing poverty (Alcock 1993). Older persons in the interviews used expressions such as “psychological torture” and “a lion that is almost killing me”, which definitely go beyond not having the minimum requirement to survive. The relative definition of poverty is based upon a comparison of the standards of living of the poor and of other members of society who are not poor (Alcock 1997).

Overall, older people tend to explain their conditions of poverty rather than compare their situation with an established standard of living or with well-off groups in society. From a closer perspective older people’s definitions of poverty do not seem to refer to any set standard or situation. This differs from saying people are poor when they are marginally worse off than the society in which they live (Bowling et al 2003).

This section has reviewed the understanding of poverty among some older persons. These ways of expressing poverty have also been reported in

previous research such as, Lwang-Ntale, (2003); Appleton, (1999); Ssewanyana, (2010); Ssengonzi, (2007). This research goes a step further to expose the relative importance placed on social obligation more than on any other aspect of poverty.

It is also important to note that a multi-dimensional approach in itself does not cover the understanding of poverty among older persons, because it fails to explain which dimensions are most important. However, detailed analyses of the themes from the study and the different aspects of the concept of poverty could enable poverty among older people to be better understood. For example, social obligation is an aspect of poverty that older people have emphasised throughout this research. This theme of social obligation could be traced in almost all the responses recorded. This study becomes important because it extends knowledge by identifying a major dimension of poverty among older people in Uganda.

All in all the older people's understanding of poverty seems to suggest the multi-faceted nature of poverty that needs a multi-dimensional approach. In the next section, older people's experience of the government Poverty reduction programmes and approaches are presented.

5.3 Old people's experiences of government poverty reduction programmes

In this section, the focus is on older people's experiences of government Poverty reduction programmes and methods at the sub-county level. Findings

are organised around the anti-poverty measures used by the government and analysed in Chapter 4.

5.3.1 Assessment and eligibility

An assessment reflects formal attempts to identify people eligible to participate in the government Poverty reduction programmes. Eligibility is assessed against levels of income, possession of assets, and ability to pay back loans. Appendix G shows the assessment details. Capability was the term the majority of respondents used to refer to “being able” and covers concepts such as physical energy and good health. Respondents’ experience of eligibility criteria differed across the districts. Participants were quite responsive when explaining their experience with assessment criteria. The assessment criteria reinforces existing guidelines at the sub-county, most notable was the argument of a 64 female respondent from Luwero district who claims that;

“Government officials have to monitor homes to assess availability of land, structures, water supply, and income status, which an older person with a poor background may not afford to have. Government method is designed in a way that those already participating in income-generating projects are the ones to be boosted”

The participants were asked how older people managed with this method of assessment. A 68 year old female respondent from Luwero district claims that;

“When the government is choosing beneficiaries, it gives priority to the physically healthy and those who are financially stable because their relief is refundable. A person must fight for the

fittest. An older person like me who has severe backache cannot be selected by government officials to benefit from its fund for I may fail to pay back. Government programmes are designed for people who have strength and can do work. Older people have low energy, and they find it difficult to participate.”(68 FW)

Some older people felt their health was not good enough to enable them to benefit from the government poverty reduction programmes. Participants were asked: what was required for the older people to benefit from the government programmes? “Good health, energy, and physical strength” were some of the answers given. The majority of participants mentioned “good health”. Participants were asked to elaborate on what they meant by health. A typical answer was: “To be in good condition, in order to participate in their activities”. Others believed that good health contributes to hard work. Participants seem to relate energy to good health then capability.

Overall, older people’s experience of the government poverty reduction programmes and measures reveal that, through assessment for eligibility, the poor have been overlooked in the selection. The older people describe their lives as lacking physical health and yet these are requirements for eligibility to participate in the government programmes.

5.3.2 The empowerment

Empowerment helps the poor fight poverty. Some participants in the government Poverty reduction programmes found that some programmes such as CDD and NAADS workshops have played a significant role in helping them fight poverty. These programmes include empowering elements

such as training and workshops. Other programmes transfer money to organised groups of people ready to put it to use. The use of empowerment methods to fight poverty seems to have impressed participants in government Poverty reduction programmes. The majority of participants from Wakiso District argued that the government programmes supported their business. The type of support was different for different people. The support included: inputs in kind and cash, training, demonstrations, study trips, workshops and seminars. A 63 year old female respondent from Wakiso reported that;

“In our group we received a cow, which has given birth and started giving milk. We have begun to return to the group rotation. Twenty people have so far benefited and this has played a big role towards my ability to meet a day’s basic needs. It also provided me with necessary skills for better farming.” (63 FL)

A full account of successful stories of empowerment have been analysed covered in chapter seven and included in the appendix.

Although there are some success stories from government empowerment programmes some participants felt disempowered by the government methods. A group of CDD members in Katabi sub-county expressed disappointment over the whole process of meeting the government criteria, poor monitoring and lack of flexibility and accountability. For example, one respondent said: “After spending money and time on the application process, we were funded with only one percent of the total project money.” The 68-year-old chairperson claimed that they had been financially supported by the government at the sub-county level. Their proposed project of poverty reduction had a budget of 11 million Uganda shillings which is the equivalent

of £2,500, but the government provided only one million Ugandan shillings of the total budget. The older people revealed that they were not permitted to change from the original project, even where funds were not enough, so the chairman of the group decided to deposit this money into their current bank account for a period of one year. Yet even with this decision they were not advised on the type of banking to use. At least they should have deposited it in a fixed account in order to be able to receive some interest. This suggests lack of monitoring on the part of the government. This particular group had evidence of an application form, receipt of the one million UGX and the bank receipt where the money has been kept for the last year. But after one year their money had reduced due to bank charges.

The recruitment exercise seems to have revealed important information regarding the type of people in the government programmes. In Wakiso District it was very easy to contact people on their cell phone. For example, during the recruitment period, most participants were contacted via mobile phones. Possession of a mobile phone is an indicator of social well-being because one should have money to be able to maintain it. For the participants from Wakiso at least every participant could afford minimum basic needs as defined by the Uganda government. The method used by the government to recruit people for the Poverty reduction programmes seem to neglect the poor person who cannot contribute subscription fees and pass the assessment criteria.

Overall, the government programmes seem to emphasise participatory and capability approaches. Despite the challenges mentioned, the majority of the

participants commended the programmes and argued that they should continue empowering older people in poverty. However, some participants were disappointed with the lack of monitoring leading to poor outcomes of programmes.

5.3.3 Knowledge and information about programmes

Lack of clear information was the reason for poor accountability and limited citizen participation resulting in poor programme implementation. Information about the programme involves knowing: what programme, what is required, where and when? From focus group discussions there seems to be no clear communication channel for the government programmes. Participants mentioned different methods of communication:

“The sub-county officials came to our local council. They taught us about the government programme objectives and conditions. They facilitated the formation of groups as the first step of being recognised as members of the programme. I am the chairperson of 30 people and six members have so far benefited from the fund.” (63 MW)

The majority of the participants insisted that government officials should provide clear information about the available Poverty reduction programmes; they also feel old people should be given special consideration and be encouraged to access the programme. Other participants from Luwero District complained of the long distances they have to walk every other day to attend meetings and they reported that some older people had given up on participating in the government programmes for that reason. Others preferred

to have projects near their village. They also insisted on motivation from the government officials. One person said, “Government officials need to motivate and mobilise us towards participating in their programmes” (69FL). When giving out information to join programmes or utilise a service, the individual must be motivated (Laing, Hogg and Winkelman 2004).

The majority of the participants reported being disappointed with the lack of communication and monitoring from the government officials, here is what the chairperson of one association expressed:

“I am the chairperson of the elderly at the parish level, the government officials are not giving information to beneficiaries of their programmes. If one wants to participate then you have to take whatever is offered without question. There was a case where members did not agree with the project, but were made to carry it through, contrary to the CDD approach. “Members did not approve of this project, they were not consulted about this project.”

The older people in Buntutumula sub-county, Luwero District insisted that they had a good knowledge of the type of soil in the area, therefore could not support the growing of clonal coffee. One older person insisted that they were not consulted about the suitability of growing this type of coffee in this area. However, during our interaction with the sub-county community development officer, it was revealed that they had received an extra supply of produce, so they decided to pass it on to this older people’s group that had failed to qualify in the first round. Often CDD principles embodied in project design have been applied differently during project implementation (Deli et

al. 2012). The choice of project on the side of beneficiaries should be paramount, since they know their local area better than anyone else.

On the whole, there seems to be poor communication, in terms of mobilisation, monitoring and feedback from the government officials at sub-county level. Indeed this has resulted in limited citizen participation and accountability.

5.3.4 Group formation

In this study respondents belong to one or more groups depending on their geographical area and capability. Participants had different experiences of this method. Some older people felt discriminated against and were often classified lowest in their group, which caused most of them to miss out on group information, benefits, support and participation. Such methods may entail following certain behaviour, which might deny the older poor persons from participating effectively. The social learning perspective argues that since most of us are raised in a family setting, we learn to depend on others for aid, information, love and friendship whereas the social comparison suggests that people feel very strong pressure to have acceptable views, both about their environment and abilities. Findings from the focus group discussion seem to suggest the latter. The shared rule that is typical for unifying the community can sometimes hinder community actions (Epstein 2002).

Participants also expressed that, whenever a group forms, classification within the group seems to arise based on social, economic, physical and

educational status. This has led to older members in the group appearing at the bottom. The position the older persons hold in the group has denied them access to programmes and services offered. Some older people expressed fear and distrust among the members in their groups. The chairperson of one older persons group from Wakiso district stated that;

“The collective method of working together in the government projects makes us strong to work with others, but there is no trust among members. I am the chairperson of the elderly at parish level. Government programmes are challenged with this policy of group formation among beneficiaries. This is because many people in groups are neither trustworthy nor reliable. It takes too long a time for all of us to realise the fund and group leaders have been accused of benefiting more from group formation than any *other person*” (62FW)

Older persons are not a homogenous group (Mulidwa 2003). The old claim that they are not listened to and are not given a chance to talk, therefore whenever there is unequal treatment in group formation, involvement may lead to major psychological and even physical agony for the older persons in the group. Some older people claim to face different kinds of denial, each seeking their own way of reducing poverty.

5.3.5 Terms and Conditions

Terms and conditions in these Poverty reduction programmes lead to mixed feelings among the poor and the implementers. Without doubt, the poor have felt excluded from participating in the Poverty reduction programmes. They argue that the conditions are not officially established at the time people join

the programme, therefore, the conditions do not favour the poor but favour the well-off. Another cause of distress is that some rules and conditions of implementation require group compliance, so the failure of one individual could impact the participation of the whole group. Terms and conditions are seen by some people as a deterrent that stops the poor from joining Poverty reduction programmes. To others, terms for eligibility did not make sense in addressing their problem of poverty. “I do not have money to take all my grandchildren to school, so I do not qualify for support. They also need you to have a kitchen and toilet.” Another older person in the area said: “They want their type of toilet which I cannot afford” (74 FL). To some, having a kitchen was a luxury, and they would rather have their houses modified to accommodate everybody in the household.

Another challenge was the vagueness in dealing with non-compliance. The conditions seem to eliminate older persons from participating in the government Poverty reduction programmes. Barrientos has also pointed out that there was concern that conditions might penalise households least able to comply with the conditions (Barrientos 2013). Approaches to poverty reduction should be developed taking into account the regional context and, characteristics, historical experiences, the social context such as social economic system, customs and human resources (Sen. 2000).

5.4.5 Bottom-up approach

Community Driven Development is a bottom-up approach to development that seeks to empower local people by giving them control over decisions and

resources while holding them responsible and accountable for their own development (Baddo 2012). Participants explained their experience of bottom-up measures emphasised by the government Poverty reduction programmes. Some participants identified an apparent middle-up approach, which prevents the bottom-up approach from surfacing. They claim programmes have been designed and implemented on their behalf without their knowledge. Some participants lacked knowledge of the projects in their group, yet the approach emphasises the bottom-up theory of development. This theory fails to identify the levels at which the bottom-up system starts. Normally bottom-up approach would refer to the lower level, but there appear to be different layers at the bottom, so it is important for policy makers to know the level at which this project is expected to be implemented.

Overall, the bottom-up approach seems not to work for the older poor in the Poverty reduction programmes. Older people felt that because there were other people acting on their behalf making decisions over resources and methods of operation, they did not feel accountable for whatever is going on in their sub-county and group.

5.4.6 Anti-poverty programme and people's needs

Most of the participants spoke of their feelings of distress when they found out how much they had to contribute for their grandchildren's school requirements. They complained that the government's approach in implementing Universal Primary Education did not meet their needs. Universal education is equally expensive for older persons. All guardians

have to contribute money for children's breakfast and lunch, uniforms, text and exercise books, pencils, pens and mathematical sets which in total amounts to 150,000 Uganda shillings for primary level. The biggest concern in relation to poverty was school fees for grandchildren. However, the government's provision of Universal Primary Education (UPE) had not addressed their needs. As this female 69 year old respondent explains; "I have to pay a huge amount of money an equivalent of 12,000 (Uganda shilling), to buy exercise books, pens and pencils, money for lunch, and school uniforms." Roset There is a lack of consistency in the cost of books etc is it 150,000 per term, per year or nearer 12,000?

With primary health care (PHC), the government constructs and facilitates health centres with drugs which treat general sicknesses like malaria and diarrhoea; health centres are accessed by people who cannot afford to pay for medical bills. There is provision of free medical services to all. However, responses from older people seem to suggest that the anti-poverty programme does not address their medical needs. A male respondent from Wakiso district had this to say;

"When we fall sick and we go to any health centre, diagnosis is made by a doctor. After that first step, a doctor prescribes medication. Of all the medicines prescribed, the health centre normally provides us with the cheapest type of medicine, which is Panadol. An older person is then referred to a private clinic to buy medicine which can cost over 100,000 Uganda shillings." (72 FL)

5.4.7 Relationship between participants and the government officials

Some participants spoke of their feelings of mistrust towards the government poverty reduction plans. Participants expressed dissatisfaction over the government's failure to implement programmes agreed upon in their groups. Others mentioned the government's failure to meet its promises. A 61 year old female respondent from Luwero explained that;

“Government has a tendency towards promising and failing to fulfil, and also failing to implement approved programmes. NAADS promised to fund our group with coffee seedlings two years ago, but failed to date. Government makes pleasant proposals but does not implement them. It also proposed to design an elderly-friendly programme but it has not taken any action”.

5.4.8 Rights and entitlement

Findings from the focus group participants indicate lack of sufficient information for people to be able to demand their rights. Some participants insisted that they did not know where to go for services. Others claimed not to have information about existing services, mentioning lack of knowledge on programmes eligibility and take-up procedure. The CDD guidelines emphasise a bottom-up approach to service delivery; however, some participants denied having a say in some of the methods, such as the assessment criteria used by government. Regardless of the existence of all these Acts, such as the National Policy for Older Persons, Equal Opportunities Act 2006, The Persons with Disability Act 2006 and The Uganda Primary Education Act 1997, some groups of people such as the old,

disabled and children are denied access to the government's Poverty reduction programmes.

In summary, this section has focused on older people's experience with government Poverty reduction programmes. It was pointed out that assessment, empowerment, group formation, information and failure to implement programmes have been part of the experience of older people with regard to these programmes.

Eligibility to participate in the government Poverty reduction programmes is determined using a complex set of assessment criteria including capability (physical health and social ability), assets, levels of income and ability to pay back and subscribe. There are differences between the experiences of Wakiso and Luwero participants. Participants from Wakiso insist that the lack of assets denies them the eligibility, whereas the Luwero participants mention lack of energy and poor health as impediments to participation.

Participants expressed concern over the criteria used by the government in selecting participants; they came to the conclusion that this method does not favour the poor older person. Older persons have been assessed for eligibility for the government programmes just like any other person. With these conditions, it becomes very difficult for older persons to participate in this programme. Older people are chronically poor, and this has a negative impact on the relationship between older people's capacity to contribute and their ability to access support (Mulidwa 2003).

Empowerments seem to be a positive approach used to fight poverty. Although a few challenges were mentioned, the majority of participants were impressed with this method. Empowerment comes in different forms such as training, financial support, and support in kind such as farm inputs.

Lack of knowledge and poor communication seem to be significant barriers in programme implementation. Participants have pointed out the challenges such as failure to know where to go for support, lack of motivation, lack of mobilisation and consultation, and long distances to walk in order to get information.

Group formation has a remarkable impact on the performance, operation and success of participants. However, findings show that older persons seem to face pressure on their abilities to participate, instead of depending on others for support. This kind of scenario seems to deny older persons from benefiting from the formation of groups.

Participants have also expressed concern over the government's failure to implement already agreed programmes. The government failure to meet its promises has left many older people disappointed and challenged in their own plans of fighting poverty.

5.4 Challenges with government

As noted in the above sections, older people have experienced challenges in participation in government Poverty reduction programmes. This section examines the challenges in the government programmes. Below are questions used in the interview of older people.

- 1) What challenges do you find with this programme?
- 2) How can older people use this programme to fight poverty in their household?
- 3) What alternative method would you employ to fight poverty in your household?
- 4) What recommendations would you give to the government?

The challenges facing the government's Poverty reduction programmes at the sub-county level are complex and numerous. They include implementation problems, quality of provisions, delay of inputs (resources), and lack of sustainability, loan payback, and participants' weaknesses. In addition, some people are disadvantaged through programme implementation such as emphasis on group participation and the bottom-up approach. The main thing this research revealed about programme implementation was that it is hard, and even painful, to achieve the intended outcome, and it also seemed difficult to have inputs turned into output, and then eventually outcomes. However, some participants were impressed with the government empowerment programmes. They pointed out the benefits received from Poverty reduction programmes had helped them escape poverty.

5.4.1 Quality of provisions

Different participants expressed concern over the poor quality of resources provided to them by programme implementers. They insisted that most of the time the products were bad quality and the animals were of poor quality and

the animals were of poor breed and they normally die before giving birth. Where this happened the rotation method had to stop.

5.4.2 Delay of resources

Some participants voiced concern over the delay in receiving resources from the government Poverty reduction programmes. Farmers depend on seasons to farm their land and to make any decisions about their projects. However, respondents claim that the government supply programme is so bad that most of them have had to give up on their projects. A female farmer aged 62 from Luwero district explained that;

*“Provisions from government programmes do not come at the agreed time. The farmers may wait from January for resources and receive them in December, losing concentration for other businesses. Seedlings are often provided in inappropriate seasons i.e. during dry seasons. I think poor implementation is a consequence of *delayed funding*.”*

CDD participants expressed the same problems with delays. Implementation of the CDD approach has been blamed for creating bureaucratic tendencies in the application and allocation of projects. There are delays in allocating the money. For example, most rural projects depend on the seasons and delays definitely affect the projects. A case was discovered in Wakiso District Katabi sub-county, where the chairperson of a community development group of older persons identified a market to supply bags made out of plastic straws. She applied for funding through CDD, and went ahead to train the older persons in her group. After an eight-month period she was

told the application was still waiting for approval. The delay caused her to lose her market, and hence abandon the project.

5.4.3 Sustainability

For participants in government programmes, sustainability was challenge. The majority of participants expressed failure to escape poverty because the government programmes were not long lasting. The government projects are not sustainable, yet the concept of sustainability is emphasised as one way of achieving poverty reduction (Krantz 2001). A 60 year old from Luwero district commented;

“Agricultural products have unstable prices, and this affects our profit margin yet government officials do not make progressive follow-up with the intention of helping farmers with challenges in the course of their farming periods. They are more interested in *the output.*”

5.4.4 Loan payback

Paying back the government provisions (loans) seems to be a challenge among beneficiaries. Nearly half of the respondents had rejected government offers of loans at one time or another and explained it less in terms of a lack of needs but rather because they found the loans varying with their ability to pay back. During focus group discussions, several responses indicated a problem in paying back the government loans. The government uses the credit loan method: every beneficiary is expected to pay back in the form of input or cash to the group he or she belongs to. This method is described as “torture” by respondents, the majority of who found it difficult to pay back:

“In case of losses payment is expected with no excuse whatsoever, this is similar to loans from banks.” (67 FL)

“The government programmes through projects such as NAADS provide inputs in kind, yet returns are expected in cash at higher rates which is a challenge to us.” (64 FW)

To summarise this section, participants have discussed various problems encountered with the government programmes. The quality of inputs received from the government has been found to be poor, they failed to yield as expected causing losses on the side of the beneficiary. Delays in receiving the promised support in kind or cash from the government have also been reported as a serious issue. Some people have had to give up their plans and face losses, after spending some money in preparations.

A lack of sustainability of the government programmes has been cited by some participants. They argue that you cannot expect the programmes to fight poverty if the government projects are not long lasting. Some participants have reported losing their established market and contacts because of lack of sustainability.

Older persons participating in the government Poverty reduction programmes have found it very difficult to return the support received in order to keep the group rotation system operating. They insist that it is difficult to return cash or products in any time given because of risks associated with the government method of working. Among all the problems mentioned, the loan payback system seems a major problem and a cause of stress to the older participants. Many of them are threatening to give up participation in the

government programmes because of the psychological stress caused by this system.

This section has looked at challenges faced by participants in the government programmes. In order to find ways of curbing the challenges, the participants were asked what alternative methods they would recommend as the government tries to fight poverty. The next section looks at the suggested alternative methods for poverty reduction as recommended by older persons in the government programmes.

5.5 Alternative approaches

In this section, older people's alternative approaches are analysed. Older people were asked what the government should do to fight poverty among older people. The following themes were identified from the focus group discussions: provision of welfare, older people's centres, needs assessment to identify and target the poor, information and motivation to use the government programmes.

5.5.1 Support for older people

Some older persons proposed older people's centres. The older people compared their life now and their life in ten years' time and they agreed in unison that an older people's centre would be the best method for provision. They thought of centres as those places where older people can live and are provided with welfare. Others preferred to have welfare support in their own homes. One chairperson of a group insisted:

“The government should consider constructing and facilitating elderly homes to take care of those who are absolutely old and poor, many of us die before the actual time. It should address the two specific needs of an older person which include housing and care for grandchildren.”

Another female respondent aged 68 from Wakiso suggested introducing an old age pension scheme:

“Our age is meant for retirement and to engage in farming is a last resort. Pension allowance would enable an older person to employ farm labourers. I think old people should be given appropriate monthly allowances of not less than 50,000 shillings.”

Others suggested that government should consider designing elderly-friendly income-generating projects that are different from the ongoing ones, especially to address weaknesses of older persons who are 60 years and above. This is because many of them cannot carry out competitive rearing and farming.

5.5.2 Empowerment and capacity building

The respondents suggested empowerment, motivation, and capacity building at the village level. They pointed out that training and demonstration workshops should be at village level and not sub-county level. A village is the smallest administrative unit near to the community, and a sub-county is the lowest local government, consisting of ten or more villages. Where appropriate the method of training should be tailored to older people who seem to prefer the observation method of training instead of only listening.

5.5.3 Target the poor, motivate them and give information

The targeting of programmes for the poor should be for those that need them most. Older people feel that government officials at the sub-county level should identify the poor who need to join the Poverty reduction programmes. An assessment should be used to identify those that are below the poverty line. They respondent suggested that, the government should make sure that its anti-poverty activities come down to the ground where old people are found. If the government is making provision, they should make it at the village level rather than sub-county level. They insisted that older people are excluded from government programmes if they do not go to their homes and target the activities older people are involved in.

5.5.4 Relief

Some older persons proposed provision of “relief” as a method to reduce poverty. They described relief as provision of food, water, housing and healthcare. They insisted that the government should consider these to be necessary for old people. They also argued that they know their problems best, so the government should give them money to fight poverty in their households.

One 67 year old man said:

“At 60 you have retired and you are no longer capable, so the government should give you financial support. These government programmes are not for the old because they are retired. You stop

working because of age, how do you expect us to struggle with *CDD and NAADS?*”

In this section, older people’s suggestions of alternative methods that can be used to fight poverty have been presented. Although older people have suggested empowerment, motivation and proper information, the major alternative approach was identifying older people in poverty and carrying out assessment to ascertain the levels of poverty in order to come up with the best approach, such as relief for the very weak and poor.

5.6 People’s reasons for not participating in Poverty reduction programmes

Following the discussion above of older people’s challenges faced in participating in the government Poverty reduction programmes and their suggested alternative approach, it is also important to look at the reasons why some older people do not participate in Poverty reduction programmes. Some older people were very independent and did not participate in any Poverty reduction programmes and it was important to find out why they did not join any of the programmes. In order to analyse their perspectives older people were asked why they did not join any Poverty reduction programmes. These respondents’ views were not different in any other ways to those who did participate in poverty reduction programme.

The major problem for this group is lack of information about how to access the government programmes. As a consequence, the majority of this group did not know of any sector or government services in their area. Others

claim that government programmes were only for farming. This 72 year old female from Wakiso district explained;

“I do not intend to carry out farming; my business cannot be funded by the government programmes. I am not involved with farming, and my only interest is in trade with farmers so government cannot support me.”

Others associated the government programmes with pressure, and this seems to be connected to the loan payback and rotation system used. This old woman insisted “I am too old to participate in pressure, I do not have energy to participate and I cannot compete.” Some older people doubted the government’s contribution to poverty reduction. They cited some examples of people they know who participated in the government programmes and they insisted they did not see any difference. Others claim they had not seen any older person in their area benefiting from these government programmes.” (73 FL)

All in all, older people not associated with any anti-poverty programme, mentioned lack of information, wrong assumptions about of the nature of the government programmes, fear of being put under pressure, and they doubted the actual benefit of these programmes. Lack of information seemed to be a major reason for not participating in the government Poverty reduction programmes and this should be addressed. This suggests that for people to participate in the government Poverty reduction programmes, they should have access to information. The other hindrances mentioned could be addressed at the time of joining the poverty reduction programmes.

5.7 Summary

This chapter has focused on older people's experience of government Poverty reduction programmes, which determine their way of fighting poverty. In this summary all the conclusions from the sections in this chapter are presented.

From older people's experience of the government Poverty reduction programmes, empowerment as an approach seems to have benefited some older persons. However, other older persons felt disempowered by the challenges faced in participating in the government programmes. Their experience of lack of information and the assessment criteria seem to have led to negative experiences with the government programmes. The methods used by government to recruit people for the Poverty reduction programmes seem to neglect the poor person who cannot contribute subscription fees and pass the assessment criteria.

Among the challenges mentioned, the repayment of loans seems to be a major problem. Other problems mentioned by respondents include poor quality of resources, delays in receiving the support, lack of sustainability of projects and weakness of participants in groups.

It is clear that older people do not seem comfortable with some of the methods the government uses to fight poverty. Most of them feel left out, neglected and denied participation; they argue that the methods used have denied them access to the government resources for poverty reduction. They suggest alternatives such as needs assessment, empowerment, targeting and

relief as approaches that could contribute to the successful fight against poverty among older persons.

If the government is to achieve its objective of fighting poverty and reducing it to 10 per cent by 2017, then the challenges mentioned by the older persons interviewed should be attended to. Poverty seems best explained by those that have experienced it. Older persons have suggested alternative methods that can be used to fight poverty in their household. It is important to include older people in poverty reduction.

Chapter Six: CBOs poverty reduction programme.

6.0 Introduction

This chapter examines community based organisations (CBO) approaches to tackling poverty among older people in Uganda. It focuses on efforts to tackle poverty at the household level. In many areas Uganda is unique in East Africa in having a comparatively large number of community based organisations which are active in fighting poverty since 2000. After independence the state was the inherent authority recognised to provide services to its people, it was the only social actor expected to actively intervene in the development process and often complemented by the faith based organisations. But decades of war and increasing social tension from a marginalised population pressure from international bodies and the government failure to provide the necessary services and reduce poverty among the vulnerable groups, helped bring in much needed changes and development of non-government organisation and grassroots community groups.

Standing (2004) defines a non-government organisation as a resident based association that operates independently of government, usually to delivery resources or serve as social or political purpose. The choice of organisations used in the study was determined by their anti-poverty strategies, their presence in the community, activities, degree of cohesion, management of groups and their achievements. This study describes CBO as agencies or groups which are different from the government bodies (Samuel and Thanikachalam 2003). In this case, Community Based Organisations are defined as collections of members who have come together to help support

each other in addressing poverty. These groups started as associations and government required them to register and operate as community based organisations covered under the 1995 constitution of Uganda that provides the freedom of association. The constitution of Uganda defines CBOs as grassroots non-governmental organisations established to provide voluntary services to the community.

The following questions were asked of the organisation being investigated: What is your understanding of poverty? What Poverty reduction programmes do you provide and what approaches do you employ in your implementation? Older people were also interviewed using the semi-structured method to identify the support provided in terms of meeting their household basic needs.

The following questions were used:

- How many times a day do you eat?
- Who provides the food?
- Do you have a house,
- What type of house is it?
- Do you have enough clothes?
- How do you get water and who provides it? (A full semi-structured interview instrument is attached in the appendices E and F Luganda version).

Old age is a period when one can no longer take care of themselves, leading to disability and dependence (Mulindwa 2003). Barrientos has argued that old age is associated with poverty and that households and community organisations provide the greater part of old age support in developing

countries (Barrientos, Gorman and Heslop 2003). In Africa, traditionally, the family and local community acted as a social network which would ensure security against some of the problems associated with old age. However, because of demographic changes caused by modernisation, urbanisation and HIV/AIDS, the insurance that was once given to the old is disappearing.

Under the national objectives and directives principles of the state policy of the constitution of Uganda it is stated “The state shall make reasonable provision for the welfare and maintenance of the aged” (NPA, 2012). In Uganda associations and community based organisations have been established from village level up to district level, and there are several reasons for their existence, among them the mobilisation of older people to participate in development activities. The government’s inability to provide the necessary services have led to the expansion of non-state actors such as community based organisations and older people’s associations.

This chapter begins by examining the demographic characteristics of participants in the CBO in the study. The next section examines the CBO’s understanding of poverty. Next is the analysis of support to older people’s basic needs. The last section examines the approaches used to fight poverty among older persons.

6.1 Demographics

These data relate to findings from focus group discussions by older people involved with CBO and older people’s associations regarding poverty reduction programmes in both Wakiso and Luwero Districts. Respondents’

socio-demographic and other respondents' characteristics together with observed, similarities and differences between districts, coming from the studied population are presented and analysed in the following section with reference to age, religion, gender, and education level. This description of the characteristics of research participants, allowed to break out qualitative analysis across demographic data for greater insights.

Sixty people participated in the six focus group discussions; 30 in Wakiso District and 30 in Luwero District. The majority of participants interviewed were between 60 and 70 years of age. In Wakiso 16.7 % of those interviewed were above 80 years (see Table 15 below), whereas respondents in Luwero District, were all below 80 years of age. It is very likely that the older people in Wakiso district came from the same community based organisations whose selection criteria favoured the much older people.

Table 15 CBO respondent by age group

Age group	Number	Percent
60-64		26.7
65-70	9	30.0
71-74	2	6.7
75-80	6	20.0
81-above	5	16.7
Total	30	100.0
60-64	19	63.3
65-70	5	16.7
71-74	3	10.0
75-80	3	10.0
Total	30	100.0

Chant (2008) has argued that women suffer more poverty than men and are disadvantaged by other forms of discrimination such as inheritance. Table 16 shows the number of men and women participants in CBO Poverty reduction programmes. Women's participation at 80 per cent in Wakiso is significantly high, while 56.7 percent participation in Luwero remains substantial. The gender balance among participants was much more in Luwero than Wakiso District. The difference in the number of men participating could be related to social and economic mobility within the rural and urban settings. Activities in urban settings are more of economic projects than social relationships developed in the rural CBO projects.

Table 16 CBO respondent by gender

Gender			
District		N	Percent
Wakiso	Male	6	20.0
	Female	24	80.0
	Total	30	100.0
Luwero	Male	13	43.3
	Female	17	56.7
	Total	30	100.0

As table 17 shows, in Luwero District 36.7% respondents had attained an education of senior four (OLevel) and above and that was 13.4% higher compared to Wakiso. Twice as many of the respondents (33.3%) in Wakiso District had never attended school compared to respondents in Luwero (16.7%). Therefore, rates of illiteracy were lower among the respondents in Luwero compared to Wakiso.

Table 17 CBO respondent education

Education			
District	Education level	N	Percent
Wakiso	Never gone to school	10	33.3
	primary 1-4	6	20.0
	Primary 5-7	7	23.3
	Secondary 1-4	6	20.0
	College	1	3.3
	Total		30
Luwero	Never gone to school	5	16.7
	primary 1-4	2	6.7
	Primary 5-7	12	40.0
	Secondary 1-4	9	30.0
	College	2	6.7
	Total		30

According to this research there are likely to be more Catholics participating in CBO poverty reduction programmes, than people of any other religion. We cannot conclude from the data that Catholics are more likely to participate in the programmes, because the high proportion of Catholics interviewed may simply reflect a high proportion of Catholics living in the area. Table 18 shows 63.3 percent of those interviewed were Catholics, which was significantly higher than the Catholic participants (23.3) in Luwero District. Although Luwero had a relatively higher percentage of Protestant participants than Wakiso, it is not significant. Among those interviewed in Wakiso there were no Seventh Day Adventists nor were there members of “Born Again” churches in Luwero. There was higher number of Moslems in Luwero (30%) compared to Wakiso (16.7%)

Table 18 CBO respondent by religion

Religion			N	Percent
District				
Wakiso	d	Catholic	19	63.3
		Protestant	7	23.3
		Moslem	2	6.7
		Born Again	2	6.7
		Total	30	100.0
Luwero	Valid	Catholic	7	23.3
		Protestant	10	33.3
		SDA	4	13.3
		Moslem	9	30.0
		Total	30	100.0

6.2 CBO Understanding of poverty

The understanding of poverty among CBOs reflects income and consumption perspectives. This is mainly seen in the definition of poverty rather than in the design and implementation of programmes. The most common way to measure poverty is based on incomes. A person is considered poor if his or her income level falls below a minimum level to meet basic needs. Lloyds –Jones and Rakodi (2002), argue that households or individuals are considered poor when the resources they command are insufficient to enable them to consume sufficient goods and services to achieve a reasonable minimum level of welfare which seem to be in line with CBO’s understanding of poverty. These perceptions of poverty seem to derive from larger economic and social influence such as the government (Alcock, 1997). In the CBO Women and Elderly Development Concern (WEDC), for example, poverty is experienced when people fail to meet basic needs of life including soap, sugar, salt, paraffin, among others. The chairperson said that “having no

house, clean water, cooking facilities, and clothes exhibits absolute poverty”. She stated that the average older person’s expenditure per day is 10,000 Ugandan shillings the equivalent to five dollars. Those who do not have 10,000 to spend per day according to her, are living below the poverty line. Although the chairperson defines poverty experienced by the older persons as absolute poverty, the minimum expenditure of 10,000 Ugandan Shillings per day is uninformed and unrealistic; it does not even reflect the government’s poverty line.

Furthermore, some organisations surveyed understand poverty as a lack of basic necessities to survive. This is absolute poverty, a situation, where one does not have enough to live on (Ravallion 2003). For example, The Ssentrich Foundation defines poverty as a situation where an old person lacks the essential necessities of life including soap, sugar, salt, and school fees for children. This organisation’s understanding of poverty seems related to the methods used to fight poverty among members. The chairperson insisted he only needed to provide the basics to older people for them to live to see the next day.

Generally, a closer look at the definitions of poverty from the CBOs shows a related understanding of poverty with little difference. They define poverty as lack of basic needs, although the majority of these organisations use income strategies to define poverty. The methods used are highly related to the capability approach to poverty.

6.3 Provider of support

Figure 5 shows the source of basic needs support to older people's households and older people participating in community based organisations are used to illustrate some key information which emerge in this figure. The figure allows us to look at how older people's personal effort is the main provider of basic needs compared to contributions from other sources. In the figure below the different columns represent five basic needs identified from the older people participating in community based organisation programmes; food, water, shelter, health and clothes. The Government assumed inherent provider of people's welfare seems not to appear in the provision of some services. There are also differences between districts. The older people in rural areas such as Luwero seem to carry the burden of providing for their own household compared to their urban Wakiso counterparts. The Government's contribution towards shelter and clothing is only reported in urban areas of Wakiso and nothing at all in Luwero district. Friends do not seem to contribute to basic needs in older people's lives.

6.4 Provider of support for older people's households in percentage

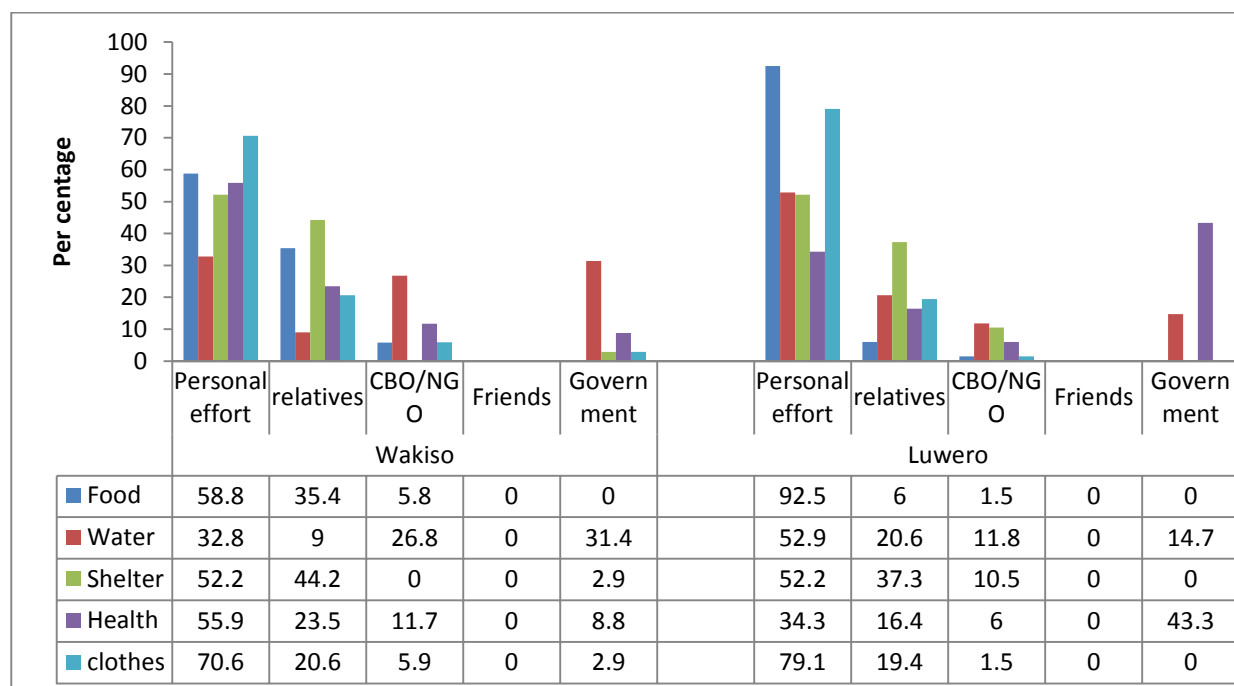


Figure 5: Provider of support

Source: Authors data 2013

The percentage of older people using the government health services is much higher in Luwero 43 percent compared to Wakiso 9 per cent. Rural areas tend to utilise the government health services despite the poor services experienced. Evidence of considerable frustration on the part of the government officers with lack of drugs for the diseases associated with old age in the government health services has also been identified. These findings seem to confirm the report by Twikirize and O'Brien (2012), who discovered that 21 percent of households always accessed the government free health services, while 79 percent used private health services. In Uganda rural

households are also opting to pay community health insurance rather than use the free healthcare services.

Figure 5 further shows that across the districts studied 92.5 percent of the older people interviewed in the study derive their food mainly from personal effort. This is significantly higher than Wakiso with 58.8 percent. At the same time the number of people receiving food from relatives in Wakiso seems to be relatively higher at 35 percent compared to relatives in Luwero 20.6 percent. These findings seem to emphasize that older people in rural areas tend to be heads of households more often than their urban counterparts. Roset i don't think you can make this conclusion from the figure. I would conclude that older people in Luwero depend on themselves for food more than those in Wakiso.

Furthermore, figure 5 shows that 79.1 percent of provision of clothing was from personal efforts while government and CBOs do not seem to feature. Indeed in Uganda it is very rare for the government to provide clothes to individuals except in relief situations. However the findings indicate there was government provision of clothing to one or two people in Wakiso. This finding could be the result of confusion caused by not knowing the actual source or clothes the government has given out to its supporters during political campaigns.

The 2009/10 UNHS reported that 74 percent of Ugandans were reported to have access to a source of water, however there seems to be no data on who provides it. The study findings show that the provision of water to the user is

relatively evenly shared between the government (31 percent) and personal effort (33 percent) in urban Wakiso District, while the government's provision of water to rural Luwero area was only 14.7 percent. Personal efforts in provision of water in Luweero 52.9 percent seem relatively higher compared to Wakiso. .

In both districts housing seems to be provided mainly by personal effort, inheritance or through the support of older children and relatives. The Government does not seem to contribute towards the provision of housing to older persons in rural Luwero or urban Wakiso district.

Overall, older people depend on their own efforts to provide for their basic needs in both districts. This is contrary to the Government's pledge in 1962 on Labour Day after independence where President Milton Obote stated that, "the state was the best machinery and had inherent authority to provide for its people". Furthermore demographic changes seem to have eroded family contributions towards meeting older people's basic needs.

6.5 Summary of programmes by CBOs and Associations

Table 19 contains information from the In-depth interviews and documentary review concerning the organisations surveyed, including year of creation, type, membership, projects and activities. The documents used included, certificate of registration, the organisation's constitution, brochures and membership book registers. In-depth interviews, were conducted with the chairpersons and secretaries of CBOs. The reason behind the selection of these organisation as case studies was their involvement in fighting poverty

among older persons using innovative interventions which were identified from the design and implementation of the programmes. Details of the interview guide and information sheet are given in appendix G.

Table 19 Details of CBOs in the study

Name of Organisation	Year of Creation	Organisation Type	Gender Composition	Current Membership	Projects/Activities
Women and Elderly Development Concern (WEDC)	2006	Community Based Organisation (CBO)	male and female	over 200 members	Handcrafts, Agriculture/farming and rearing livestock, Liquid soap making, Cookery, Tie and dye cloth making, and Black hard cover book making. Training and access to treatment including HIV counselling and testing They also provide reading glasses t
Nangabo Village Elderly Association	2008	An Elderly Association	male and female	20 active members	Bakery and brick laying
Abaagalana Community Bank	2007	Older People's Association	Only female	Over 40 members	Compulsory savings, training, tailoring, outside catering, and cough & flu syrup making
MudduAwulira Farmers Group, Namatogonya	2010	Farmers' Association	Male and female	18 members	Farming, donation of seedlings to farmers
Bukambaga Development Farmers' Group	2010	Farmers' Association	Male and female	12 active members	Coffee farming
KyevunzeAgaliAwa mu FAL Class		FAL Class (Association)	male and female	Total = 34 members, 27 female and 07 male	Functional Adult Literacy (FAL), drama, saving scheme, and primary health care
Mirembe Farmers' Association	2009	Association	male and female	25 members in total, 05 male and 20 female.	Teaching older people how to save and borrow using a village bank. Empowerment and capacity building by use of a goat rotation.

Ssentrich Foundation – Uganda	2011	Community Based Organization	male and female	Over 75 members (older persons)	It supports the elderly by offering them basic needs of life including clothes, bedding, soap, salt, and medical care. It also supports orphans with scholastic materials like books, pencils, pens, and connecting them to government schools. The organization also links sick elderly people to support organizations.
AMUKAMU Investment Club	2006	Community Based Organisation	No gender discrimination because both male and female are considered	Over 56 active members	Handcrafts, soap making, mushroom and vegetable growing.
Musaale Farmers’ Development Group	2006	Association	Both male and female members	47 members in total with 09 older people	Village bank, farming and rearing
Balijjukira Farmers’ Group	2003	Association	Male and female	50 members	Rearing livestock Saving and borrowing Farming

Source: Author’s fieldwork data 2012

6.6 CBOs' strategies to fight poverty among older persons.

This section is about the strategies employed to fight poverty. It identifies and analyses the practices and methods used. The majority of the respondents pointed out that older persons are not provided with welfare services by the organisations, but rather with skills to enable them to become productive in various poverty reduction programmes. Among all community based organisations, it was only Ssentrich Foundation – Uganda that provided essential and basic necessities to the older persons and this could be attributed to the provider's experience.

The Ssentrich chairman stated:

“Ok, in my heart from childhood, I have had the passion to support older people. You know me I grew up among older people. I love to see myself helping older people. This organisation supports the elderly by offering them basic needs of life including clothes, beddings, soap, salt, and medical care. It also supports orphans with scholastic materials like books, pencils, pens, and connects them to the government schools. The organisation also links sick elderly people to support organisations” (Ssentrich Foundation – Uganda).

Another chairperson described the services she gives to the older people:

“Handcraft, agriculture, farming, rearing of animals ,making liquid soap g, cookery, tie & dye, and making black book are some of the activities we provide and train the older people to do” (Women and Elderly Development Concern).

Emphasising the sustainability part of her programmes, the chairperson of AMUKAMU organisation stated:

“We support the elderly and needy children with survival skills, including making handcrafts, soap, growing mushroom and vegetables. The organisation extends medical services to the older persons and lobbies for provision of essential needs to elderly families” (Director AMUKAMU Investment Club).

6.6.1 Experience

The establishment and expansion of organisations involved with fighting poverty among older persons reflect learning from experience. To a significant extent the background and experience of poverty by chairpersons of organisations had an influence on the establishment and expansion of poverty reduction programmes in Luwero and Wakiso Districts. The conditions experienced by individuals in their life time seem to have an impact on their future actions. Ssentrich Foundation for example, is a community based organisation located in Wakiso District and established in 2011 by a young man raised by his grandmother from childhood having been abandoned by his parents. He never had the opportunity to attend further education. He experienced poverty first-hand at his grandparents’ house. It is from this experience that he decided to establish this organisation to address the suffering of older people and also cater for children and orphans in older people’s households. This approach is closely related to the intergenerational method of service delivery to fight poverty among the old. The main objective of the Ssentrich Foundation is to provide the old people with the necessities of life, assist them in providing for their grandchildren, and inspire more people to help and support the older people. Ssentrich has expanded its services to include the support of orphans with scholastic materials. The

impact of its operations has been widely felt in the community leading to its registration at the Sub-county.

In the Abaagalana Community Bank (ACB), the chairperson explained the background to this organisation; the idea came after her experience of failing to pay tuition fees for her daughter who was to sit for her exams but was unable to do so because of an unpaid balance on tuition fees. The chairperson recalls going from house to house to borrow funds in order to beat the deadline for payment. It is from this experience that she realised the need for women to have a separate bag in the house for saving. She called this bag the “last resort corner bag” and without delay, called on her neighbours in the community to pool their skills and resources into the community bank to start saving for any eventuality.

Another organisation born out of the experience of the founder member is the Women and Elderly Development Concern (WEDC). Previously, the chairperson had worked as a treasurer with two different radio stations, the Central Broadcasting Service (CBS) and Radio Uganda of the Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC). For many years the radio stations broadcasted news about poverty and groups of people in poverty. It was there that she realized that many older persons in her home area were suffering with poor housings, unhygienic water supply and general deprivation in the necessities of life. She later retired but was inspired to work with deprived older people. For that reason, it is important for parties involved in fighting poverty, to pay attention to the experience of those in poverty, as they could have useful knowledge to share.

Another approach used by CBOs to strengthen the capacity of older people in raising their income has been to build on people's experience and talents. Appendix F shows products made for income. Some organisations have identified people past experience and provided support to enable people to use their experience to survive. In WEDC for example, some older women with experience in mat and basket making were provided with materials to make the products and also train othes members in the group. Appendix H shows a photo of one of the members in WEDC organisation. The finished products were sold in the organisation's shop. Members were given the money to buy the initial materials but were also requested to pay back. .

Experience has enabled older people secure funds from the government to fight poverty. Nangabo village elderly people's association, for example, was required to have a project for funding after forming the group. Themembers identified each person's experience and agreed to depend on the chairman's experience of working in a bakery. Before retirement the chairman had worked in the bakery department in a hotel for over thirty years. The association's main aim was to fight poverty among its older people, so the group applied for funding from the government CDD anti-poverty project. Although they requested 4.5 million Uganda shillings (£ 1000) for the whole project, the government only offered 1.2 million Uganda shillings (£220). The money was too little to start all the activities as planned, however, the bakery business was able to take off despite the limited capital. Business picked up so fast because of the high demand for bread in the locale and the association was able to recover the initial investment.

Overall, experience was identified as the main influence in the design and establishment of strategies employed in poverty reduction programmes for the old.

6.6.2 Identification of the poor

CBOs and associations have realised that the poor are a heterogeneous group. Poverty is relative and the poor are not the same. This perspective has resulted in the identification and categorisation of the poor according to their characteristics, which has contributed to the economic and social exclusion of older people in poverty. In WEDC's view:

“In order to fight poverty, the poor are not the same, they have different categories. Some of them can actually address their own problems and will require a different intervention from the other categories” (Chairperson, WEDC).

The chairperson identified five major categories of old people who deserved help: the blind, the disabled the homeless, those with dilapidated houses and those with houses in reasonable conditions but without the basic necessities of life. She concluded that among these five categories, the last group seemed to be easier to help since they mainly needed training and a little funding to enable them to engage in income generating activities for survival. In Amukamu investment club, the interviewee said, “I find out what each person needs by asking each one by one and then get on with service provision”. A specific method is then designed to meet that particular

problem. She also gives out items such as mattresses, blankets, towels, basins, and jerry cans, to older people's households.

Generally, the strength of CBOs and associations lies in the identification and classification of the poor in categories for targeting; this has enabled the organisations to design appropriate methods for particular groups in poverty. The benefit of the identification method is further illustrated by Lloyd-Sherlock (2006) when he pointed out that "Gaining an accurate view of the older people's material situation is essential for the development of policies that target the needs of older people in the context of resources scarcity". The method used is close to BRAC's programmes targeting the ultra-poor as reported by Hulme, Moore and Kazi (2006). The approach focuses on the economically active and given the limitations of this organisation, this method seems appropriate.

6.6.3 Skills audit

Some community based organisations carry out a skills audit to try and categorise its members for skills training and development. WEDEC organisation, members are called on to discuss and register whatever skills and materials they possess. From in-depth interviews with the chairpersons and founder members of the organisations, it was revealed that after the organisation's skills audit, members are given training in those areas in which they are identified as lacking in skills.

Tailoring methods to social and physical ability could be one way of implementing appropriate methods to fight poverty among older people. It is

significant to note that CBOs' and associations' methods emphasise carrying out skills reviews to identify individual skills available to fight poverty, and develop training for those interested in acquiring skills. After the exercise, members are requested to take up training to acquire those needed skills. They are encouraged to undergo training of interest to them that could contribute to their empowerment. After the skills audit exercise the organisations have tailored projects according to people's social and physical capabilities. For example, WEDC chooses its poverty reduction programmes considering older person's interests and physical challenges. The chairperson noted that, "training and giving older persons a chance of working from their homes is the central reason behind designing projects such as handcraft, soap making, cookery, black hard cover book making, farming, and rearing of animals." WEDC has some social and economic influence in the community.

Another link to skills audit was, when economic and social exclusion among Amukamu Investment Club members was identified and the organisation decided to train its members, older women and young girls, how to make paper beads and liquid soap. For soap making, they bought the ingredients on Saturdays and Sundays. The older persons came to the centres for one or two hours to mix the soap themselves. After packing the soap the organisation, with the help of the Red Cross Society, looked for a well paying market for the products. At the end the organisation gave money to the older persons to buy the type of food they needed and the needy children raised money for scholastic materials and school fees.

The organization also taught older persons to grow mushrooms and when they were ready, it sold them and the profits were used to buy sugar, soap, and paraffin for older persons. The training sessions did not take more than an hour because older persons tend to get bored and irritated easily and some have high sugar levels. The trainer gave an allowance of 10 minutes to rest and drink. However, the whole training did not take more than three hours. When asked why they started the mushroom project the Co-Director emphasized that mushrooms are a very good project for the elderly because in the little space they have, they can grow mushrooms and even a person who has never gone to school can grow them. Health-wise, mushrooms are recommended because they fight cancer and treat other diseases like the heart disease, since they do not contain fats.

Generally, the strategies used seem flexible to fit the context of poor older people such as their physical and economic capability. Thus, this method shows the concept of inclusion of older people in the development agenda, by taking into account factors that cause their social and economic exclusion such as distance from their homes to the training and meeting venue.

6.6.4 Possessions assessment

In addition to conducting a skills audit, the organisations identified what assets older people in poverty have. They looked at non material assets such as health, labour, knowledge, friends, family and the natural resources around them. The organisations designed programmes according to household or individual possessions subsequently employing the method that would cater

for those excluded by other approaches. The livelihood approach caters for those people who are poor in terms of possessions, material things and capital; it starts from strength and not weakness. In Mudduawulira farmer's group, the majority of the members are farmers; the organisation carried out possessions assessment and discovered that some members own land but do not have the energy to utilise it and others possess labour but do not own land. The organisation decided to organise its members into groups; those who owned land were advised to rent it out and those who had the labour and capital were advised to utilise the land and pay returns in the form of food to land owners. The rest of the members without land or capital worked on the land as casual labour. Within one year the organisation was joined by more members and this necessitated the need to register as community based organisation which Mudduawulira did in 2010. Mudduawulira village is well known for pineapple growing and is very busy during harvest time. The organization has been involved in supporting farmers in fighting poverty and improving the entire community through people's hard work, improving the quality of farm products in order to increase production and incomes.

Furthermore, through assessment of the nature of exclusion, Kyevunze Agaliawamu community based organisation identified two groups: the first group consisted of those who could start up their own project and support themselves, while the second group included those who were unable to manage on their own. For example, the very old and physically weak were members of the second group. The association committee decided to assess the needs of each group and concluded that the first group needed start-up

capital to manage their own projects and the second group needed support with their basic needs on a monthly basis. From this assessment the chairman started giving out items to meet the basic needs to the identified members.

It is worth noting that naturally all people have something, whether material assets, knowledge or skills that can be used or re-directed in some way to support those in poverty. This further confirms the diverse nature of poverty that also requires varied means to address.

6.6.5 Empowerment and income generation

Another important method employed by these organisations to fight poverty among older people is empowerment and income generation. WEDC, for example, concluded after conducting a poverty assessment that some poor people needed training and a little funding to enable them to engage in income generating activities for survival. Therefore the organisation trains its members in income generation activities and has a membership of 200 male and female beneficiaries. Some of the identified activities were:

- Cloth-making using chemicals (tie & dye),
- Making books with hard black covers.
- Making liquid soap
- Making mats, brooms, and baskets
- Animal and chicken rearing
- Water filter project

The organisation only provides training to those people who have start-up capital, so the members look for start-up capital. The chairperson insists that some older people only need motivating to use whatever they have to fight

poverty. This approach caters for the poor that are able to afford the start-up capital, but not the poor that lack the basic necessities.

In addition to training and empowering members to start their own income generating activities, some CBOs aim to look for a source of income for the poor by carrying out feasibility studies regarding the market for goods produced. Looking for a market in the local area may prove there is demand for goods produced by members which in turn can improve their economic and social inclusion. For example the chairman of the Nangabo Village Elderly Association carried out a feasibility study to ascertain the possibility of a market for their bread. The Association identified the potential market among the big population and surrounding schools. Since that time the Association has become one of the main suppliers of bread to surroundings schools and at the same time older people's households targeted by the project have benefited from its operation. AMUKAMU investment club has also employed the intergenerational method by providing support for the older persons and their household members, equipping them with survival skills including handcrafts making, mushroom and vegetable growing.

The practice of involving older people and their grandchildren has a lasting impact on fighting poverty. This method strives to bring together everyone in the household and it is in line with the inter-generational method which comprises a new direction to fight poverty (Lombard and Kruger 2009).

AMUKAMU for example, was started in 2006 by a lady coordinator with experience of handcraft making. From the very beginning, the main aim of

AMUKAMU was to enable people who have not gone to school to acquire knowledge and skills in craft making in order to fight poverty in their households. AMUKAMU's strength seems to lie in equipping the old with knowledge and skills and looking for markets for their products. For example, this organisation utilised the nearby hotels to supply mushrooms at a good price. The hotels learned of the project and its intention to fight poverty among the older persons and felt an obligation as part of their corporate social responsibility to support this project and protect the available market for the organisation despite the competition from other private suppliers in the area. The majority of the older members participated in using one or two skills to support in their households with the biggest expenditure being the support of grandchildren in universal primary education. AMUKAMU members have also been trained in vegetable growing. Vegetables are grown in sacks, and the older persons water them until they are ready.

6.6.6 Demonstration and observation

Workshops provided by organisations seem to have empowered the older people to fight poverty. Muddu Awulira Farmers' Group for example, visited different model farms where they observed methods employed to fight poverty. Knowledge seems to have been acquired and members were encouraged to practice what they had observed and pass the knowledge onto other members that did not participate in the visits. Observation is an appropriate method for an uneducated group and since a big percentage of the older people have not had a chance to attend school this method seems to work well. After all, before formal education people passed on knowledge

and skills through the observation method. Literate members were also trained in proposal writing and some went on to develop a proposal which saw the organisation secure support from the government CDD project for poverty reduction. The chairman reported:

“We applied for funding from the Sub-county (Butuntumula) by writing a proposal with a budget of 5 million Uganda shillings which was meant for planting coffee. Fortunately, the Sub-county through CDD responded to the proposal by granting the organization coffee seedlings worth 5million Uganda shillings”
(Chairperson Muddu awulira)

Another example of a CBO which equips members with knowledge and skills is Abagalana Community Bank. The organisation searches for professionals and experts in different fields to train the older people in different projects. The members are given a choice of projects from those selected by the organisation. It is up to the organisation to look for a market for the products and also pay the members for their time and input. One of their projects teaches members how to prepare cough and flu syrup from lemon juice and honey.

Kyevunze Agaliawamu Functional Adult Literacy class formed an association of older persons committed to fighting poverty in their households. From the start the association’s aim was to teach members how to read and write through government adult literacy programmes. All members are taught how to write their names, business letters, and book keeping. These skills seem to help in their anti-povertyprojects. In addition, the association educates members on better farming practices, primary health

care, and the importance of saving money through drama, music and dance. Poverty sometimes forces them to sell off their small pieces of land to pay the debts, so the association decided to extend simple loans to farmers, which they borrow and use in farming and then pay back with a 5per cent interest.

Generally knowledge sharing has been a key weapon for older people in fighting poverty and the majority have acquired knowledge to get involved in different activities of their choice. This is a way of fighting ignorance and improving their capacity to participate in and manage projects.

6.6.7 Group formation

Another area where organisations have made an impact is group formation. This idea seems to have come from the government and international development partners. In their groups members of organisations have managed to carry out big projects to help in fighting poverty. In the past when farmers in Namatogonya village experienced seasons of plenty, it resulted in a surplus and eventually in the perishing of goods. Therefore, farmers formed the Muddu Awulira group and decided to organise themselves and provide a solution to the surplus perishables in order to reduce the loss of farm products. They visited another group in the western part of the country where they observed how the farmers in that group managed to preserve their produce during a season of plenty. This technique was acquired and members organised funds and made a locally manufactured drier in their village. In seasons of plentiful harvests, the organisation helps its farmers to preserve their products by drying, packing and preserving them so that they do not sell

them at lower prices. Every member brings their produce to the organization and is given special days to access the drying service. The dried produce are then packed and labelled with the member's names. The organisation takes the responsibility to look for a market through creating a coalition with other marketers inside and outside the country so that farmers are assured of selling their products at higher prices and the money returned to farmers according to their input. Farmers have to contribute 10 per cent of their profits to the organisation for operational and administration costs. Commenting on the method used in this group, the chairman stated;

“Fighting poverty is done in a group, farming together as a group organisation, all members meet to discuss and decide on the type of crop that is marketable. All households farm the same crop at the same time and harvest in the same period. They grow crops such as mangoes, sweet bananas, beans, oranges, pineapples, papaya, maize and cabbages. These crops provide food as well as a source of income to these households and hence fight hunger in older people's homes”.

As well as growing crops, members of the association also rear animals.

The chairman of Namatogonya described animal rearing in their association:

“We keep cows, pigs and goats. A cow is kept purposely to produce milk for the daily intake of an older person, while the goat can be sold anytime a farmer gets a problem. A six-month-old goat can go for 100,000 shillings, depending on the weight; it is faster to sell a goat than a cow. We also keep pigs because they are quick money generators. You only have to keep a pig for four months and it is ready to sell. There is also cow rotation whereby

a calf is given to members in the group who share the calves after birth”.

In the case of Abaagalana Community Bank, the group was formed to provide intervention for poverty reduction among older people. The founder’s idea was welcomed by women in her area, given that this strategy was to solve some of their financial problems. Being a widow, the chairperson offered her home as a base from which to start the group operations. The women organised themselves very fast and meetings started. The Community Bank’s first intervention was to train members how the Bank was to operate and how they were to manage their accounts. The members were to first run their accounts for two weeks, then one would apply for a loan for start-up capital of not more than 50,000 shillings. This would be given to any member in the group without additional security required. But that member had to plan to payback with 10 per cent interest with the same account. At the same time if a member saved a lot of money for a period of four months, they got an interest rate of 10 per cent. The organisation made sure that all saved money was borrowed to realise profits for paying interest to those who had saved with the organisation.

Mirembe Farmer’s Association method of group operation attracted support from big NGOs such as ADRA. It is another small association established in 2009 by a group of farmers in Bombo village, in Luwero district. The association started from “Nigina household rotation”. This method encouraged all members to collect money and buy modern household items for two members from the group. The aim of this method was to replace

the damaged household items such as plastic cups, plates and furniture with “acceptable” and better items. They also buy clothes and beddings for two members at a time until all members in the group have received newer items. This association is active in promoting the improvement of member’s standards of living.

Overall, groups formation seems to encourage self-help arrangements, i.e. what you cannot achieve alone you can achieve as group. This approach seems to address all challenges faced by individuals in fighting poverty. However, the challenges of working as a group could put at risk the group’s aim of fighting poverty.

6.6.8 Saving and Village Banks

Establishing saving scheme was another significant approach that has been emphasized by community based organisations and associations. Collective saving is seen as an important method to generate money and become the main source of credit for members in need of financial support. The majority of the organisations have used this method to fight poverty among members. Within Mirembe Farmers Association, for example, members save money from their insufficient incomes. All members gather every Thursday and contribute between 1,000 and 5,000 shillings, up to the year’s end. The money is kept in the village bank. On the last day of the year they withdraw the savings and decide what valuable property they can buy for each household. There are some members who borrow from this village bank and return the money with an interest rate of 10per cent. If one is to get credit from the

village bank, members of the association must recommend one for a loan. They have to convince the committee that they trust this person. The committee comprises every member in the group.

In WEDC organisation, members are taught how to save money out of the little income they earn from their businesses. Every Wednesday members gather at the association's premises; they deposit (save) any amount to their convenience. That money can then be borrowed by a member who has an on-going income-generating project at an interest rate of 10 per cent. To minimize incidences of failure to pay, according to the chairperson, loan applicants are first surveyed by members of the association and their capability to pay back is assessed. In addition, they are required to present a valuable item of property as security, which may include a piece of land or a bigger asset. Organisation members are supposed to open an account with the saving cooperative which requires a starting fee of 100,000 Uganda Shillings. This SACCO approach has been recognised as a significant route out of poverty, although this method is most likely to be the reason for a large number of older people not joining poverty reduction programmes run by the government or CBOs.

Based on his experience the chairperson of Abaagalana Community Bank introduced another type of savings scheme to encourage saving and maintain the momentum. With a compulsory saving scheme the members save at least 3000 shillings per week. This method has provided security and medical treatment of older people within varying diseases such as diabetes and high

blood pressure. The treatment is only available privately and it is very expensive, so this saving system has relieved their worries about health bills.

6.6.9 Networking and partnership

The CBOs have tried to establish channels through which to collaborate with other stakeholders for service provision to older people. AKAMUMU investment club is an example of an initiative which plays a double role of networking and lobbying with NGOs and health centres, to get support for the poor older people. The organisation provides medical support to the old “whenever they fall sick and go to the health centres to get drugs, or when doctors come and give treatment”. This is done through health centre IV, where they have extended prompt treatment to older persons both at their home and hospital for those who may need hospitalization. HIV treatment, voluntary testing and counselling services are also extended to the older persons under this approach. With help from Inner Wheel Rotary Club the organisation builds small houses for the homeless older persons.

In a similar way to AKAMUKAMU investment club, WEDC has realised that some of the problems faced by older people could be solved through lobbying and partnership. Through foreign well-wishers the organisation has managed to provide reading glasses to 30 per cent of its members who had sight problems. This problem had excluded the old people from several activities such as, reading their grandchildren’s school reports, writing and revising their own and others’ wills and agreements, reading the Bible and contributing to church services. Through lobbying, the Ssentrch Foundation

has also secured and boosted healthcare among the elderly through the provision of prompt medical care.

The organisation Women's Empowerment and Development Concern also draws on the knowledge and skills of people outside the organisation. It brings in entrepreneurs to share their experience with the members, and in this way members gain ideas about how to set up and maintain income generating projects and also learn about the requirements for obtaining credit from financial institution. Members have acquired knowledge and skills from the regular meetings because the WEDC offices have become a place for members to meet and discuss current social, political and economic issues. There are times when one WEDC official brings and reads them a newspaper and they then discuss the issues raised. This method has made many older people feel part of contemporary society. WEDC members have also participated in national celebrations like Independence Day and older people's days. The visits from experts have expanded to include talks and discussions about current issues in the country and updates on what is going on in and around the community. This approach has most likely reduced loneliness among the old and ignorance of their surroundings.

Mirembe Farmers Association networks with the local government and other NGO's in the community, and advises members to join the government poverty reduction programmes like NAADS and CDD to benefit from the funds available. Listening to and asking for member's views on projects they want to start in their group, is one method that has proved successful in fighting poverty in their group.

Overall, CBO's and association's set of connections have provided a point of entry for other parties interested in providing for older people. The co-operation created seems to benefit both the CBOs' activities and older people's inclusion in fighting poverty.

6.6.10 Participatory approach to tackling poverty

Some organisations have emphasized the collective method of poverty reduction. The Ssentrich foundation, for example, calls on the community to participate in contributing to the fight against poverty among older people. The foundation shows concern for the poor by mobilising resources through fundraising, and a friend-to-friend compassionate approach. This method involves talking to people about the situation of the old poor. One member said:

I try to awaken and raise people's empathy towards the older people in poverty; I share their stories and their experiences with the public. I always talk about this organisation to every person I get in contact with and I encourage people to give aid of any form which I collect every day and store for three months before distributing to beneficiaries..

Interestingly this study got to know this organisation through the word of mouth method. The chairman says that this method has enabled him to mobilise the community towards helping old people. However, there are limitations with this method, Firstly, the poor do not seem to have a choice in the provisions and secondly the method is not sustainable since it depends on fundraising and raising concern.

Publicising the plight of older people is another method used by the Ssentrich foundation. The chairperson opened up a shop in the town centre and through his retail shop the chairperson encourages any customer who buys an item from his retail shop, to buy at least a book or pencil as a way of supporting orphans in his foundation. This shop is a collection office and a means of advocacy for the plight of the poor. He uses the shop for his other business which is an estate agency for rental accommodation in that busy town. He argued that the reason behind having all his activities in this one place is because what he calls “friend to friend compassion”. He believes that all the people who come for other services will be able to hear about the plight of the older people in poverty in their area. His argument is that there is not enough information about or awareness of older people’s suffering and poverty.

The Ssentrich Foundation’s approach to fighting poverty method involves community visits which are aimed at identifying very old people, talking to them and listening to their concerns, providing what is possible, and advocating for aid from other stakeholders. The method of listening to the local community and talking to old people is similar to the argument made by Dini and Lippit (2009) that local knowledge and local differences should be taken into account in policy making, decision making and economic planning processes. This organisation emphasises that this approach involves paying more attention to the perceptions of the poor, hence leading to bottom-up development in which poor people’s participation in addressing poverty is emphasised and they are put at the centre of the recommendations.

Another participatory method is identified in the approach of the AMUKAMU Investment Club. The participatory needs assessment entails members gathering at different centres near their locality to have discussions on household needs and then identify training opportunities. Every parish gathers twice a month and a leader from each centre makes the general needs assessment for the elderly in that parish. The centre leaders are older people themselves. In explaining the organisation's way of working, the Co-Director said, "We inform each parish about the programmes and establish meeting centres at parish level, because elderly people fail to move longer distances". At every centre, they meet at least twice in a month for reviews and other activities. The Co-Director also explained that there is no gender discrimination in the CBO and both women and men are considered in service provision.

6.6.11 Barter trade approach

For communities involving older people in the fight against poverty, barter exchange is a strategic approach to meeting the basic needs of the absolute poor. Some organisations have encouraged its members to exchange goods and services needed for their survival, rather than paying in cash (Hoekman and Kostecki, 2009). There are direct benefits in meeting needs through provision of goods and services in kind. Muddu awulira, for example, has been able to support its members in meeting their day to day household needs through the system of barter exchange. This method and others such as demonstration trips used to fight poverty in this organisation have led to its

expansion in numbers of members and its registration as a community based organisation in Luwero district.

6.6.12 Ways of addressing the multi-dimensional nature of poverty

Failure to provide for your household is considered by many as definition of poverty. Older people have mentioned diverse deprivation in their household and the failure to support children in their homes has been associated with serious poverty. The responsibility of providing for grandchildren is one dimension of older people's poverty. Addressing this aspect could contribute one step towards fighting poverty among poor older persons. The Ssentrich Foundation's methods and strength in fighting poverty seem to lie in looking at older people's poverty beyond the scope of the individual and in recognising the multi-dimensional nature of poverty. The Foundation concentrates on one aspect, that of supporting grandchildren in the household. While it is individuals who suffer because of poverty, usually the whole household is involved and some resources come via the household and it is difficult to know the distribution of services they provide to the individual (Laderchi, et al 2003). The Ssentrich Foundation has a membership of around 75 male and female older persons. The roots of this organisation stem from the desire to meet the essential needs of older people in poverty. This came from the discovery that many older people in poverty have various challenges. Looking after their grandchildren was one dimension that was identified. The foundation provides essential items to older persons which include; soap, sugar, salt, paraffin, exercise books, and medicines. These are provided using

a door-to-door technique by the chairperson himself together with the field officers

6.7 Challenges faced by CBOs in fighting poverty among older people

CBOs have very limited resources to adequately address poverty among older people. While discussing Voluntary failures, Salamon (1987, p.37) clearly identified resource inadequacy, exclusion of some groups, undemocratic situations and incompetence as the four main categories of voluntary failure that have necessitated government action. First, was what he called philanthropic insufficiency which is the inability to “generate resources on a large scale that is both adequate and reliable enough to cope with the human service problems”. This is consistent with the findings in this study; WEDC for example, expressed concern about the lack of internal and external funding from both the government and foreign donors, limited funding which in turn contributes to the lack of innovation in and improvement of income generating activities in the association. The Ssentrich Foundation has also found that not having its own income generating projects coupled with insufficient fundraising has resulted in inadequate funds to provide regular and consistent help to those who need it. The lack of funds has also meant the organisation has failed to establish a monthly salary for field officers as a way of confirming their activities as a job as well as boosting their performance and responsiveness in service delivery.

Salamon stresses that particularism is another challenge of Voluntary organisations and it occurs when all parts of the community are not chosen

equally. Salamon argued that, the more eligible of the poor are treated and the very poor are left out. This is in line with findings in this study, where Community Based Organisations local banking and micro credit approach seem to exclude the older people from poverty reduction programmes.

The sustainability of programmes is another challenge faced by CBOs yet according to Krantz (2001) sustainability is one way of achieving poverty reduction. Older people in poverty tend to experience the highest level of deprivation, which does not change over time. However CBOs tend not to be sustainable so it becomes difficult to feel their presence in the community. The Ssentrich Foundation main challenge was acquiring big investments which would generate income to ensure sustainability of the organisation. The organisation's perspective was to institutionalise the services by providing the elderly a home where they can be treated, fed, clothed, comforted, and interact with each other. This home would be beneficial to elderly people where they could acquire spiritual and emotional support.

Some challenges faced by CBO's tackling poverty are due to their own weaknesses and lack of political influence. So it becomes difficult for an organisation that is limited in linkages with the government and development partners to adequately address poverty in the community. Most of the CBO examined in the study did not seem to have plans to strengthen their institutions and build connections with established institutions in the district.

6.8 Analysis of CBO's poverty reduction methods and programmes

This section examines the methods the organisations have used to address poverty among the older population. The purpose of this analysis is to examine the extent to which poverty among older person is considered and addressed; this will contribute to understanding and assessing what CBOs policies and methods have really achieved. Six organisations are reviewed in this discussion. Analysis is done according to themes and similarity among the organisation. It is very difficult to assert that this study is examining the effectiveness of the organisation on poverty reduction among older persons. However, it is commendable to learn from other findings conducted on organisations' approaches to fighting poverty among the poor.

There are arguments that the effect of CBOs' programmes on poverty reduction is insignificant. Connick (1992), for example, insists that their operations on groups are too small to cause an impact on poverty reduction. Although their services have been felt in areas such as health and water provision, their scope covers a very small area (Bado, 2012).

The CBOs seem to ignore the beneficiaries as partners in fighting poverty. The beneficiaries of the intended project could be worth involving in the planning and implementation of poverty reduction programmes. Bado (2012) has argued that non-government organisations come with a personal agenda that has nothing to do with the needs of the people they are serving. This makes their approach a top-down one and overlooks local input. This is what Salamon (1987, p.41) called Philanthropic paternalism; "where the nature of

the sector thus comes to be shaped by the preferences not of the community as a whole, but of its wealthy members”. This results into exclusion of needs of the poor.

In addition, CBOs have been referred to by some as unimportant /insignificant and ignorant about the needs of society. Their approaches to coping with human problems have been referred to as unprofessional Salamon (1987). Old age has not been seen as a priority concern for non-government organisations in developing countries (Heslop and Gorman 2002), and their impact on the ground, as pointed out by Omona and Mukuye (2012), has over the years been affected by poor credibility. However, Coninck (1992) has argued that community based organisations have relieved widespread suffering. They have also provided services that would not be provided by government. From the study of community based organisations and older people’s organisations, it is clear that they have established several methods to address poverty among older persons and some lessons can be learned from their best practices.

A closer look at the definitions of poverty from the CBOs and associations show a related understanding of poverty with little difference, which could be attributed to the experience of founder members and the target population of the organisations. In general the six organisations studied have defined poverty using material aspects in their concepts. It is only WEDEC that tries to address some social aspects by having the old people meet and discuss daily news. However, this aspect rarely appears in the organisations’ definition of poverty. The above associations and community based

organisations seem to define poverty in absolute terms. When it comes to identifying the poor, categorisation according to needs takes precedence. WEDC and Nangabo Association identified categories of the poor, emphasizing that the poor are not the same, they experience poverty differently.

It is easy to notice the value judgement used within organisations to categorise older people in poverty. There seems to be no scientific measure, but subjective arguments have been put forward to explain the type of poor groups. The experience of the chairpersons, the nature of poverty being experienced, the social and political environment, the skills and the resources available, all seem to determine the method used to address the problem. The definitions of poverty seem to have little bearing on the methods adopted by the organisations.

Looking at the example of WEDC, the organisation's projects seem age-friendly, although it is difficult to ascertain the inclusion of the very poor in their approach to poverty reduction. In their method they claim to give training, loans and categorise the poor but they do not show how each category of identified poor people will be involved in the implementation. They seem to employ the capability approach to poverty, concentrating on only one group that is capable of escaping poverty through empowerment. The chairman goes on to affirm that the older persons with housing facilities but lacking basic needs are easier to help, since they mainly need training and a little funding to enable them to engage in income generating activities for

survival. It is likely that most of their projects have some kind of limitation that denies the very poor from accessing these projects.

In almost all the six organisations being studied, females form the majority of members. This could be related to the nature of the projects carried out. Most poverty reduction programmes offered by the organisations are agriculture related and women have been identified as comprising a large majority of the 70 per cent labour force employed in agriculture related activities (Blackden 1999). Out of the six chairpersons three are women and founder members of those organisations. The involvement of women is widely believed by many agencies as an influence as to whether a poverty reduction programme will succeed or fail (Suharko 2007).

With regard to the organisations' inclusion of older people, four out of the six organisations did not have welfare programmes for the very old. They seemed to employ the capability approach that does not encourage welfare programmes, but encourages empowerment initiatives. They argue that people are responsible for their own lives and should have the opportunity to take up that responsibility.

Only two organisations give welfare support to the very old poor people. The Ssentrich Foundation and Nangabo Elderly Association define poverty as having inadequate access to basic needs. These organisations seem to employ poverty reduction methods related to the basic needs approach to poverty, which defines poverty as deprivation of consumption. The approach works by identifying basic minimum requirements such as food, clothes,

clean water and sanitation. The Ssentirch organisation has taken on publishing the plight of older people in poverty to raise awareness among the community, fundraising for essential needs, and encouraging the friend-to-friend compassion approach. The activities are carried out to make sure that the old people in poverty have access to at least the basic minimum needs. The size of membership can sometimes be an advantage for the implementation of poverty reduction programme. However, six organisations studied seem to have modest numbers which could be attributed to several reasons.

The anti-poverty projects employed by these organisations seem somehow related. In almost all the organisations training is considered an effective method for poverty reduction. Both Muddu Awulira group and Abaagalana Community Bank tend to use demonstration as methods of training. They insisted that “a blackman’s eyes are in his hands” meaning the best method to train members in your organisation is to have them observe and practically touch what they observe. Looking at Muddu Awulira’s achievements this method seems effective.

Another common method in these groups is the local banking and micro credit facilities. Members are called to save and apply for loans to help them start income generating activities in their households. For members to participate there are some conditions to fulfil; first of all one must have initial savings with the organisation, secondly, a member should prove him/herself trustworthy and get a referee to support the application and lastly, assets are required for security in case of failure to pay back the loan and monthly

subscription. Using this approach seems to scare many older people in poverty from joining these groups. Abaagalana Community Bank requires all members to save 3000 UGX every week, but in the same organisation a poor person is defined as a person without the basic daily necessities. For such a person it becomes difficult to save for the future without meeting the current needs in his/her household. The absolute poor are therefore excluded from these poverty reduction projects. It is those who have that can access the loans, but the have-nots find it difficult to get involved. There is the possibility that some subgroups of the community may not be adequately represented (Salamon 1987, p.40).

While most of these organisations train their members, those with local banking do not seem to provide any training to the members in handling money in the village community banks. But also apart from WEDC the rest of the organisations do not seem to offer training to members acquiring loans from the organisations. Most people lack skills in starting small businesses, financial management and loan management. It is no wonder there exist challenges with loan repayment and business failure among members.

An organisation such as Muddu Awulira has used the barter trade method to enable members to access the basic requirements for their households. Members in this group plan ahead of time for a particular crop or plant and the chairman makes sure all members have a variety crops to meet the nutritional needs for their household. After harvest time all products are assembled at the organisation's offices awaiting distribution. This method has catered for all categories of poor people; those without land who are fit and

able to work for those with land but with no energy to till their land, but at harvest time they share the produce.

The CBOs and associations usually consider the local context in their design of method of operation. Some of them first identify the market for their products before embarking on production; this technique has helped in sustainability for their projects since they are sure of the market. For example the Nangabo Association supplies bread to the schools around the community, and has higher demand than they can supply. The Abaagalana Community Association supplied cough syrup to the local community and it is enjoying a positive market. WEDC has concentrated on producing crafts, liquid soap and scholastic materials. At the time of our visit they confirmed having regular customers and supply contracts from hospitals and schools for the supply of liquid soap and books.

6.9 Summary of the findings

In the study the majority of the participants in Wakiso District (63 %) belonged to the Catholic faith, whereas Protestants were (33 %) in Luwero District. Participants between the ages of 60 and 70 in both districts seem to have dominated the participation in CBO's antipoverty programmes. Women are four times more likely to participate in poverty reduction programmes than men. Older people in Luwero District were found to have slightly higher education than those in Wakiso District.

The CBOs' definitions of poverty seem to be related, and monetary and absolute terms are used to define poverty. They conclude that poverty is lack

of money to acquire basic needs. Four out of the six organisations do not provide direct provisions to those in poverty, but poverty reduction programmes are available in the organisations.

Strategies used to fight poverty are influenced by the experience and background of founder members. The intergenerational approach involves the whole household in poverty reduction programmes. Identification of those in poverty, skills audit, possessions assessment, empowerment and income generation, members' motivation, demonstrations and observation workshops, market feasibility studies, training and knowledge sharing, group formation, credit and saving schemes networking and lobbying, community banks, rotation methods, participatory method, barter trade and multi-dimensional approaches were all used to address poverty in older people's households.

There were some challenges faced by CBOs and associations in addressing poverty in older people's households and most of them were similar: limited resources and irregular funding, which limit planning, the lack of sustainability of projects, and very little connection with the government programmes in the area. The welfare needs of older people in poverty are not directly met by the organisations' activities. Most organisations' activities are limited to only active members of the community. The participation of those in extreme poverty is limited by participation requirements and expectations from group members.

Chapter Seven: Older people's fight against Poverty

7.0 Introduction

Older people are more exposed to poverty risks in the global south than any other group (Barrientos 2002). In Uganda the old are ageing in poverty, and according to Bukulu and Watson (2013) a fifth of households in the poorest domicile are headed by an older person. In spite of a welcome reduction in the proportion of people living below the poverty line from 56.4 per cent in 1993 to 24.5 percent in 2009, poverty remains an issue for 60 per cent of older people in Uganda (Ssewanyana, Matovu and Twimuye 2011). Help Age International (2007) has reported that 60 per cent of older persons in Uganda live below the poverty line and 64 per cent survive on less than US\$1 a day. This indicates that around 900,000 older people in Uganda live below the poverty line. Poor economic conditions can lead to poor health outcomes in old age, as well as reducing life expectancy. Over a million older persons in Uganda lack food, money, clean water and medical support and face isolation, HIV and AIDS, poor nutrition and neglect (Nyanzi 2008).

In the absence of policies, infrastructure, services and information, increasing numbers of people in the global south are ageing in poverty (Heslop and Gorman 2002). In the last ten years Uganda has experienced economic growth. In 2000-2001 it also made commitments pledging to include ageing in all social and economic development policies, and halve old-age poverty by 2015 (Devastate 2000). However, the poverty reduction programmes and approaches used in Uganda seem not to favour the older person's fight against poverty. As stated by Heslop and Gorman (2002),

current poverty reduction measures, proposals and literature have not amply acknowledged the intergenerational facet of poverty, nor has attention been paid to older persons' own survival strategies. Despite older people's impoverished conditions, the majority of older people in Uganda live independently and do not rely on external support. In times of poverty, older people devise strategies to survive. Older persons can and do want to contribute to society and to development and they want to participate in policy making and in programmes that affect their lives (UN 2005). It is therefore necessary for stakeholders that attention is directed to the survival measures employed by older people, as understanding this can ensure that survival approaches among older people are included in anti-poverty policies.

In-depth interviews followed the focus group discussion and the topics listed in the in-depth interviews were taken from detailed notes from focus group discussions. The interview guide was tailored to a specific respondent's experience to elaborate and interpret his/her methods of fighting poverty. Details of the in-depth interview guide are given in Appendix D.

Chapter 5 examined older people's experiences of the government poverty reduction programmes, and Chapter 6 examined CBOs' anti-poverty measures for older people. This chapter gives an overview of older people's own measures in fighting poverty. It is divided into two parts: the first part reports and analyses the strategies older people employ to fight poverty and survive in their households. The second part features the analysis of stories older people use to interpret their own experiences in fighting poverty. It includes interviews and provides a detailed analysis of older people's

strategies of fighting poverty. It also highlights the decisions older people make in fighting poverty. Data was analysed in relation to the research question posed in this thesis: What approaches have older people employed to fight poverty in their households? The cases used in the narrative were selected on the basis of the interviewees' success in fighting poverty in their households and they account for why some older people fail and others succeed in fighting poverty. (Full accounts are placed in the appendix A).

This chapter is organised as follows: The next section illustrates measures used by older people in fighting poverty in their households in general. The section which follows is analysis of older people's narratives, focusing on their stories told in focus groups and in-depth interviews. Those narratives were selected because the data for each was in-depth and reasonably comprehensive. The final section outlines the challenges older people face as they fight poverty, and alternative strategies are proposed.

7.1 Personal effort

The focus of the study was how older people are fighting poverty to survive. The findings show that there are categories of older poor, and in this study two categories are considered. The first part of the section looks at the approaches of the first category of older poor, who are slightly better off and survive using their own efforts. The second part consists of responses from older people who are worse off and use whatever is within their surroundings. In this part, the approaches and activities used to fight poverty by the slightly better off older poor include: farming (rearing livestock, small-scale farming for household use and/or for income, and doing casual work), use of financial

institutions/community banks and SACCOS (saving and borrowing), use of skills (handicrafts, training,) and employing other people. Older persons employed personal effort to fight poverty and this is what a 78 year old female respondent from Wakiso stated; “poverty is like anasal hair”, it is a lion, it is sickness, escaping poverty is not easy, it requires personal effort”.

7.1.1 Farming and rearing

In the study participants described their participation in farming activities, with common characteristics such as members of different generations working together, minimising input costs and keeping production costs down, carrying out multiple activities and priority setting with regard to spending the little they have. The majority of participants involved their children in the farming activities, either by letting them take part or letting them know how important the projects are for their survival. This seems to be one way of ensuring the sustainability of the projects. The majority mentioned the importance of minimising input cost for maximum gain. Each household seemed to be involved in multiple farming and livestock rearing activities. The following observation from a 67 year old female respondent from Luwero district illustrate how multiple activities are used to address poverty;

“I rear chickens, two cows, and three pigs to sustain my family. I have to rear more than one type of animal for security. My first target is to see that my family has food. I sell the big ones and reserve the poor quality breeds for home consumption. I also use crop rotation in my small farm. I do not want to put all eggs in one basket”.

Small-scale farming for household consumption

In general the older people that participated in this study were household heads whose main concern was providing for their households. It was something they were obliged to do and have always done; failing to provide would mean falling into total poverty. Farming for home use involves using a small area to plant some food that will be consumed by members of your household, so you do not have to use money to survive. This was illustrated by a 64 year old female respondent from Luwero district; “Through planting tomatoes, green pepper, and other vegetables that my family needs for consumption, I am able to reduce my daily family expenditure”.

Small-scale farming for income

Subsistence farmers associated poverty with lack of money. They often attributed all deficiencies to a lack of money. Their justification for this was that money gives you a choice. So the majority of participants did small-scale farming for income purposes, while others had the desire to start rearing livestock for income generation. The quality of the produce was emphasised by some members. Another important aspect was the interest in being selective about how they spent their little income that had come in after selling the produce. The majority had a tendency to set priorities for how the money would be spent. Although the farming involved everybody in the household, planning how to spend the proceeds was the sole responsibility of the household head. One key strategy associated with the fight against poverty, particularly for this 62 year old female respondent from Wakiso district was:

“I fight poverty through trading of foodstuffs especially sweet bananas and yams. I buy them cheaply from villages and sell them in Kampala the capital city at a relatively higher price. By concentrating on producing high quality foods, I am able to realise high income from the small scale and the little effort that *I use and my grandchildren are supported in school*” (62MW)

Overall, the majority of participants were involved with farming and livestock rearing of some sort, and it did not seem a burden, but something they thought would support them in fighting poverty. The minority that were physically frail and economically inactive were dependent on their able-bodied family or group members

7.1.2 Labouring

Participants in the study who did not own land or any other assets had limited means to survive, so they decided to work for other people on a casual basis. A 69 male respondent from Luwero district explains how he used labour to fight poverty; “I labour on people’s farms and earn a wage. If any community member has a garden and is in need of a labourer, I am available at a simple wage, but work for cash, not debts”. To some, doing a variety of casual work was more rewarding. Others were small-scale traders who act as “middle men”. Some participants involved their household in casual work. The focus group seemed to provide a platform for members to market their services; the discussion created a lot of excitement and people started to exchange contacts and ask for each other’s contact details. This suggests networking would be a good strategy in addressing poverty among older people.

7.1.2 Use of financial institutions: community banks and

SACCOS

Earning and saving

The majority of older people asserted that saving with a village saving scheme or community bank can facilitate efforts to fight poverty. Some participants testified how they had saved and were able to raise capital to start up a business as a small source of income. The saving seems to be categorised according to the conditions and purposes attached. For example, some older people participated in different types of saving schemes: compulsory saving, emergency saving, visitors' saving, and survival saving. Compulsory saving was intended for everybody in the village; while the emergency fund was for any contingencies in any household. The survival saving was to enable members to stay attached to their mutual groups and for sustainability. All categorised saving was only to be spent on the specific purpose intended. Some members had a fixed day on which to set aside money, while others saved every time they got money. Nearly half of the respondents had a saving plan of some sort and the saving seemed to be piecemeal for some older people as observed from four respondents who stated their saving plans:

“I save 700 Uganda shillings per day with Twesige Mukama Community Bank. For a period of 10 months, all my savings are counted; I get to know my profits and which activity has raised my capital”. (66FL)

“I make sure that I save 1000 Uganda shillings per week with a village saving scheme and 500 shillings for Munno mu Kabi scheme (emergency scheme) from what I earn per day. This has boosted my economic status.” (73MW)

“To fight poverty, I save every Wednesday from the milk that I sell every day with an aim of buying another cow”. (63FW)

“I save 200 shillings every day on the *uncertainties*’ account. If any of my family members fall sick, I withdraw enough money for treatment”. (66MW)

Use of credit

Some participants perceived credit acquisition as a step towards fighting poverty. They claimed that without credit you cannot do anything. Typically the older people spoke of how well credit facilities promoted their financial well-being in areas of income, saving and asset accumulation. Older people argued that they suffer poverty because they lack credit facilities. This particular group did not show any dislike of debt at all. Most people used credit for specific pre-determined requirements that occurred once in a long time. Some used credit to start a new business, while others used it to sustain another ongoing business. The majority used credit to pay school fees for their grandchildren. A 69 year old female respondent from Wakiso district highlights how she uses her borrowed money;

“I have access to 100,000 shillings credit from a saving scheme. I borrow this money and buy books, pens, pencils, and school fees for my grandchildren and pay back 20,000 shillings per month. I am able to harvest and sell beans, sweet potatoes using a borrowing scheme provided by a community women’s

association; this has helped me take care of ten grandchildren *that my children left behind*".

However, not all participants were in favour of credit; some people hated credit and preferred to give in to poverty. Some of these people had had a bad experience of losing their assets to creditors. Others had friends that had lost property to creditors.

7.1.3 Use of personal skills

Older people revealed two types of skills: the natural ones and those achieved. Achieved skills were gained through training, and natural skills were talents or skills with which a person was born. "Poverty pushed me to identify my skills; since I did not own anything and had no money the only thing I had was my personal skill." (68FW). The majority of the participants needed to know how they could use their talents and skills to participate in the market. Some participants testified how their skills had helped them join different groups in the community. Among the skills mentioned were handicraft or manual skills, training skills and entrepreneurial skills. Handicraft skills refer to work you can do with your own hands to support yourself. Training skills involve increasing your ability to pursue different opportunities in life in order to address poverty. Use of other people's energy involves using your social relationships and entrepreneurial skills to exploit opportunities by relying on other people's skills. This was illustrated by 67 year old male respondent from Wakiso district:

"I buy coffee from farmers in their gardens as soon as it flowers and I wait for it to ripen. I sell it and earn bigger profits. I look

for farmers who have young coffee in gardens, give them my offer of paying in advance. We effect the business there and then I take control. I also bought many pieces of land which I am renting to people today. I use this money to buy home necessities and to invest in many other income generating projects”. (67ML)

Training was also mentioned as one method that has contributed to older people addressing poverty in their household. Like other respondents in the study this 64 year old male respondent from Wakiso district illustrates the impact of training in fighting poverty.

“After receiving training from community organisations, I started *growing mangoes and oranges on my friend’s land. We shared the harvest and planted again together. Right now we supply a supermarket in our town*”.

7.2 Informal response to poverty

This section focuses on older people’s personal arrangements, analysing their survival techniques and illustrating them with examples. How do older people with no regular income or without business survive? The older people in this section live a hard life but develop strategies depending on the circumstances surrounding them. Older people in this section exploit opportunities that occur in their immediate environment and they make the most of their circumstances.

7.2.1 No budget, no priority and going without

In general, all participants in the study mentioned the challenge of not having enough to live on. Some have decided to forgo some needs, only attending to a need after it has turned into problem. For example, some participants

reported a reduction in the number of meals they ate per day. Some older people decided to eat only one or two meals a day, depending on the resources available. One couple reported having one meal at around 3pm for most of their life. The older couple argued, jokingly, that “a second or third meal was a luxury and not a necessity”. Older people argue that without a source of income, it is difficult to plan on using resources carefully. Older people confessed they did not set priorities because they lived a beggar’s life; a life full of uncertainty.

In some cases participants reported eating only the one type of food available in their garden; there was no concern about having a balanced diet. In other cases participants reported using a system to barter to exchange services and goods they did not have in their household. Through this system some participants were able to eat a balanced diet.

Most participants reported not attending gatherings such as village meetings and church services for fear of appearing destitute or impoverished in public. They seemed to worry about neighbours’ comments about their situation, so their only strategy was to avoid attending local events and stay at home. However, avoiding social gatherings brought negative consequences such as participants missing out on important local information that would contribute to their survival. Also, such people often missed out on participating in a social gathering.

In addition, some older people’s attitude was to make multiple use of what they already have in order to meet other needs. This involved using one item

for several purposes in order to get by. In some cases this group used the same clothes for dressing during the day time and use them as nightwear at night. In other cases older people encouraged bed sharing for households in order to benefit from each other's body heat and avoid the cost of buying different bedding.

Older people from rural areas related how poverty determined their way of life. Choices about how they lived depended on the availability of resources. For example, older people reported going to bed as early as five in the evening. They finished all their work and got ready for bed the moment darkness set in. Normally, at dusk, people buy kerosene to light their homes. For the poor older person there was no need to worry about provision for lighting, since the whole household would have gone to bed at five.

7.2.3 Reciprocity

Reciprocity was a significant issue in the older people's poverty reduction strategy. Some older people spoke of offering accommodation to their children and some people they were not related to, making uncomfortable offers to support their survival. This was something they felt awkward about. But they did it with the hope of benefiting from their children or lodgers being in the same house. Their thinking was: "If my child is in the same house, surely I will not go hungry while he eats." This group seemed to forgo comfort in order to secure certainty in their life. A stranger in the house will make sure the home owner survives in order to be assured of continuing and future accommodation.

Furthermore, some participants in the study offered to foster relatives' children without cash payment. The intention behind the offer was to secure a living. This group believed that as the family brings in support in the form of food, clothes and other necessities for their children, the older person will benefit from the child's leftovers and survive. Older people long for certainty in their lives.

Older people have benefited from their family commitment as a way of surviving poverty. Through attending communal functions such as funeral rites, burial functions, marriage ceremonies, circumcision and baptism, older people are assured of survival. In African societies these family functions last several days and take place in someone's home, where food, shelter, water and other necessities are provided by the host. It is very rare not to have one of the above functions taking place in a month. Older people pay allegiance to family functions by appearing as early as possible and staying longer than expected. In the case of death in rural areas, older people can stay for over three months comforting the bereaved. By the time they think of going back to their homes, another function is taking place somewhere else. However, this kind of strategy is not sustainable.

Similarly, some older people in the study reported making several visits a year to relatives. "I make plans to visit as many relatives as I can, in order to survive." Older people living in poverty reported making several visits to different homes where they hoped to have their own needs met. Some participants have visited for as long as five months, so long as the host does

not send them away. The visit only comes to an end when another home is cited for the next visit.

Older people in poverty seem not to have the ability to prioritise in their lives. They do not have a choice over ways of life; they voluntarily accept any available support in order to survive. For example, older people in the study spoke of how the environment shapes their way of life. Survival, seems to make older people join different Christian organisations. Older persons involved with Christian organisations were likely to find it easier to fight poverty than those outside any organisation, according to older people in the study; Christianity raised their hopes and relieved poverty; they were provided with food, clothes and a shelter for the homeless.

An observation of older people's survival strategy also shows bargaining as a new way of begging. Older people in the study reported using begging in the form of negotiation in order to make ends meet. Negotiating makes older people ready to get what they need, but through begging they get it much cheaper. Long ago it was seen as shameful for older people to beg, but nowadays begging takes different forms such as negotiating.

7.3 Analysis of older people's accounts in the study

This part of the chapter contains analysis of real-life accounts based on individual experiences, drawn from interviews. They are accounts participants have given in the interview context. Even though older people's accounts contribute to the understanding of interview data, these should not be treated as facts, but rather regarded as personal accounts from people in

particular social and cultural settings (Creswell 2012). The purpose of the accounts is not to make any generalisations but to document how older people tackle poverty and examine the strategies they use. Furthermore, it is important to learn from and regard each story as an exclusive set of strategies used to fight poverty. Each piece of knowledge of anti-poverty strategies provides a way of assessing existing strategies in older people's households. The accounts also provide an opportunity to understand poverty as defined by older people. However, the validity of the accounts could be ensured through collection of evidence and clarification of what the account text is intended to present (Polkinghorne 2007).

Language explanation used by participants challenges any generalisation of findings from the study. However, in this study, emphasis on symbolic demonstration contributed to confirming claims made in the accounts (Riessman 1993). In some contexts it was important to focus on and put more time into listening and examining participants' concepts in order to bring out the complex diversity of an experience of strategies used in fighting poverty. In some instances it was clear that participants tried to avoid answering some questions about the source of strategies to fight poverty. This could be attributed to the fear of judgement by the interviewer or resistance to analysis of their anti-poverty strategies and understanding. However, during an interview it was important to let the participant know there would be more interviews on the strategies used to fight poverty. Sometimes the participants would be given more time in a different setting to present their account to a

different audience while the interviewer observed the delivery and illustrations used.

In some situations it was difficult to understand and substantiate certain strategies used by participants in fighting poverty. Strategies reflecting some training and knowledge could be verified with background information collected at the start of the interview and also by returning to participants to seek more clarification of issues that arose during the researcher's interpretation of the data. In other contexts the researcher had to send analysed information to the participant to check whether the interpretation captured the expressed meaning of the strategies used in fighting poverty. During the interviews it was crucial to empower participants by acknowledging that they are the best people to tell their story rather than anyone else, and before telling their stories they were informed of the reasons why they were selected, and this approach seems to have lifted their confidence in the study. From this empowerment, participants gave detailed information about the strategies used to fight poverty and how it contributed to poverty reduction in their households, but also provided challenges for each measure used.

This analysis further presents a closer examination of the narrative stories with references to how the story is told and why it is told the way it is told; the strength of the story in the assessment of other anti-poverty strategies; the particular method used to fight poverty; opportunities for learning new skills which some of the older people had and innovation in fighting poverty. The purpose of this study was to identify the strategies and experience used to fight poverty among older people's households. Narrative approach to

research is similar to the way individuals inquire about experience (Creswell 2012), although difficult to differentiate between the events as lived and events as told (Ochs and Capps 2009). There are certain limitations and potential disadvantages to using personal accounts or relying on accounts given in research interviews as factual evidence to be true reflections of real life experience. It is very difficult to prove that narrative accounts and experiences by participants in the study are a mirrored reflection of the meaning. Nevertheless, accounts contribute to understanding the interview data (Polkinghorne 2007).

Participants knew the reasons they had been selected were because they had been successful in addressing poverty, and this was reflected in the stories. This finding is consistent with Seidman's (2012) discussion that participants are very likely to give accounts they think are of interest to the study.

Participants tried as much as possible to make other members aware of their own meaning of fighting poverty, because of the expected benefits from participants' interactions and the context of the discussion. This confirms Polkinghorne's (2007) arguments that personal descriptions of life experience can serve to provide knowledge about neglected but significant areas of the life experience.

In the process of describing their experiences in the war against poverty, older people's accounts illustrated a range of important strategies in the fight against poverty. The study findings show that some older people have

inherited some of the assets used in addressing poverty, such as land. The past is linked to the present. Inheritance is culture, a way of life that makes a big contribution to poverty reduction among older people. In other words, older people with a sense of cultural inheritance are likely to fight poverty much more than those without cultural ties. This is in line with accounts that link the past to the present (Charmaz 1999). For example, account one in Appendix A. Kiwanuka remembers the passing away of his father at an early age, when he, Kiwanuka, was five years old and living with his grandfather in the village. He later joined his grandfather in his coffee plantation, which was later given to him by the grandfather as an inheritance from his father. Later on Kiwanuka started a bee project with the support of the government anti-poverty empowerment training programme. (Impact of government training programmes (Bee keeping). Evidence is one of the strongest tools for changing assumptions; there have been different assumptions about the effectiveness of some government poverty reduction programmes. Mr Kiwanuka's bee keeping throws more light on the success of the government programmes in training some households. Older people seem to suggest that using their own initiative to fight poverty is far better than waiting for state support or waiting for support from the state. This was revealed in an account given by an elderly person who started a bee keeping project in his community and training was provided by the government. This supports (Smythe and Murray 2000) discussion that feelings about a situation are always greater than what can be said about them, not all of the feeling one has about a situation is available in awareness. He has a network of friends and a group

of farmers who have benefited from his knowledge. He plans to expand his business by buying more bee hives and to continue sharing his knowledge with other people in the community interested in bee farming.

The nature of accounts in this study helps clarify the disparity between the input and outcome of efforts in fighting poverty. The government, for example, has tried to address poverty through several strategies using different inputs, but the outcome is different for different people. In some settings the results are exceptional, while in others the results are ordinary. Accounts used in research contribute to explaining the mis-match between the exceptional and the ordinary (Hermen 2008). Based on the research findings it is very likely that exceptional results are because of people's background and experience, level of education, literacy, level of self-esteem and self-confidence. The context of the accounts allowed for observation of actions and characters, tools and locations mentioned in the accounts. Some older people carried evidence of their products to the meeting and also used the gathering to market their products, as it is suggested that validity is one of the main challenges faced in using accounts in a research study (Pentland 1999). In the present study evidence was shown to participants. For example, in account two Appendix A (The Green Gold/Tea Story)

The founder of Gold project was part of the Wakiso focus group. During the focus group discussion, he always tried to dominate the discussion by showing his products from his green project. However, he was told to keep his contribution for an in-depth interview. Older people are involved in various anti-poverty activities at the household level, and have used their

surroundings to fight poverty. Personal accounts of life experience bring out knowledge about neglected but important areas of human capacity (Polkinghorne 2007). The Green Gold project seems to provide an opportunity for innovation in fighting poverty. Products from the project were displayed at the focus group session and members were able to look at some of products. “Every green around you is gold to fight poverty.” This was the statement by the older man who uses green to fight against poverty.

Amanda Heslop and Mark Gorman (2002) argue that attention has not been paid to older people’s own survival strategies and that there is little awareness of the real role of older people in the development process; yet these elements are important for poverty reduction. Gaining a precise view of older people’s potential in fighting poverty is necessary for anti-poverty policy development.

In some cases participants were interviewed more than once in order to check the validity of their accounts. The first interviews were in focus group discussions and the next was an in-depth interview on a one-to-one basis. This method was used because narrative literature emphasises that accounts in research do not carry facts; they are social constructs (Mishler 1990). Also it was necessary to avoid assumed conclusions from the accounts, so the interpretation of the accounts was always referred back to the narrator for confirmation of actual information. All contact information for interviewees from the field study was kept to enable follow-up contact for clarification. Permission for this was sought in advance.

A closer examination of the accounts seems to reveal contradictory statements from individuals in the study. Contradictions seem to point to buried information. In statements from focus group discussions, some older people do not mention any other party in their war against poverty. However, when they talked about their own personal experience, it became clear that the government has had a role to play in their efforts towards poverty reduction. For example, some participants claim lack of government support, but a detailed analysis of their accounts reveals contributions made by government Poverty reduction programmes. A common feature of all the stories is that the participants' past experience was closely related to the government empowerment programmes. This is not to suggest excellent work from the government but it is important to mention where the government has made a positive contribution, so as to find explanations for situations where it has failed to make contributions. For example account seven appendix A. Older people have used their anti-poverty strategies to fight poverty in their community. Some recounted how they directed their experience and knowledge in various areas of business into village and group initiatives. One participant chaired an older people's association in their village and had to carry out a needs assessment and skills audit for members in their groups in order to identify the type of projects to employ in their fight against poverty. Mr Lumu was chairman and part of the Nangabo village Elderly Association in Wakiso district. I met him through the District Development Officer and decided to visit him in his village. Lumu, now retired, formerly worked in a hotel, where he was head of the bread department. He remembered the day a

gentleman came to his village telling people to form groups and apply for the government anti-poverty support. The information about the programme was not clear and some older people thought the government was giving out money for food. Lumu talks of his decision to go and look for more information at the sub-county:

Participants' stories were also influenced by the gender, context and setting in which they were identified and presented. The women narrators seem to use a passive voice in their story and this is an indication of social relations where efforts include other members in the household. This was different from the men's accounts, where an active voice was used to describe their efforts in fighting poverty, and no other household member was mentioned in their story. This seems to confirm that stories produce personalities and construction of one's self in a certain way in front of others. For example, in account three, a single mother used the intergenerational approach. Older people in the study involved all members in their household in income generating activities. The input of family members has implications on the sharing of the outcome.

The way the stories were organised and presented could have been influenced by the pre-information to participate and talk about their experience and successful strategies used to address poverty. The stories included successes, and failed efforts were excluded, although they could foresee challenges in the future.

The influence of gender could be traced from account three in Appendix A (Collective effort). In the Bunono elderly development association, some older women were involved in associations where they felt more comfortable to share their experiences and to join hands in the fight against poverty.

Overall, the accounts provide insight about fighting poverty in older people's households and the impact of some anti-poverty measures. The accounts in the study seem to present different dimensions used to fight poverty among older people. Each story is a piece of knowledge about strategies to fight poverty. Some accounts provided grounds for assessment for various strategies used to fight household poverty. In addition, accounts from the study could create a foundation for a particular measure to fight poverty. Each story seems to provide an implication for fighting poverty in older people's households. From the study, it is apparent that older people have to initiate and exploit their potential in their efforts to fight poverty. Intergenerational strategies, as used by older people, seem to ensure household sustainability in the war against poverty. At the same time, collective effort enhances shared experience and knowledge as older people fight poverty. Experience and hard work have been identified as foundations on which most strategies started; older people with work experience are much more likely to fight poverty than those without experience.

7.4 Problem encountered in collecting narrative data

In some cases it was difficult to differentiate facts from imaginary actions, especially when it came to the effectiveness of the methods used for poverty reduction. There seems to be some exaggeration in the accounts. For example,

some mentioned benefits which sounded too good to be true, and it was difficult to verify the claims. Furthermore, it was challenging to prove some of the claims because of the limited use of some data collection methods. A participant observation method could have contributed to clarification on the methods employed in fighting poverty and first-hand information on the strategies employed could have been cross-checked. But some accounts were given from different locations far away from where participants had activities.

Overall, the validity is the degree to which results obtained from the analysis of data actually represents the occurrence being studied (Flick 2014). In this study questions were asked in several forms and illustrations were given in order to ensure understanding and build rapport with participants. Participants were encouraged to illustrate their strategies to focus group members. The study provided enough time for participants to express their experience to reflect the meaning of their original accounts. Relationships and accounts from the study have been maintained, as have the confidence and trust of participants. This has facilitated, clarification of information from participants, thereby contributing greatly to the analysis and interpretation of findings. It was vital for the study to identify and evaluate signs, symbols and metaphors used in people's accounts, so as to help in the interpretation and analysis of information.

The older people interviewed had experience and success stories relating to a range of projects, including: bee keeping, herbal medicine, marketing techniques, and employing other people. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the accounts.

7.5 Summary

This chapter has presented older people's own measures in fighting poverty. The economically active older people have used personal efforts such as farming and rearing animals, subsistence for income and home consumption, casual labouring, use of financial institutions and use of personal skills, saving and credit schemes, participation in groups and poverty reduction programmes. The minority who are not economically active used informal approaches such as forgoing meals, avoiding social gatherings, multiple use of household items (women traditionally used them in the day time, but by both husband and wife in the night), regular visits to extended family members, voluntary fostering, begging and reciprocity. In addition, accounts from respondents demonstrated how the past is linked to the present in fighting poverty, the impact of government training was also uncovered from their accounts, and how the narrative and the stories were constructed as successful experiences of responding to poverty.

Chapter Eight: Discussion of Results

8.0 Introduction

The present study examines strategies to fight poverty in Uganda, with special attention to the government, community based organisations and the methods adopted by older people to survive. The overall aim of this study is to understand why old age poverty persists despite efforts to counter it. The main questions are: What are the government and community based organisation's understanding of poverty? What explains the exclusion of older people from poverty reduction programmes? What strategies are used by CBOs to address poverty at the Sub County and how do older people address poverty in their households? In addition, the study makes recommendations for best practices to all stakeholders involved in the war against poverty. Poverty is extensive, persistent and multidimensional; its elimination is a major concern for the government, international bodies, the community and all those experiencing poverty.

The method pursued was qualitative. Direct observation of study participants was done, in-depth and semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions were conducted. The older people expressed their life experiences. This chapter is divided into four sections. The one section 8.1 discusses the conceptualisation of poverty emphasising some diverse features between sectors' and older people's perspectives. This is followed by the section 8.2 discussing what explains the continued exclusion of older people from antipoverty interventions and why older people remain in poverty

despite efforts to counter it. The final section 8.3 draws out the main conclusions of the study addressing all the four research questions.

8.1 Conceptualisation of poverty

The study examined the understanding of poverty among government, CBOs and older people. The findings showed that the understandings of poverty among government officials, CBOs and older people were diverse. Debates about the conceptualisation of poverty have traditionally focused on the distinction between absolute and relative ideas (Geddes and Benington 2001). The government's and CBO's official views of poverty do not seem to differ much, but when it comes to identification of the poor then differences occur. The research demonstrates that both sectors support the monetary perspective of poverty and identify minimum income and expenditure in terms of a level of consumption below which poverty is identified. This understanding has its roots in an absolute perspective on poverty. Relative poverty is usually understood in terms of the relationship between the living standards of the poor and of others, whereas absolute approaches set a level of income (usually in monetary terms) as the minimum on which you can live and say you are poor if your income falls below it. This seems to be the government's perspective of poverty. This appears to suggest that government and CBOs have always been informed by quantitative poverty research and measurement. Nevertheless, this kind of understanding which is based on quantitative methods has been criticised for neglecting the relational aspects which are better investigated through the use of qualitative research (Abe and Pantazis 2014).

The study further revealed that, after the government participatory assessment in 1998, the official definition of poverty widened to include poverty as lack of employment and survival opportunities due to social exclusion, ignorance, powerlessness, lack of knowledge and material resources (IMF 2003). This suggests that qualitative inquiry has served to widen government understanding of poverty in the recent past. Although the government seems to have employed a multi-dimensional approach to poverty, the economic approach using monetary indicators is still used to measure poverty and identify the poor.

The review of documents showed that a poor Ugandan is one who lives on less than \$1.20 (about Uganda shillings 3,170) per day (Anguyo 2013). This Ugandan definition of poverty is based on income. However, using this understanding of poverty seems to exclude some people in society. Lu (2012) argues that using income in the identification of the poor has an implicit policy bias in favour of private income generation rather than public goods' provision. Lu's concerns are further confirmed in the NDP (2010) statement that the private sector will remain the engine of growth and development other concerns including poverty reduction, action against corruption and democratic development are seen through the liberalisation policy (Fukuyama 2002).

While older people in the study view poverty from a relative perspective, this seems different from the government and CBO's view of poverty. Findings reveal that relational aspects as presented in the themed section of chapter five show how older people experience and view poverty.

Examining older people's understanding of poverty focused on qualitative methods. The older people expressed the view that failure to support their household's basic needs such as education, food, water and shelter was poverty. Older people used different concepts to explain poverty such as: social obligation, poor health and anxiety, lack of capability, money, assets, employment and information. Older people's understanding of poverty seems to suggest that their experience of poverty is multifaceted. Perhaps more significant was the sense of hopelessness in not being able to meet their grandchildren's education requirements, indicating a failure in meeting their household social obligations.

As Townsend (1997) also emphasised, below a certain level of income people are no longer able to fulfil certain social obligations. The intentions of older people in the study were to fight poverty and provide support for household members such as grandchildren's education. This seemed to go beyond an individual concept to that of the household. A qualitative method of inquiry revealed older people's wider understanding of poverty. From basic needs, the definition expanded to include all unmet needs in their household. "In traditional basic needs approach, the basic needs in terms of goods and services usually include food, water, sanitation, shelter, clothes, basic education, health services and public transportation" Asselm and Anyck (2001:22).

All in all, the government, CBOs' and older people's concepts and definitions of poverty were diverse; this may serve to foster a more cohesive view of what the approach to poverty should include. The diverse

understanding of poverty is an indication of the multidimensional nature of poverty. Contextual limitations affect one's understanding of poverty. Poverty is a huge and complex phenomenon, too difficult and complex to describe from one perspective. However, an examination of the combination of all the aspects of poverty seems to bring out the comprehensive understanding of poverty. Poverty among older people is multifaceted. Just because people have different perspectives of poverty should not limit a comprehensive understanding of and approach to poverty. Defining and understanding poverty in a broader way is key to policy change.

8.2 Older people's exclusion from poverty reduction programmes

The study noted that old age poverty persists despite efforts to combat it. This section discusses the continued exclusion of older people from antipoverty interventions and explains why it persists. It includes the following subsections: income approach to poverty reduction and how it excludes older people, government's limited knowledge of older people's strategy for poverty reduction and its effect on policy, the universalism approach and how it excludes vulnerable groups, the government's limited social expenditure and its impact on anti-poverty programmes, how group formation for poverty reduction programmes excludes older people, networks and partnerships for poverty reduction, decentralisation of and participation in poverty reduction programmes and finally the limited capacity of implementers.

8.2.1 Income approach to poverty reduction

The Ugandan government employs a combination of economic liberalisation and universalism programmes to tackle poverty at the Sub County level. The income approach is commonly used by government with the objective to increase opportunities for economic and social achievement. Government's perspective is that poverty is predominantly due to low income and that the poor need to increase their income in order to participate in the market economy and supplement employment income. This is reflected in the government's approach to target support to productive larger scale farmers (Walker 2013). Documents reviewed showed that while government pools "its resources to support private sector growth and development to lower the cost of doing business in Uganda" (Budget speech 2013/14), the majority of older people reported that they were economically active, but they lacked assets and could not afford large scale production and were unable to qualify for government support. This implies that the strategies used to select participants for government support seemed to neglect the poorest and those without assets.

Government support for private sector growth appears to reflect its view that, liberalisation and privatisation lead to getting prices right, increasing profits, more capital accumulation, new production, more jobs and high labour productivity resulting in improved income among the poor (Kotz 2003). However, Bahiigwa (2005) rejects this approach and insists that the private sector is not instrumental in achieving poverty reduction. As Chukwudu (2013) acknowledges, potential economic growth need not

necessarily manifest itself in more jobs. He further states that, there may be jobless growth, and people who want work cannot find as much work as they would like. There is evidence that some firms accumulate profits, but do not invest them in the country where the profits were made. Instead they invest in countries of origin or wherever they think they will make the highest return. According to Lu (2009), for capital accumulation to be more meaningful in addressing poverty, it is important for the government to implement laws to direct the investment of the accumulated capital to stay in the country. Marxist social structure of accumulation shows that capital accumulation could take different forms depending on the type of regulation government uses in support of the whole system (Kotz 2003). This is consistent with Kirchoff's (1994) research findings, which confirm that firms tend to exploit the poor via the markets. Therefore, with this approach the poor seem to be excluded.

Community driven development (CDD) was an income transfer programme for economic empowerment targeted at the capable poor who are economically excluded (NPA, 2011). It attached conditions to participation, which were applied before an individual joined the programme. However, when it came to older people in poverty, some of the conditions seemed economically and culturally beyond their reach, technically eliminating the economically active older people. Income transfer programmes required co-investment by the participant in an income generating activity but many low-income older people could not afford to contribute. This requirement excluded them from participation therefore poverty reduction programmes were dominated by those with the greatest social, political and economic

backing within the community. In line with Barrientos (2010) arguments that participation in the labour market can be an effective strategy for older people with high potential earnings, but that it is unlikely to be an effective strategy for older people with low or average skills and productivity. .

NAADS, the human development agricultural programme, was another of the large scale poverty reduction programmes providing direct transfer in cash and in kind with the objective of empowering over 75 per cent of Uganda's population. The programme selected beneficiaries on the grounds of income and physical capability. Capability was emphasised as a requirement for eligibility to participate in the government's poverty reduction programmes. In this context, capability referred to the physical and economic status of an individual. However, owing to the strong relationship between old age and incapability, this method tacitly omits older people in poverty (Suri, et al. 2009). The NAADS programme is one of the government's approaches to poverty reduction which were not generally viable for older people. Older people's characteristics pointed to their continued exclusion of from anti-poverty programmes. "Antipoverty programmes have age-related exclusions which reduce their effectiveness in addressing old age poverty and vulnerability." (Barrientos 2013, p.21).

Similarly, Barrientos (2013) notes that the conditions of eligibility for government programmes might exclude the individual least able to comply. This was also reflected in an older person's words in the study from Wakiso District: "With government programmes, it is survival of the fittest; an older person like me who has no assets and no income cannot be selected to benefit

from NAADS programmes, because I may fail to pay back.” Some families eligible for poverty reduction programmes may fail to meet the conditions through no fault of their own (Haushofer and Shapiro 2013). As argued by Shenton (2004) and Khuluq (2008) the inexperienced government officials have misinterpreted the empowerment approach and contributed to the poor design and implementation of poverty reduction projects. For the development of human capital, the vulnerable groups of older people would need extra programmes to raise them to the ability level that is required by government poverty reduction programmes.

The older people who tried to address poverty were very hard working. They used the phrase: “Poverty is a nasal hair that requires personal effort to remove.” They mentioned hard work, involvement in group activities and CBO skills training as means by which the older people could fight poverty. The skills they acquired enhanced their personal effort to fight poverty in their households. However, the older people from the urban area (Wakiso District) pointed out that the low asset base eliminated them from participating and benefiting from government anti-poverty programmes. This is in line with the findings of Gubrium and Lodemel (2014) in which NAADS farmers spoke of how vulnerable people were least likely to gain access to resources through poverty reduction programmes in their area. This exemplifies that government programmes face numerous challenges in meeting the government's objective to reduce poverty by half by 2015.

The income strategy fails in both identification and targeting of the poor (Maxwell 1999). Kalasa (2005) argues that policies traditionally

employed to fight poverty are usually designed with the intention of improving the productivity of poor people, yet the income approach is misleading and results in a bias in policy choices in favour of the generation of private income as against public goods provision (Laderchi, Saith and Stewart 2003). Meanwhile, economic liberalisation has failed to target those in poverty and that explains the neglect of older people in poverty. In view of the above, Barrientos (2013) suggests that, income transfer programmes targeted at the poorest are likely to select older people due to the strong association between age and poverty.

In contrast to the failures of the income strategy outlined above, CBOs have used the income approach strategy for poverty reduction with significant results. They targeted and mobilised their members to generate income and start saving through community banks. This finding was consistent with Patel's (2005) study where older people were involved in income generating activities that made school uniforms at affordable prices (Lombard and Kruger 2009). From this strategy CBOs seem to reduce exclusion by matching the need to the capability of the poor in addressing problems.

Experience and knowledge gained from meeting older people in poverty was the force behind CBO's interventions to reduce poverty. The present study noted that a number of CBO chairpersons had experienced poverty and drawn on that to design approaches and social plans for poverty reduction. As children growing up in households of older people in poverty, they saw poverty at first hand and experienced the nature and ineffectiveness of some government poverty reduction programmes. Indeed drawing on

experience was the reason behind the approaches of five out of the six CBOs studied. Details of these organisations are in Chapter 6. Their poverty reduction approaches reflect the experience of living and working with older people. In Wakiso for instance, the founder member of one of the community based organisations, Ssentrich, was an orphan who grew up in poverty with his grandparent. Growing up in that environment taught him that help and advocacy for orphans in older people's households in poverty were two major ways of addressing poverty. Unlike other organisations, Ssentrich did not charge a membership fee. At the time of this study this organisation had 89 registered members that were supported together with their household with monthly necessities. This confirms Johnson's (1997) argument that the most effective approach to poverty reduction should take experience as a starting point not an end. Some of the CBOs made a remarkable contribution to mobilising older people to participate in poverty reduction programmes. Indeed their achievements in practical terms were a significant part of the new approaches which the government used in methods of operation in the implementation of poverty reduction programmes.

CBOs' use of experience in their approach to poverty reduction allows for men and women, young and old with experience, those usually unseen and unheard, to be actively involved in policies and programmes that affect those in poverty. Several writers agree that CBOs may be better placed to respond to and provide services for the needs of older people in poverty (Bowen 2008). However, it was noted that the approaches purely based upon founder member's experience had some limitations regarding the

beneficiaries' views. For instance it was very difficult to ascertain from members whether the organisations truly benefitted them. At one point some of the older people in poverty did not seem to remember the provisions that the founder member claimed to have given to the households. County, Lakes and County (2013) argue that efforts should be made to consult people living in poverty. This is in line with the view that although CBOs seem to contribute to inclusion of older people in poverty reduction programmes, there seemed to be pockets of exclusion within their operations. A top down method of organisation with limited beneficiary participation did not help all members of the community.

8.2.2 Older people's strategies for poverty reduction

Government's limited knowledge of older people's strategy for poverty reduction leads to formulation of policies that exclude older people. It was confirmed from government documents that state: "Older persons are generally too weak to perform productive work and are economically dependent on others" (UNHS 2009, p.137). However, the present study reported that even though older people tend to lack physical strength, they were engaged in various economic activities and were the main providers of basic needs to their households as presented in Figure 5, Chapter 6. This is contrary to the government's earlier generalisation. Additional literature reveals that older family members are active particularly in the rural areas (Cohen 2006). They look after children, do domestic work and make contributions in cash and kind to the household economy (Kalasa 2005). In the absence of other forms of support, older people in poverty employed

methods that address the multi-dimensional nature of poverty; their strategies went beyond the monetary dimension to fight poverty. Study findings further revealed that older people in rural areas used barter exchange to acquire what they needed but could not afford via the market.

The above discussion regarding the government's approach to poverty reduction seems to consider an individual and not a household. Yet from the study findings, an intergenerational approach was a technique used by older people in poverty reduction initiatives. Older people reported that they used their children and grandchildren to fight poverty. In this strategy the whole household was involved in projects for income generation. One older person mentioned that: "In this project I make sure that all children in this household know how important the chicken project is in my home. They have got to know that without chickens, we cannot afford food, school fees, and other necessities." This implied that everybody in the household was responsible for the good of the project. The study showed that older people that moved out of extreme poverty put emphasis on the importance of the young generation to maintain household projects. They realised that poverty was not only an individual problem but a household phenomenon. So they depended on their household to provide labour and sustainability for household projects. As Gorman and Heslop (2002, p.1149) noted, the importance of these intergenerational exchanges to the well-being of older and younger generations cannot be overestimated.

Some older people seemed to be economically inactive but they had strategies for survival. Findings from the study showed that they lived a hard

life but coped using various means: going without some basic needs, multiple use of household items, sharing their houses with strangers, voluntary fostering, visiting others and attending community functions. Further analysis of older people's strategy revealed informal begging behaviour among older people in poverty. It was reported that some older people are more likely to resort to begging than borrowing to meet their daily necessities. Others avoided social gatherings and participation; they argued that this saved them from spending on transport and any expenditure that would come as a result of leaving their homes. Although this may be a good strategy for survival, it is very likely to cause vulnerability to social isolation and loneliness, as Windle et al (2011) argue. In line with these findings, the family structure can also serve as a method to older people's survival. Older people with more than one child move from one child's home to another (Lopez 1991; Martin and Preston, 1994). Furthermore, Eboiyehi (2010) argues that the aged have employed survival strategies which include dependence on an aged spouse, social service providers, church members and friends. Another approach they reported was joining different religious groups in their community, where they expected support from fellow members. The discussion above shows that, even though antipoverty programmes exclude older people, they have developed several coping mechanisms. The key strategies used by the slightly better off older people were: experience, capability, participation in CBOs activities, skills development, small scale farming, rearing animals (for both home consumption and income), providing labour acquiring loans from financial institutions, earning and saving and use of personal skills. The

findings from this study reinforce the diverse strategies employed by older people to fight poverty. . This is further supported by Ramashala's (2002) recommendation that policy consideration should take into account well founded strategies to decide between the well and active older people, the disabled and the frail.

8.2.3 Government's universal approach versus CBOs' targeted approach

Training and education programmes are other methods the government has used to strengthen poor people's human capital. The Universal Primary Education programme (UPE), for example, provides support for four children per household to attend free education. This is an example of a poverty reduction programme which is general in its approach. Others include: Primary Health Care (PHC), CARIG and LGMSDP. The first few years of UPE implementation saw a rise in school enrolment from 3.1 million pupils in 1996 to 7.6 million pupils in 2003 (African Development Bank 2005), and UPE received greater political and public support and covered a wider scope than the targeted programmes. However, research findings showed that those in absolute poverty were not capable of participating in some universal programmes because of the multi-dimensional nature of poverty. A number of older people from rural areas reported that children from their households did not attend school due to lack of school requirements such as school uniform, money for porridge and books. These are what Shepherd (2011, p.3) refers to as: "the concealed costs such as school uniforms, transport, and long distance."

Bantebya, Kyomuhendo and Mwine also argue against the idea that poverty is universal and all families deserve public aid. Special attention needs to be given to the groups in greatest poverty within the setting of universal strategies to ensure that the poor older people get maximum benefit from the programmes. There should be “policies facilitating the social and economic inclusion of groups in extreme poverty” (Barrientos 2013, p.9). This is in line with Hulme and Shepherd’s (2003) argument that households of older people in extreme poverty may require more intensive targeted services within universal programmes.

Research findings revealed that, older people were not the same: there were those who are economically active using personal effort to survive and there is the minority who were not economically active and were worse off in poverty, living a hard life. This confirms arguments that the old are not a homogenous group ((Katz, Holland and Peace 2013). Therefore, programmes should be designed to meet the specific needs of the people they are targeting. The ideal assistance should put into consideration their social and economic factors alongside age in designing a programme that will help in their poverty eradication. CBOs approaches is different because they target older people in poverty. Contrary to government’s approach, CBOs use training and empowerment as human development programmes for older people in poverty. They employ skills and possessions audit techniques to target participation of older people in poverty. CBOs emphasised that the poor are not a homogeneous group. The strength of CBOs lies in the identification and

classification of the poor in categories for targeting and this seems to contribute to the inclusion of older people in poverty reduction projects.

This research revealed that identification and classification of the poor in categories was vital in designing appropriate strategies to fight poverty. Gaining an accurate view of the older people's material situation is essential for the development of policies that target the needs of older people in the context of scarce resources (Lloyd-Sherlock 2006). Therefore, through CBOs' identification of the poor, and conducting of skills audits and material assessments, the human development projects in community based organisations would easily target the needs of those in poverty. CBOs, such as Ssentrich Foundation often target older people and the children in their households and they tend to match the needs of older people to the poverty reduction activities. The strategies used in CBOs without exception seem to target the households of the poor and poorest.

For community based organisations, the findings from this study showed that various techniques were employed to provide access for older people to participate in poverty reduction programmes. It was shown that in Sub Counties where older people were denied access to government programmes such as NAADS and CDD, the establishment of CBOs in the community had opened access for individuals not eligible for government programmes. In the CBO's approach, the eligibility to qualify for support was assessed on a group basis and the chances of qualification for older people were higher than when they applied as individuals. For example, Mirembe Farmers' Association advised members to join the government poverty

reduction programmes such as NAADS and CDD to benefit from the funds available. The association secured some money from ADRA, an NGO operating in Luwero and helped organise vulnerable people. It bought goats and started a goat rotation scheme. The details of the strength of this method are covered in Chapter 6.

Age friendly programmes by CBO's were another technique used to increase older people's access to poverty reduction programmes. The economic activities carried out by CBOs seem appropriate to older people and this seems to explain why older people are more likely to join CBO programmes than government programmes. The CBOs' approaches appear to have attracted much older participants than the government's approach. The study revealed that CBOs had over 31 per cent of older people aged above 70 years compared to just 5 per cent of participants in the government programmes. Although it was too early to evaluate the impact of their activities on poverty reduction, CBOs' participation requirements such as; Physical strength, knowledge and skills were within the capability of the older persons. Some of these activities were undertaken at home and the necessary resources were within easy reach. Also, members were given the choice to decide on the type of activity to join. Even non-monetary means were identified and used to address poverty. For example, bartering or exchanging goods or services is one way to overcome the concept of economic poverty which sees a lack of income or money as an indicator of poverty. Bradshaw (2007) contends that community based organisations provide effective

pathways out of poverty that can generate opportunities for low income households.

8.2.4 Government's limited social spending

The Ugandan government allocates limited resources to social spending (Tibaiduhira 2012). It can be observed that spending on agriculture, water and the environment made up just a small fraction of social budgets compared to spending on education, public management and public administration. However, spending in all areas, except agriculture, increased considerably during the last ten years. (Figure 4 in Chapter 4 shows the development of public spending on these areas). Strangely, agriculture the biggest occupation of Uganda's population, is still underdeveloped and poorly funded yet it remains a universal remedy for poverty reduction in Africa according to Agholor and Obi (2013). Limited government expenditure is a central feature of the neoliberal approach. Findings from the study showed that Uganda devoted the smallest share of its resources to public poverty reduction income transfer programmes and social development.

The government's 2013/2014 budget, clearly confirms the findings of this study. Government allocated just 394.4 billion out of 13,169 billion Ugandan shillings, 3 % a percentage of three of the national budget, to agriculture. This amount is too small to address productivity challenges. The agricultural sector employs about 75 per cent of the population (Bakunda 2014). However, in this study over 90 per cent of the participants were involved in agriculture. The government's reduced expenditure focuses on

household food security and social transfers for poverty reduction (Tibaiduhira 2012), yet in Uganda investing in agriculture and spending more on major sectors such as social security, health, energy and water, while reducing expenditure on unproductive areas such as public management, leads to greater poverty reduction (Sennoga and Matovu 2013).

Government action seems to indicate that there is a mismatch between the government's priorities and where it puts its money. This confirms Member of Parliament Okao's statement that, "We talk of agriculture as the backbone to the country's economy; the actual allocations speak a different language." (Hickey 2013; Tabaire and Okao 2010, p.4). The modest expenditure on agriculture can be explained by statements of the Minister of Finance at that time that the government does not own farms and is not involved in agriculture (Kiwauka 2013), therefore the development of agriculture has been left to the private sector. However, social policy analysis insists that inputs have far-reaching effects on the outcome of policy. Therefore, in order to strengthen the effectiveness of agriculture as a way of addressing poverty, special attention needs to be paid to strengthening the productive capacity of households in poverty. In a nutshell, government's limited expenditure on agriculture negatively impacts on older people's opportunities for poverty reduction.

8.2.5 Group formation for poverty reduction

The study showed that government action to reduce poverty indicated a high emphasis on group formation. This approach is said to have come from

a social exclusion perspective, a concept that has been gradually extended to developing countries through the activities of various UN agencies such as the International Labour Institute and Social Summit (Haan 1998). The group formation strategy required people to form groups in order to access poverty reduction programmes in their sub-counties. The assumption behind this approach is that poverty is related to more factors than income and goes far beyond the monetary approach (Lawson, McKay and Okidi 2003). The approach assumes that: “one of the basic ways to combat poverty is to strengthen the social networks which are considered as social capital” (Dini and Lippit 2009). The findings of this study regarding older people’s experience with the government strategy of group formation revealed a different story from the assumptions of social capital. Social spending on poverty reduction programmes favours those who are better off (Castro-Leal’s 1999). Statements made by older people in the study reflected these views: “we are always discriminated against” “We are often classified lowest in our groups.”

Classification within the group seemed to be based on social, economic, physical and educational status. This led to older members in the group appearing at the bottom of the strata, a position that denied some of them the services offered. They missed the benefits of group information, group support and participation in the group’s activities. Some older people described an atmosphere of fear and distrust among the members in their groups. This indicated that the integration of groups in society did not automatically lead to poverty reduction; it all depended on the social structure

within the society and the environment in which the social groups were operating. In her research Schaaf (2010) pointed out that strategies endorsing groups in order to increase a sense of community unity for poverty reduction are challenging. The government's view that a community can and should be made up of coherent sets of collective activities is idealistic. Schaaf concluded that groups have a limited influence on a community and its members. Based on the research findings of the present study, it could be argued that the factors that threaten kinship and the traditional extended family could still be the same factors that are weakening the group formation strategy. Adler (2000) cautions that as people stop trusting each other in a groups the group is more likely to be weakened.

The group formation technique was also a major feature of the community based poverty reduction programmes. CBOs made significant efforts to encourage older people group participation. While groups participating in government programmes were formed to comply with conditions for receiving funding, Groups formed under CBOs collectively share the responsibility for acquiring start-up capital; they are able to build wealth and assets to ensure their financial security (McKinley 2013). CBO groups had been in existence for some time; in the late 1990's and early 2000's CBOs started to fight against poverty on an ever wider scale. They mobilised older people to join social networks known as Nigina. These were groups formed by neighbours within a village who decided to tackle social problems in their households. This action prompted the government's decision to incorporate community groups in its development agenda, but

Nigina groups had to change their identification to CBOs and register at the Sub County level. Discussing the existence of community groups, Krakow (2009); Hoem (2008); Namatovu, et al (2003); Kyomuhendo and Mwine (2013); Bantebya, Muhangi and Watson (2013) highlight the significant social impact made by Nigina groups in Uganda within a short time, to the extent of threatening the political arena at lower local government levels

An example of success at group formation was the Nangabo Village Elderly Association. The group used the approach of fighting poverty by establishing group projects as well as individual projects. It was funded by the Uganda CDD programme and the method used originated from a Luganda proverb which says: “too many rats do not make a shelter for themselves.” Although it is commonly said that two heads are better than one, older people in this study believed that, whenever there was work to do in a group, members tended to shy away from their responsibilities and minimal work was done. In this context the association decided to embark on a project as a group for a stipulated period of time, and thereafter proposals from group members with individual projects were invited. By the time of this study three separate businesses had started from the mother bakery business (details are in chapter 6). The idea of establishing individual projects separate from the group project came after they observed the challenges faced by community group projects in their locale. Members were given the opportunity to invest in various businesses of their own choice based on their own capabilities. When they made profits, a percentage was sent back to the mother project to cater for the basic needs of group members. The financial discipline of

keeping a percentage of the profits to cater for basic needs was followed in the individual projects.

The collective support and experience gained from belonging to a group were a features used by older people to address extreme poverty. It was observed from the study that older people with more experience and local knowledge benefited more from the government programmes than those with limited experience and local knowledge. Collective support enhanced the acquisition of skills and knowledge for those willing to learn and apply the acquired skills. This finding reflects how government can enhance older peoples' efforts to fight poverty. For example, NAADS a government antipoverty programme is one of the human development programmes widely used in empowerment. Narrative stories revealed that through the government study trips, workshops, knowledge and skills training at the Sub-County level, some older people managed to successfully address extreme poverty. This finding could be used as evidence to support the idea that successful intervention from respondents in the study can be attributed to the experience of beneficiaries at the Sub-County level. This finding was illustrated in statements made by older people participating in the government antipoverty programmes: "I also fight poverty through bee keeping which I started having been trained by NAADS." (Bee farmer).

8.2.6 Networks and Partnerships in fighting against poverty

The government has encouraged partnerships in its strategy to fight poverty. Drawing on the in-depth interviews and document reviews, the findings suggested that partnerships were the initiative of the central government. However, the findings revealed that the different aspects of poverty were dealt with by different bodies the division of responsibilities between the implementing, bodies tended to produce selectiveness, confusion and inconsistency in the programmes. Participants in the partnership were actually representatives of interest groups and the partnerships did not seem to have a formal framework or legal status. At the Sub-County level, research findings revealed that, community involvement in partnerships existed in local community groups such as older people's organisations, CBOs and farmers' forums. However, the benefiting community did not seem to be directly involved in the programme development and implementation. The older people want to participate in policy processes and programmes that affect their lives (United Nations 2005). Therefore, the limited participation of older people led to the neglect of local needs and problems in policy design.

Regarding partnerships and CBOs, the latter have a long history of a close relationship with the local community and development partners. Although this research included a small scale study of CBOs approaches, the findings showed the high levels of partnership between CBOs and corporate bodies in the same area. Some of these partnerships grew out of the initiatives of the CBOs and community associations to advocate for the rights of older

people and expose their plight in poverty. For example, the Akamuka investment club a CBO in the study had connections with hospitals in the area and older people benefited from free medical services. The club requested for the provision of essential needs to older people; corporate bodies in the area made the provisions and the members of the club benefited from the support in terms of mattresses, clothes and food. Through lobbying Ssentrich another secured and boosted health care among the elderly through the provision of free and prompt medical care for old people. In their assessment of the impact of poverty reduction programmes, Kessy et al, (2013) advocate proper linkages to other services, otherwise the gains made in other areas in fighting poverty among older people may be lost.

Some problems faced by older people could be solved through lobbying and partnership. This was realised by WEDC, another CBO in the study. Thanks to foreign well-wishers, the organisation managed to provide reading glasses to 30 per cent of its members who had sight difficulties. This problem had excluded the old from several activities such as reading their grandchildren's school reports, writing and revising their own and others' wills and agreements, reading the Bible and contributing to church services. WEDC also benefited from links with local businesses. The organisation brought in entrepreneurs to share their experiences with its members, who learned how to set up and maintain income generating and understand the requirement for credit from financial institutions. The members acquired knowledge and skills from their regular meetings and the WEDC offices became a place for members to meet and discuss current social, political and

economic issues. There were times when WEDC officials brought and read weekly newspapers; they then discussed the issues raised. This helped many older people to feel part of the contemporary community. WEDC members also participated in national celebrations like the Ugandan Independence Day and older people's days. The visits from experts expanded to include talks and discussions about current issues in the country and the community. The partnership approach most likely reduced older people's loneliness and ignorance of their surroundings. WEDC and other grassroots associations listened to and asked for member's views on the design and implementation of projects; these partnerships proved successful in the inclusion of older people to fight poverty.

8.2.7 The effects of decentralisation on poverty reduction programmes

In 1992, Uganda adopted the decentralisation strategy as an overall guideline for governance and poverty eradication. The idea originated from the desire to establish a strong relationship between the community and government institutions in a participatory approach to poverty reduction which was based on programmes at the Sub County level. The decentralisation of governance is generally defined as the devolution of power, resources and assets from the upper to the lower levels of the government (Agholor and Obi 2013). However, older people's experience of government programmes, as reported in Chapter 5 of this thesis, revealed that participation did not help their situation. Findings confirmed that the decentralisation method of operation was not fully upheld in the

implementation of the government poverty reduction programmes. The transfer of authority from central to local government to perform certain duties to increase service delivery was only partial in some programmes. Statements made by older people not involved in any poverty reduction programme reflected these views. Participants commented: “I do not know of any government programme to help me escape poverty, and I do not know how to get government funding.”

The goal behind the decentralisation strategy was to include the poor in the policy making process, pay more attention to the local knowledge and encourage bottom-up development (Brett 2003). If older people in poverty are to participate in poverty reduction programmes through a decentralisation strategy, then they have to be aware of the existing programmes in their area otherwise participation doesn't help their situation. Their participation should include: decision making, project implementation, involvement in networking and partnerships, maintenance of a bottom-up approach, contribution of local knowledge to link problems to programmes, establishment of a good relationship with the service providers and ensuring accountability. Beneficiaries should know how to access the available programmes easily, have information about their rules and regulations, and know how to exercise their rights and obtain their entitlements. The research findings showed that, although it was a legal right for older people to politically participate in decision making, there was no legal right to social participation in the government programmes. The participants of focus group discussions reported a lack of information for people on how to demand their

rights and entitlements. Some participants insisted that they did not know where to go for services, while others claimed not to have information about the existing services and others mentioned that they lacked knowledge of the eligibility criteria for the programmes. The lack of knowledge and legal right to social participation could be some of the reasons for poor accountability and the limited citizen participation that has resulted in poor programme implementation and exclusion of older people. This is consistent with the argument that there may be limits to the flow of information; at times communication may be limited in some way (Ray 2006).

Decentralisation is unlikely to lead to more pro-poor outcomes without a thoughtful effort to reinforce and develop accountability mechanisms at both local and national levels (Crook 2003). Help Age (2008) further confirms that older people are unable to access services they are entitled to by right. In some programmes there was a condition to subscribe in order to participate. This is in line with Cornwall's (2007) discussion that participation by those in poverty is not straightforward and a number of conditions exist for their acceptance and participation in programmes. Decentralisation challenges were also identified in CBOs' poverty reduction programmes, although they reported inclusion of members in decision making, management and financial matters. They had an open and transparent system where all members had a say in the operation of their organisations. However, the study found that there were some members that did not seem to have knowledge of the projects in their organisations. This is in line with the arguments of Véron et al. (2006) that the decentralisation approach is not an

effective answer for reducing poverty, even where the local community is correctly informed of the organisation's programmes.

8.2.8 Weak implementation

In Uganda the war on poverty moved from the central government to Sub Counties as part of the decentralisation policy, but the study showed that, the implementing capacity at the Sub-County level appeared to fail the endeavour. This can be inferred by the president's statement on the institutional structure and the war on poverty.

“...Use the Sub-Counties like the war zones we used to have. We shall use soldiers and deputies to implement and help, working with local leaders to implement projects...” (President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, 2014).

Findings from the study seemed to support the President's disappointment in the implementing institution's capacity. There seemed to be a certain lack of adaptability on the part of the local governments and implementing officers. From observation, the majority of the officers had not stayed in the job for a long time and they also seemed to be involved with other businesses and their job at the Sub County seemed to be a part-time job. Job satisfaction appeared to be low. The findings confirmed a previous study showing that it is the implementation of the policies that fail the poor (Lwanga-Ntale and McClean 2003). In addition, as the government invests in infrastructure to alleviate poverty, Nyende et al (2010) argue that not all the

resources reach the beneficiaries due to capacity challenges, both among the staff and service providers.

8.3 Conclusion

In summary, this study found that the Government and CBO's official view of poverty did not seem to differ much, but when it came to identification of the poor then differences arose. The research demonstrated that both parties supported the monetary perspective on poverty and identified minimum income and expenditure in terms of a level of consumption below which poverty is recognised. This understanding has its roots in an absolute perspective on poverty. Meanwhile, older people's perspectives on poverty included a wide range of deprivations in their households, such as the inability to send their grandchildren to school. Older people used a relative concept to define poverty.

The findings further revealed that, although Uganda has made significant progress in fighting poverty in the country as a whole, many older people in poverty have not been part of this progress, because they are excluded, and poverty still persists despite government actions. The main challenge is that poverty reduction approaches are too narrow to measure up to the scale and nature of poverty faced by older people in Uganda. The government's neoliberal approach excludes older people in poverty, and treating older people as a homogenous group limits the understanding of the abilities and dimensions of those in poverty. These could be some of the reasons behind the adoption of inappropriate strategies to fight poverty among older people.

The study highlights to the CBO's significant method of consultation with the target groups in designing anti-poverty programmes and creating access to and support for the participation of older people in poverty reduction programmes. By participating in CBOs' programmes, older people felt they developed their skills through training. They joined income generating projects and participated in saving and credit facilities through community banks, their approaches also included non-monetary means. As none of the CBOs analysed above had existed for more than 10 years, it was difficult to evaluate their impact on poverty reduction among older people. However their methods provided examples of good practices to people involved in poverty reduction among the older population. Nevertheless, with the limited publicity, their influence on government policies may be limited. This study concludes that government approaches seem to exclude the older people in poverty but CBOs and older people's methods could inform our policy design and improve efforts to reduce poverty among the older people.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

9.0 Introduction

This chapter draws conclusions from the thesis as whole which considers the range of different approaches to tackling poverty among older people in Uganda. The major question was; “What explains the exclusion of older people from poverty reduction programmes?” And the three main objectives were: (1) to analyse the understanding of poverty in Uganda; (2) to examine why old age poverty persists despite efforts to counter it. (3)To identify older persons response poverty; (4) to recommend good practices to all stakeholders for reducing poverty among older persons. One hundred and twenty interviews were conducted with older people, the government officials and community based organisations (CBOs) to find answers to the research questions. In addition, a review was carried out of relevant policy guidelines and documents from the government and CBOs. This chapter is structured as follows: the next section revisits the major findings and examines how they deepen knowledge in this field; the section which follows focuses on the implications of the findings and makes recommendations for policy considerations and future research; the final section outlines the limitations of the study and makes suggestions for improvements.

9.1 Approaches used to address poverty

Qualitative in-depth interviews and focus groups were employed to address objectives 1 and 2: the definitions of poverty and the strategies used to address poverty. Analysis was restricted to three policy areas: objectives, approaches and outcomes. In this section the anti-poverty strategies of the government,

CBOs and older people anti-poverty are examined separately to address the two research objectives.

9.1.1 The Government's approach to poverty

This section combines the empirical findings to answer these research questions: What is the government's understanding of poverty? What approaches does the government employ to fight poverty? And how do the strategies contribute to the alleviation of poverty among older people?

The understanding of poverty varies among government officials. However, an analysis of government documents shows an emphasis on the monetary and multi-dimensional perspectives of poverty. Indeed, the government identification of those in poverty is based on income and closer examination reveals that the government has employed a neo-liberal monetary strategy to address poverty. At the Sub-County level the Poverty reduction programmes are general economic programmes that seem not to deal directly with those in poverty because of the fear that "they would reduce growth and make lazy beneficiaries of these policies" (Dini and Lippit, 2009: 5).

The Government's objective has been to establish relationships between communities and government bodies through the transfer of authority from central to local government to perform certain duties and increase service delivery. Alongside this objective was the intention to provide a bottom-up approach through collective and community participation. A document review further revealed that the Government's intentions are influenced by a

neo-liberal perspective of poverty. The Government's intentions are made clear in the National Planning Authority's mission of "growth, employment and economic transformation for prosperity" (NPA, 2011) and the latest budget, in which the government decided to put the biggest percentage of its resources into funding private sector growth and development. The intention was to target groups that needed economic and social inclusion in development in order to encourage participation in government Poverty reduction programmes.

Another government objective is the re-distribution of resources to increase economic growth and to this end the government employs universal programmes such as universal primary education (UPE) and primary health care (PHC). However, these programmes and their strategies fail to help those in poverty because they do not identify or target those in most need. It can be argued that UPE is government investment and not an anti-poverty programme. Poverty reduction programmes such as NAADs and CDD which provide funding, as well as those charged with the delivery of services, are often overwhelmed by current rigid financial planning and budgeting requirements that may not show how the money has been spent. In some of these programmes, funding comes from various sources and therefore local government spends a lot of time involved in budget processes and in providing accountability for different funding bodies rather than in monitoring projects. At the same time some funding authorities provide small amounts for every given activity, without considering what resources are required or what resources are already available.

Based on government intentions and objectives, the following strategies have been employed to address poverty, A decentralisation strategy has been used at the Sub-County level introducing a requirement and an arrangement to include the poor in the policy-making process. This aims to encourage bottom-up development by paying more attention to the poor (Brett E.A, 2003). However, information about older people's experience of government programmes reveals that government Poverty reduction programmes do not seem to be linked to the needs of those in poverty. This is further confirmed by Crook (2003:79) who argues that there is limited evidence that decentralisation "has resulted in policies that are more responsive to the poor".

In order to meet the government objective of inclusion, a targeted strategy was employed through human development programmes in NAADs and CDD projects. Alongside this strategy a conditional eligibility method was used to identify and target eligible participants. However, the study revealed that the rate of participation among those in poverty was much lower than the rate among the relatively poor. It is clear that conditions attached to eligibility tend to eliminate those in real poverty and favour those capable of participating, who are usually relatively poor. The strategies used to deliver the programmes seem to eliminate those in poverty from participating in government Poverty reduction programmes thus undermining the original goal of poverty reduction. There appears to be a mis-match between the objective and the design of programmes to fight poverty. The

Government's ambiguous intentions of fighting poverty seem not to be connected to the outcome of the war against poverty.

One government objective was to encourage community participation in Poverty reduction programmes. The intention was to strengthen social networks through group formation to create what is considered as social capital. This was done by providing cash and in-kind benefits to participating groups. However, the Government seems to have over-estimated the benefits of group formation. At the Sub-County level the strategy used did not seem to yield the expected results. It is very likely that the factors that have weakened the traditional support system are the same factors threatening the operation of groups aimed at poverty reduction.

At the same time the thinking behind the anti-poverty strategies is an indication of the Government's mistaken view of older people in poverty. They tend to view the poor as lazy and unfit to participate in government Poverty reduction programmes, yet most of the programmes have not addressed older people's needs. In addition, there seems to be limited accountability in the delivery of Poverty reduction programmes at the Sub-County level. As a result older people lack trust in government programmes and officials to combat poverty in their households. In fact, older people in poverty do not feel a sense of entitlement to any support. The way the Government understands and frames the nature and causes of poverty among older people seems to be wrong. Although the Government's mission is to support, mobilise and empower older people to participate in the economic growth and social development process, the measures employed seem not to

align with that mission. Findings from the study show that older people in poverty do not seem to relate to the anti-poverty strategies employed and implemented by the Government to fight poverty.

The Government's intention is to support and protect the private sector through liberation policies. This intention seems to justify the government strategy of limited social spending on Poverty reduction programmes. However, the study has revealed that there was very limited monitoring of government Poverty reduction programmes, weak partnership between community and government anti-poverty institutions, poor working conditions and poor morale and negative attitudes among government officials in charge of implementation.

9.1.2 Community Based Approaches to fight poverty

Six community based organisations were studied and analysis was restricted to the strategies used to fight poverty among older persons. Analysis of the conceptualisation of poverty revealed that the understanding of poverty among the six organisations was very similar but their strategies were slightly different. The CBOs use monetary concepts to describe the deprivation of older people in poverty, for example they insist that poverty among older people is absolute, "the older people lack basic necessities to survive". The CBOs view older people in poverty as a heterogeneous group that needs classification for poverty reduction strategies. The main objective of the CBOs is to address poverty, by identifying those in poverty and the nature of their poverty. The skills audit and assessment of possessions are used to help

in the categorisation in order to match those in poverty with the right projects and strategies. The CBOs have employed multi-activity strategies to address poverty. They have used human development projects to empower people and create income for those physically and economically able to participate. Savings and village banks are strategies employed to help those able to save and acquire credit for income generation.

With the intention of meeting the needs of older people in poverty, CBOs use networking and lobbying strategies to seek medical services from nearby private and government hospitals for those that need them. From the skills and possessions audit the CBOs objective was to overcome financial challenges by creating an environment where those in poverty are able to meet their own needs and each other's without monetary exchange. This seemed to be part of the reason for the formation of groups. Members were encouraged to complement each other by exchanging goods and services to meet their needs. Groups started meeting their household needs without monetary exchange.

Furthermore, CBOs seem to have taken on advocacy and publicity roles for those identified as vulnerable and unable to participate in economic activities and provide for themselves. The community has been called to participate in the support of those older people in poverty, encouraging them to contribute to poverty reduction in older people's households through research, and financial and material support. CBOs welcome activities that publicize the plight of those in poverty.

9.1.3 Older people's Response

Uganda made a significant move to understand poverty from the perspective of the poor. The goal was to fight poverty by widening policy formation to take into account the perspectives of those in poverty. This move also emphasize that although opinions and suggestions from service providers who interact with the poor could be of importance, an effort should be made to consult with the people experiencing poverty. In this study interviews with older people revealed that poverty is multi-dimensional. And the method of inquiry used allowed the study to gain insight into the different dimensions of poverty in people's households. For example, for the older people interviewed the inability to afford to pay for their children or grandchildren to go to school is a major consequence of poverty. This was a bit confusing because one of the Government's Poverty reduction programmes at the Sub-County level is UPE – universal primary education - a programme supposed to address this issue. Focus group discussions revealed that the contribution expected from parents was much more than they could afford, so the programmes only benefited those who were relatively poor and not those older people in absolute poverty.

The analysis of older people's strategies unearthed a number of practices that can be transferable and contribute to policies on poverty reduction. The study revealed that older people saw poverty as an individual's problem that needed personal effort to address and reduce. They identified personal experience or experience from household members which could be used to fight poverty. Older people matched their strategies to their past work

experience and insisted that those with experience found it easy to participate in familiar Poverty reduction programmes and reduce poverty than those without experience. Furthermore, the majority of older people in the study highlighted the need for experience and knowledge as key factors to strengthen and contribute to their fight against poverty, especially when individuals are encouraged to make decisions on ongoing projects.

Older people's intention in fighting poverty is to provide for the basic needs of household members, so collective participation of all household members was very common in most activities carried out. Older people felt more confident and comfortable about forming groups with family members than with strangers, so they seem to welcome the government strategy of group formation with an intention of sustainability through relationships and networks with family and friends.

Older people's choice of strategy greatly depends on availability. With regard to finance, the older people consulted in the study seemed to know the dangers of obtaining credit from financial institutions and mentioned examples of members who had problems with borrowing from financial institutions. However, with the need for money, the older people's common tendency was to access financial services from community financial institutions. The community banks encourage saving and borrowing at local rates according to affordability and members seemed to participate in those community banks.

Some older people with no regular source of income mentioned negotiation as a strategy for acquiring goods and services. This practice does not differ much from begging for provision, although this one seems more acceptable because it involves some exchange. During the interviews older people in the study revealed that their form of poverty was mainly in lack of material and capital, so they decided to offer their labour in exchange for goods and services. With the objective to exploit their potential, the majority of older people realised the need to acquire skills and knowledge. Among the strategies used were the joining of groups and training programmes to acquire skills and knowledge. However, some decried the poor motivation and lack of information from government officials involved with Poverty reduction programmes.

In describing poverty in their households, older people mentioned multiple unmet needs and it was through focus group discussions that they revealed that they were involved in variety of projects to meet their household needs. The majority of older people in the study participated in one or more activities for home consumption and income generation. To sustain the market for their products older people decided to record and keep the contact details of their customers and keep them informed of forthcoming products. In addition, nearly all the older people in the study felt that possessing a mobile phone enhanced their ability to address poverty. Nevertheless, the on-going costs to keep the phones functional were still an issue.

9.2 Implications and Recommendation

The policy implications of the findings of this study are outlined in this section, with particular attention to the strategies employed to fight poverty at the Sub-County level and how older people were involved. Knowledge of why old age poverty persists despite efforts to counter it, has the potential to make an important contribution to our understanding of the older people exclusion from government antipoverty programmes and shape appropriate policy resource.

9.2.1 Relax strict conditions required for programme participation

Older people reported great difficulty in joining government Poverty reduction programmes because of the conditions attached to participation. Conditions are used as an eligibility requirement instead of being established at the start of the programme as a requirement to be fulfilled in the course of participation. There is a need to relax the strict conditions and widen access for older people wanting to participate in government programmes. The current conditions which have to be met are preventing the older people in poverty from benefiting and instead are supporting those relatively better off. As a result, those in most need of support do not get it and those who get it do not actually need it.

9.2.2 Target services

Government should analyse their criteria for fighting poverty, given the limited resources, and implement and monitor policies which target those in

greatest need. Qualifying conditions should be used to enhance targeting, by eliminating those that are better off and not in need of immediate attention. Targeting could also be used in mainstreaming where vulnerable groups such as older people are given special attention and targeted in the general programmes. The strategies used to fight poverty should be designed to target the older people in poverty and not to exclude them from the programmes. Anti-poverty strategies should aim at providing assistance with basic needs such as providing food in older people household, increase access to appropriate health services and provision of subsidies on housing for older people in poverty.

9.2.3 Group Formation

As government programmes require members to form groups in order to access services. An assessment of group activity / performance should be made to identify the challenges faced by group members. A lack of clear guidelines on group operation is preventing some older people from participating in and benefiting from Poverty reduction programmes. Some older people have reported being pushed to the bottom of the list whenever group rotation strategies are used. (Group rotation is where profits received by the group go from one member to the other until all members are covered). Most of the time the rotation chain stops before all members is covered and it is always those at the bottom of the list that miss out. There should be a time period when the group moves on; some older people reported not knowing the time you are to stay with the group. This method leaves people uncertain of the future of the group. The findings suggest that further research should

focus on more detailed analysis of the relationship of members in the group and the hindrances faced by those socially disadvantaged.

Group formation is also used by CBOs but the groups seem to operate differently from those in government programmes. Commenting on the method used in this type of group, a group chairman stated, "Fighting poverty is done in a group, farming together as a group." In this type of organisation, all members sit down to discuss and decide on the type of crop to grow that is marketable. Participation in this type of group is by everybody and not just a few people. Organisations should beware of those members who seem to dominate the group and hinder other people's freedom to participate equally, everybody should be treated the same regardless of social class.

9.2.4 Motivation and strengthening of implementing institutions.

National policies designed to combat poverty which are left to local government to implement are often the least effective programmes with unclear results. Information from government officials revealed that officers were not happy with their jobs and they complained of poor working conditions. Morale among government officers appeared to be low and the majority were planning to move on to other opportunities outside government programmes, search for better jobs or had plans for further education. The dissatisfaction at work could have been related to several issues such as salaries or working environment such as offices and equipment. During the interviews at the Sub Counties, abandoned offices with empty desks were an

indication that some government officials only go to work when they have a meeting to attend. It was observed that the majority of the officers did not stay long in their posts and they also seemed to be involved with other business outside their employment, which they seemed to treat as a part-time job.

It should be recognised that implementation is the key to achieving results and therefore support should be given to implementing officers and improvement in their salaries should be considered. The limited government antipoverty spending (social spending) seem to be the reason for the above challenges.

9.2.5 Information on Poverty reduction programmes

Older people reported great difficulty in gaining access to information about strategies and guidelines used in fighting poverty and as a result they were not able to express their views nor able to demand accountability. Lack of access to information also hindered people's ability to participate in government programmes. Access to information must be seen as a right of all people in poverty to help them participate in Poverty reduction programmes, demand accountability and use local knowledge to influence decisions on the methods and programmes aimed at poverty reduction. There should be development of local information based on CBOs, local associations and beneficiaries. This is a recommendation that database be established of information related to poverty alleviation and it should be widely available for use by all stakeholders in the war against poverty.

9.2.6 Facilitating CBOs and Older People's Associations

It should be recognised that CBOs are playing a very important role in supporting older people in poverty. Integrating CBO and older people approaches to poverty reduction within their household might be necessary for poverty reduction. Some CBOs reported supporting very frail older people in poverty, who seem neglected by government and international organisations. Older people were often satisfied with the support and sense of belonging they received from joining CBOs and associations. They felt a sense of ownership of the on-going projects and a sense of trust from their group leaders. Although CBO programmes seem to be small-scale, with low membership and the organisations are regarded as new to the field of fighting poverty, they have vast experience in identifying those in poverty. With strategies such as skills audits they are able to identify where older people need skills development and have devised tailor-made projects for those in poverty matching their needs to the available projects. The CBOs have exploited networking opportunities and established partnerships with co-operative organisations such as banks, hotels, communication companies and private hospitals, making sure they benefit from those partnerships. They have insisted on setting up saving schemes? And village banks to address their financial needs. Government and international partners could learn useful strategies from these organisations. Government should identify and support CBO and older people's associations that are creating opportunities and innovative strategies to address poverty among older people households.

Understanding how older people address poverty within their household is necessary to identify the range of policy options available to address poverty.

9.3 Limitations of the study and suggestions for improvement

The outcome of this present study could be limited by the extent to which the findings can be applied and the suggestions implemented. The purpose of this study was to understand poverty as defined and experienced by older people living in poverty. The main focus of the study was to collect first-hand accounts from older people about their experiences. Focus group discussions and in-depth interviews were the methods employed in order to answer the research questions.

Findings from the present study are limited to a sample of 120 older persons in Katabi Sub-County, Wakiso District, and Bumtutumula Sub-County, Luwero District, and therefore cannot be regarded as fully representative of older people in Uganda. However, the study encompassed several heterogeneous settings, for example the two districts in the study were rural and urban in their setting and the diverse CBOs and older people's associations consulted represented a wide range of different people and activities. Another possibility would be to look at various multi-site studies as a potential method to increase generalisability (Huberman and Miles 2002).

Another limitation of the research methods was due to the situations in which focus group discussions could be conducted. One of the objectives of the study was to examine older people's experience of government

programmes, which usually require people to form groups in order to participate. This meant that focus group discussions carried out with members of those groups could not be held in the way recommended by some relevant literature which suggests that members in the focus group should not know each other (Morgan 1996). In this study group composition was the result of circumstances rather than planning, because participants were selected from two districts with government programmes which required member's participation in meetings, exhibitions and study trips, so members knew each other. However, the advantage of members knowing each other was that this contributed to detailed discussions bringing different perspectives of poverty and enabled a variety of opinions to be collected. The disadvantage was that some cultures in Uganda believe that it is not appropriate to discuss household issues with people outside the household (hence the saying "Ebyomunju tebitotolwa" in Luganda: household issues should never be revealed to strangers), because some regard their living conditions to be confidential. For this reason, asking people about their personal welfare and ways of combating poverty was a challenge, but seeing other members in the group discuss their conditions openly created a conducive environment for the rest of the group.

The reliability and relevance of the findings of this study are also subject to time limits, because the findings reflect reality at the time they were collected and in situations which may be subject to change (Marshall and Rossman 1999). The research design was not intended to produce findings that could be replicated by other researchers, but to examine the complex and dynamic understanding of poverty. However, Healey and Rawlinson (1994)

argue that reliability is concerned with “whether alternative interviews would reveal similar information”. In this study respondents were encouraged to offer a detailed account of the strategies used to fight poverty, thus providing grounds for assessing inconsistencies in the accounts given, hence drawing attention to issues worthy of further investigation. Respondents were also exposed to different interviews on the same topic and inconsistencies were further investigated with an in-depth interview. The narrative method was used to collect more information, although validity is one of the challenges. Polkinghorne (2007) has argued that the validation of claims about the understanding of human experience requires evidence. In this present study participants were able to display some of the products and strategies used to fight poverty. Also, interpretations and conclusions from the study were clarified with the participants some weeks after research interviews had been carried out.

A further limitation of the study could be the sampling scheme used. The strategies used to select the respondents were deliberately selected. In the selection of respondents in this study the bias was towards selecting older people involved in government or CBO programmes, yet more information was needed to find out why some older people did not participate in any of the programmes. Initial findings showed the purposive method could be a source of bias in selection of respondents, as potential respondents were left out in the planning of the study. This is further emphasized by Tongco (2007) who reports that for this reason the purposive method should be used with caution to avoid bias. After an analysis of initial findings, it became clear that

a particular sample was left out in the selection. A decision was then made to include another sample of people who were not benefiting from any organisations and it was after that inclusion that the study seemed to have achieved saturation point in information gathering. According to Creswell (1998, p.152) “in order to satisfy the saturation criteria, the most common sampling strategy used in qualitative research can be labelled as purposeful sampling”. In this situation snowball sampling was employed in order to identify the respondents not covered by any anti-poverty programme. A total of 20 respondents were added to the original sample to capture the experiences of older people in poverty who were not associated with any organisations poverty reduction programmes.

9.4 Suggestions for future research

The findings of this research prove the need for future work in order to understand which arrangements of government strategies are the most effective to reduce both discrimination against or exclusion of older people in poverty and inconsistency in access to different programmes linked to poverty reduction. Furthermore, the findings suggest that further research should focus on a more detailed analysis of the relationship between accumulated capital at central government and poverty reduction at local government level. In order to appropriately fight poverty, more attention needs to be paid to the multi-dimensional nature and assessment of poverty.

In addition, further research could extend the results in this study by identifying factors that can strengthen and sustain CBOs and older people's strategies to poverty reduction. Research into such strategies might

usefully explore how the knowledge gained from successful initiatives can be transferred to another geographical area or shared between households and how those strategies can be replicated by government institutions.

The findings regarding the limited participation of older people in poverty in Poverty reduction programmes as a result of limited information have larger implications for the war on poverty. Therefore, more detailed work is needed on the strategies to facilitate information sharing and exchanging contact information, for example how mobile phones could be helpful in fighting poverty among the elderly.

Further research should also be done into how far the success of CBOs strategies is related to the personality, experience and training of the chairperson of the organisation. In addition, research should also investigate how knowledge and training can be transferred from one person to another.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Accounts of older people's fight against poverty

Account One: Impact of government training programmes (Bee keeping)

I first heard of Kiwanuka from members who came to participate in a focus group at the sub-county in Buntutumula Luwero district. The members offered to take me to meet Mr Kiwanuka, the bee keeper in the village. We met him in his home. After introducing myself and the purpose of my visit, Mr Kiwanuka welcomed us and jokingly requested for payment in return for the knowledge that he was to exchange with us. He collected his things, such as protective clothing for bee keeping, boxes and other tools and started telling us his story of fighting poverty. I was given the opportunity to observe the activities carried out in the bee farm. He also talked of his colleague who is another big farmer whom he referred to as senior in bee keeping. At Mr Kiwanuka's home we observed that he had solar electricity, a motorcycle, a water tank, a good house and health grandchildren, who attend school. All these may be indicative of his successful efforts in fighting poverty.

He describes his initiative as follows:

I started by maintaining a coffee plantation which was started by my grandfather from who I inherited the whole of this land. Apparently, I fight poverty through farming and bee keeping. My coffee plantation covers one acre and I harvest in three to four years. I get money to support myself and grandchildren. I also fight poverty through bee keeping which I started having been trained by NAADS. We formed a group of four members in order to benefit from the NAADS Grant and we named it 'Basooka Kwavuula' the same as 'Rome was not built in a day'. It was registered at the sub-county and qualified for funding where every member was given ten batches of bees and five facilitators. I am

apparently working on my own bee project with ten batches and having access to one facilitator. In 12 months, I am able to collect 20 litres of honey from this bee project which costs approximately 400,000 shillings. I enjoy this project as I like bees and whenever they bite (sting) me, I feel so happy. This project leads to several bi-products such as gum for making shoes, shoe polish, soap, fuel, sugar, and clothes” (Kiwanuka, Bee Keeper, Luwero)

Kiwanuka identified the honey project as the most profitable among the available projects and he confirmed his claim by describing some of his achievements:

1. I have managed to install electricity despite living in a remote area
2. I bought a television set
3. I have been invited to many farming seminars
4. I have also managed to support my grandchildren
5. I have managed to renovate my house

He however mentioned some challenges: “Bees can be dangerous to the whole community if they are distracted. They don’t entertain noise, perfume, and bees are threatened by snakes, spiders, lizards, and malicious community members.

Account Two: Older people’s potential

Green Gold/Tea Story

Gaining a precise view of older people’s potential in fighting poverty is necessary for anti-poverty policy development. Older people are involved in various anti-poverty activities at the household level, and have used their surroundings to fight poverty. Personal accounts of life experience bring out knowledge about neglected but important areas of human capacity (Polkinghorne 2007). The Green Gold project seems to provide an opportunity for innovation in fighting poverty. Products from the project were displayed at the focus group session and members were able to look at some of products. “Every green around you is gold to fight poverty.” This was the statement by the older man who uses green to fight against poverty.

The founder of Gold project was part of the Wakiso focus group. During the focus group discussion, he always tried to dominate the discussion by showing his products from his green project. However, he was told to keep his contribution for an in-depth interview.

I have managed to fight poverty individually using my surroundings. Every green plant around you is useful, unless it is scientifically proven poisonous. My company is called V.I. Monks Enterprises and I refer to it as an enterprise because it involves various activities like mapping and growing various green plants. I use every green [plant] around me to come up with nutritious food and medicine. Every part of a tree has got a purpose in my project, starting from flowers, fruits, leaves, stem, and roots. I get these parts, dry them and pound or grind them to get powder. However, I avoid using machines because they wear and tear into smaller particles which are dangerous to our bodies. I use the rudimentary method of pounding to extract powder using a wooden motor which is smooth and does not cause harm to human body. Towards the end of 2012, I was contacted by a group of people for they had started knowing me because of my method of using my surroundings to fight poverty. Since then I have been visited by various groups including NAADS, Caritas Nsambya, and individual people to teach them my methods of fighting poverty using the surrounding. My products have got micronutrients and value addition products such as rosemary, avocado, and eggplant. Rosemary is a brain booster and mushroom is an anti-cancer product and the rest are good for diabetic and pressure patients. I encourage every farmer to have a seed bank where to stock indigenous seeds in order to avoid dependence on seed suppliers. (Male, 68 years old, Wakiso)

Account Three: Intergenerational approach

Older people in the study involved all members in their household in income generating activities carried out. The input of family members has implications on the sharing of the outcome. A single mother describes her method of fighting poverty this way:

Poverty is ignorance and not wanting to look for new knowledge. Poverty is like falling into a deep ditch of 45 feet. My family and I fight poverty through poultry keeping. I make sure that every two months I have chicken ready for sale. When there is no chicken available for sale, the whole household becomes sick. So chickens have got to be available and the whole household has got to look for market. Even if a customer buys only one bird, I keep their contacts because I will be able to inform them of the new available birds. I also try to look for different breeds of birds so that I do not miss out on any type of customers. This is because different customers have different preferences of chicken including broilers, local, layers, and hens, cocks, white, black or red/maroon. I also grow vegetables for sale and feeding my chicken in order to have good quality. You know when you feed your chicken with green, they lay eggs with pure yellow yokes. In our community, eggs with yellow yokes have got much bigger market than any other eggs. In this project I make sure that all children in this household know how important chicken is in my home. They have got to know that without chicken, we cannot afford food, school fees, and other necessities. This has groomed them into responsible caretakers of the project even when I am not at home. When a child is sent from school for tuition, they are told to look for market of our birds in the community because they also know that it is the only source of our household income. Children are aware that this project is our father, mother and everything in life. With customer contacts, I have ready market for my chickens because the moment my chickens are six weeks, customers start knocking my door and by the time my broilers turn seven weeks; I have only a few birds remaining. Feeding broilers for more than six weeks reduces farmer's profits. We have got to feed our birds very well so that we sell them by six weeks.

FOUR: Hard work pays

Older people are involved in diverse income-generating activities at a household level. From the interviews, their contribution to poverty reduction is determined by their returns from the anti-poverty project used. Poor older people identified hard work as one of the methods that has enabled them to fight poverty in their households. A female respondent tells her story:

I joined Nkumba Zero Grazing Association which was formed by people who were attending capacity building classes organised by facilitators from Katabi sub-county. We were taught various skills in different fields like banana farming, poultry keeping, maize growing, animal grazing, and at the end of such seminars, I decided to come up with my own methods of fighting poverty. First and foremost, I joined Nkumba Zero Grazing Group which runs different types of savings. First is the compulsory saving (olukako). This type of saving entails every member of the group to compulsorily save 10,000 shillings per week and can only withdraw at the last day of the year together with other members. Secondly is the voluntary saving (kyeyagalire) which involves members to save money received from all income sources out of their convenience and they are free to withdraw any amount at any time. The third type is home-based saving (omugenyi) which involves members to keep small amounts of money on a daily basis in a small metallic box (bank/safe) purchased and distributed by the association to all members. This box is supposed to be opened at the end of the year in the presence of all members. I joined this organisation that involved each and every member to possess a cow. This enables every member to obtain milk from the cow for personal consumption per day as well as taking the rest to the association's collection centre where we sell it at 1400 shillings per litre and save 200 shillings on each litre of milk and this money is kept in the bank where we have an account. We decided to bank our money as a group in order to avoid bank charges that are deducted on individual accounts. The association has managed to lend money to four members who invested in a bio-gas project. Another member has also benefited from the loan and bought a motorcycle which he needed for use in collection of cattle feeds. However, the chairperson revealed failure to save money effectively by members as a major challenge that the association is experiencing. When asked about the alternative approach, the chairperson said that it would be better if service providers asked the beneficiaries' preferences (needs) in terms of income generating projects and how much it costs. Service providers then issue aid in terms of cash so that beneficiaries are able to procure farm products in the case of farmers. For example, in this association, a cow is the most preferred farm product and the

chairperson prefers members buying cows by themselves, which approach would minimise receiving cows of poor quality which cannot produce good yields.

FIVE: Collective effort

In the Bunono elderly development association, some older women are involved in associations where they feel more comfortable to share their experiences and to join hands in the fight against poverty. This is revealed as one older interviewee stated:

Cooking is one of the skills that Uganda's women share in common and the experience is gained as they grow older. Based on this idea, the association combined old women and sought their knowledge in emphasising meals they are able to prepare most. This enabled the executive committee to come up with small cookery departments including experts in cooking chicken, rice, meat, and African meals, among others. The programme was well advertised to community members, whereby for ceremonies that require catering services such as weddings, birthdays, graduations, the association is hired. Under the cookery department, customers' meal preferences determine which skilled group should take the contract and members that happen to take the contract use the association's equipment such as saucepans, tents, chairs, warmers, tables, among others in pursuit of the contract. After receiving payment, they return 10 per cent of the amount to the association.

SIX: Past experience

Older people have used their anti-poverty strategies to fight poverty in their community. Some recounted how they directed their experience and knowledge in various areas of business into village and group initiatives. One participant chaired an older people's association in their village and had to carry out a needs assessment and skills audit for members in their groups in order to identify the type of projects to employ in their fight against poverty. Mr Lumu was chairman and part of the Nangabo village Elderly Association in Wakiso district. I met him through the District Development Officer and decided to visit him in his village. Lumu, now retired, formerly worked in a hotel, where he was head of the bread department. He remembered the day a gentleman came to his village telling people to form groups and apply for the government anti-poverty support. The information about the programme was not clear and some older people thought the government was giving out money for food. Lumu talks of his decision to go and look for more information at the sub-county:

I am a member of Nangabo village elderly association and I act as the chairperson and initiator of the bread project. When I went to the sub-county, I was told to form a group of fifteen older people, but I did not know the type of people to contact, whether professionals or not; I had no idea. I was told to go and think of any project that the group could carry out in the community. I knew very well that the older people were not the same; some were very old with no energy and others have got some energy. As chairman for this organisation, I decided to base on my experience and start a bread making project. I constructed the baking equipment at my home, and because of my experience I knew with this project I could not go wrong. We later came up with a proposal requesting government support for the bread project. Although the government gave us one per cent of the amount we requested, we still went ahead and started operating. We have managed to supply bread for one year and a half. Not everybody in the organisation has been active but since all members were registered members, they all were

supposed to benefit from the profits. After the first profit members decided to start their own projects. We have started four different projects for people in this association. The measure of starting different projects for individuals was contrary to the government group method; however, from experience I know group methods have several limitations, like the proverb goes: 'Many hands do not build a house' – meaning that the bigger the number of people the less work you are likely to get. The weaker members of the group have not yet started gaining, but if they wish to get from the association they should come up with an idea for a project.

Mr Lumu was confident about the expansion of his business, but he was still looking for more funds.

Appendix B:Key Informant interview Guide

Key Informant interview Guide for senior assistant secretary at the sub county.

I want to thank you for taking time to meet with me today. My name is Rosette Kabuye a student at University of Kent and The aim of this research is to examine the approaches used by different sectors and assess the effectiveness of the methods and how they contribute to poverty reduction among the older persons. There after recommend the best practices to all stakeholders involved in poverty strategies.

Our intension is to use the results to make recommendations to policy decisions makers, and the researcher is interested in both the perspectives of the older persons as beneficiaries and the official who deliver the services, this of course is the reason am contacting you.

The interview will take less than an hour, I request to use audio recorder in the session, because I do not want to miss any of your comments.

All respondents will be kept confidential, the interview responses will only be used in analysis and any information I include in the report will not identify you as the respondent. You do not have to talk about anything you do not want to and you may end the interview anytime.

Are there any questions you would like to ask about what I have just explained? Are you willing to participate in the Interview?

1. What programs are there to fight poverty at the Sub-County?
2. What are the objectives of your programs
3. Please describe the programs you offer?
4. What services do you provide to older people
5. Are older people involved in these programs at the sub county?
6. If yes, how are they involved?
7. What approaches do you use to deliver the programs to the beneficiaries?
8. With examples can you explain further?
9. What criteria do you use that would consider gender
10. What challenges have you experienced with this approach?
11. If you did not use the above approach which other approach would you have used and why?
12. How effective are your approaches to older people poverty reduction?
13. Is there anything else you would like to talk about in regard to the programs?

I will be analysing the information you and others have given me and submitting the report. I will be happy to send you a copy to review at that time, if you are interested.

Thank you for your time

Appendix C: Focus Group Interview Guide
FOCUS GROUP

FOCUSED GROUP INTERVIEW FOR OLDER PERSONS

Welcome remarks;

Thanks for agreeing to be part in the focus group. We appreciate your willingness to participate.

INTRODUCTIONS

Moderator; Rosette K Nabyoga

Assistant moderators; Davis and Joshua

We are conducting a study on provisions and approaches used in poverty reduction in older persons. The reason we are having this focus groups is to find out the provisions you receive, and the strategies used to reduce poverty among older persons.

We need your input and be frank, share your thoughts with us.

This is how it will work;

1. We want you to do the talking

We would like everyone to participate.

I may call on you if I haven't heard from you in a while.

2. There is no right or wrong answers.

Every person's experiences and opinions are important.

Speak up whether you agree or disagree.

We want to hear a wide range of opinions.

3. We would like to request of you, respect and confidentiality to each other and what is said in this room should stay here.

We want people to feel comfortable sharing when sensitive issues come up.

4. We will be tape recording the interview

We want to get everything you have to say.

We will not identify anyone by name in our report.

Consent to participate in focus group

You have been requested to participate in focus group in the study of provisions and approaches to older persons. The purpose of the study is to

Appendix D: In depth Interview Guide

In depth Interview Guide

I want to thank you for taking time to meet with me today. My name is Rosette Kabuye a student at University of Kent and The aim of this research is to examine the approaches used by different sectors and assess the effectiveness of the methods and how they contribute to poverty reduction among the older persons. There after recommend the best practices to all stakeholders involved in poverty strategies.

Our intension is to use the results to make recommendations to policy decisions makers, and the researcher is interested in both the perspectives of the older persons as beneficiaries and the official who deliver the services, this of course is the reason am contacting you.

The interview will take less than an hour, I request to use audio recorder in the session, because I do not want to miss any of your comments.

All respondents will be kept confidential, the interview responses will only be used in analysis and any information I include in the report will not identify you as the respondent. You do not have to talk about anything you do not want to and you may end the interview anytime. Are there any questions you would like to ask about what I have just explained? If you agree to this interview and the tape recording, please sign this consent form.

1. Please describe your understanding of poverty?
2. How have you responded to poverty?
3. Could you describe the methods you have used to fight poverty?
4. Would you explain further and also give examples?
5. How did you get to know those methods?
6. Is there any other practice you have used to fight poverty other than those mentioned?
7. Are you aware of any challenges with government approach to poverty
8. What are the challenges?
9. Do you know why there challenges?
10. Do you have any suggestions on how to minimize the problems?

Appendix E: Semi-Structured Interview Guide

English version

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

PART I: BIO DATA OF RESPONDENT

1. Sex of respondent Male Female
2. Age _____ of respondent.....

3. Education level

Never been to school	<input type="checkbox"/>	Primary level	<input type="checkbox"/>
Secondary level (College/University)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Tertiary	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. Religion.....
.....

PART II: BASIC NEEDS

For each of the statements below, put a tick in the appropriate box and fill in the blank spaces.

a) Food

1. Do you eat three meals in a day i.e. breakfast, lunch, and supper?
2. Yes No
3. If the answer is yes, by who?

I) Relatives

ii) Personal effort

iii) Government

iv) CBO

4. How?(approach)

.....
.....
.....

5. If no why?

.....
.....
.....

b) Housing

6. Do you sleep in a permanent house built of bricks and iron sheets?

Yes No

7. If yes, who provided

- i) Family
- ii) Personal effort
- iii) Government
- iv) CBO

8. How?

.....
.....
.....
.....

c) Health care

8. Do you have access to medication Yes No

9. If yes, who provides?

- i) Family
- ii) Personal effort
- iii) Government
- iv) CBO

How?

d) Clothing

10. Do you have blankets? Yes No

11. Do you have clothes? Yes No

12. If the answers are yes, who provides the above services to you?

- i) Family
- ii) Personal effort
- iii) Government
- iv) CBO

13. How?

.....
.....
.....

e) Water

13. Do you have access to safe and clean water? Yes

No

14. If yes, who provides?

i) Family

ii) Personal effort

iii) Government

iv) CBO

17. Do you receive any services from any of the following sectors?

i) Family

ii) Personal effort

iii) Government

iv) CBO

18. If yes, what services?

.....
.....
.....

How?

Cash

Empowerment

Capacity building

FAL (Education)

Micro-finance

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

PART 111:

What is poverty?

How do you fight poverty?

Thank you so much for your time!

APPENDIX F

Luganda version

EBIBUZO EBYO”MUSOMO ERI ABAKADDE

Nkulamusizza Ssebo/Nyabo, Mpitibwa Rosette Kabuye omuyizi ku yunivasite eyitibwa Kent e”Bungereza era nga nsoma Diguli eyo” Kusatu (PhD). Ndiwano, okunonyereza ku ngeri e”zenjawulo ezikozesebwa okulwanyisa obwavu mubantu abakuze mu myaka munsu yaffe Uganda mu disitulikiti Wakiso ne Luwero. Ebin”aba bizulidwa mu ssomo lino bijja kugasa nnyo disitulikiti ezo zombiriri, ebitongole ebyo”byanakyewa, ebibiina bya bakadde mweb”eggattira, nekitongole kya Gender, Labour and Social Development. Nze awamu nabanyambako mumusomo guno, njakusiima nnyo singa onziramu ebibuuzo bino wamanga era ebinaddibwamu bijja k”umibwa nga byakyama. Nkwebaziza nnyo.

EKITUNDU EKISOOKA: EBIKWATA KU MUBUUZIBWA

1. Mwami kyala
2. Emyaka gyo
60 – 64 65 – 70 74 74
84 and above
3. Obuyigiriz”e bwo
Sisomerangako ddala Pulayimale 1 – 4
Pulayimale 5 – 7 Sekendule 1 – 4
Sekendule 5 – 6 Tendekero Yunivasite
4. Oli wa ddini ki?
Musiramu Iukatuliki
Mupolotesitanti
Museveniside Musamize

EKITUNDU EKYOKUBIRI: OBWAVU

1. Obwavu kye ki okusinziira ku ggwe?
 - i) Bwemba nga sirina byetaago okugezza; emmere, amazzi, awo “kusula, nebyo”kwebikka

- ii) Obwavu kitegeza, obutaba na bwogelero, eddembe, amanyi, n"obuyinza okusalawo okwetusaako byenetaga mubulamu.
- iii) Obwavu kigeenza obutakola n"obutaba na bileeta nsimbi ezigula byenetaga.
- iv) Obwavu kitegeenza "kubera bwa namunigina, obutaba na buyinza, n"obutaba na ddembe lyange e lyobuntu.

2. W"eyimirizaawo otya?

- i) Manyi gange
- ii) Nyambibwa gavumenti
- iii) Nyambibwa abe anda
- iv) Nyambibwa ebitongole ebyo"bwanakyewa
- v) Nyambibwa ebibiina byaffe ebyo"kwegatta
- vi) Emikwano n"abamanyi

EKITUNDU E KYOKUSATU: EBYETAGO EBISOKELWAKO

a) Emmere

1. Ofunna emmere emirundi egiwera essatu mu lunaku? Okugeza ng" ekyenkya, eky"emisana, ne"kyegulo.

Ye

Nedda

Ebiseera ebimu

2. Bwekiba ye, obifuna otya?

- i) Manyi gang
- ii) Nyambibwa gavumenti
- iii) Nyambibwa abe anda
- iv) Nyambibwa ebitongole ebyo"bwanakyewa
- v) Nyambibwa ebibiina byaffe ebyo"kwegatta.
- vi) Emikwano, n"abamanyi.

3. Mungeri ki?

Basic needs in kind

Basic needs in cash

4. Oba nedda, lwaki?

No money

Not working

Poor

b) Enyumba

5. Enyumba mwo"sula yazimbibwa bulooka n"amabati?

Ye Nedda

6. Bwekiba ye, wagifuna otya?

- i) Manyi gange
- ii) Mpangiisa
- iii) Nagisikira
- iv) Nayambibwa gavumenti
- v) Nayambibwa abe anda
- vi) Nayambibwa ebitongole ebyo”bwanakyewa
- vii) Nayambibwa ebibiina byaffe ebyo”kwegatta

7. Mungeri ki?

.....
.....
.....

c) Obujanjabi

8. Bwo”lwala, Ofuna” bujanjabi mu ddwaliro? Ye edda

9. Bwekiba ye, obufuna otya? some times

- i) Manyi gange
- ii) Nyambibwa gavumenti
- iii) Nyambibwa abe anda
- iv) Nyambibwa ebitongole ebyo”bwanakyewa
- v) Nyambibwa ebibiina byaffe ebyo”kwegatta

10. Mungeri ki?

.....
.....
.....

11. Bwekiba nedda, osala magezi ki ngo”lwade?

Personal (herbal medicine)

.....
.....
.....

d) Ebyo”kwambala ne” byokwebikka

12. Olina ebyo”kwambala ne byo”kwebikka ebikumatizza?

Ye Nedda

13. Bwekiba ye, obifuna otya?

- i) Manyi gange
- ii) Nyambibwa gavumenti
- iii) Nyambibwa abe anda
- iv) Nyambibwa ebitongole ebyo”bwanakyewa
- v) Nyambibwa ebibiina byaffe ebyo”kwegatta
- vi) Emikwano n”abamanyi

14. Mungeri ki?

.....
.....
.....

15. Bwekiba nedda, lwaki?

.....
.....
.....

e) Amazzi

16. Ofuna amazzi amayonjo? Ye Nedda

17. Oba ye, ogafuna otya?

- i) Manyi gange
- ii) Nyambibwa gavumenti
- iii) Nyambibwa abe anda
- iv) Nyambibwa ebitongole ebyo”bwanakyewa
- v) Nyambibwa ebibiina byaffe ebyo”kwegatta

18. Mungeri ki?

.....
.....
.....

19. Oba nedda, lwaki?

.....
.....
.....

20. Ofunna obuyambi bwona obuva mubitongole binno wamanga?

- i) Gavumenti
- ii) Ebitongole ebyo”bwanakyewa (CBO)
- iii) Ebibiina ebyo”kwegatta

- iv) Abe anda
- v) Emikwano n"abamanyi

21. Bwekiba ye, buyambi bwakika ki?

.....

22. Mungeri ki?

- i) Ensimbi enkalu
- ii) Empowerment (Okwongerwa obusobozzi)
- iii) Capacity building (Okwongerwa obukugu)
- iv) FAL (Okusoma kwa" bakulu)
- v) Micro-finance (Okuwolwa ensimbi)

23. Watuuka otya ku nkolagana"eno?

.....

24. Waliwo eyakuyambako?

.....

25. Enkola eyo ekuyamba mungeri ki okwetusaako ebyetago binno wamanga?

Emmere.....

Amazzi.....

Engoye.....

Eddagala.....

Okusula.....

W'ebale nnyo Ssebo/Nyabo olo'budde bwo no'kukulaggana nange!

APPENDIX G

Participant Information sheet

Project Title: Approaches to Poverty reduction among older persons in Uganda in district of Luwero and Wakiso.

Purpose of the study;

My name is Rosette Kabuye a student at University of Kent in Canterbury. I am conducting a study on approaches to fighting poverty among older people in Uganda and the focus will be on Luwero and Wakiso districts. The aim of this research is to Identify and examine the approaches used by different sectors and assess their effectiveness and how they contribute to poverty reduction among the older persons. There after recommend the best practices to all stakeholders involved in poverty strategies

WHY YOU HAVE BEEN CHOSEN

In the study I intend to speak with the service providers, such as; the CBO, Government officials, Association official and the beneficiaries of the programs who must be above sixty years of age male or female from Wakiso and Luwero districts.

What will happen if you take part?

Your involvement in the study would be to take part in the interview where a few questions will be asked concerning the provisions and approaches used. The interview will last between half an hours, to an hour, depending on the time available to you. During our discussion I will record the interview with your permission, and a summary of the findings will be written up and you will be offered a copy if you're interested.

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part in the in the study. If you decide to take part in the study, I will explain what the research is a bout, what will be involved in the interview process and the information sheet will be given to you to keep and I will answer any question you might have. You will be asked to sign a consent form. However you will still be free to withdraw from the study at any time without a given reason.

Confidentiality;

All information that will be got from you will be kept confidential; all interview recordings will be destroyed at the end of the research. Your name or contact details will not be recorded on the interview transcripts. Any detail which could identify you will be removed or changed.

My academic supervisor will have access to the anonymous transcripts of your interview, but I will be the only person to have access to the original recording of the interview, your consent and any of your contact details. I will ensure your participation is confidential and anonymous.

After the study the results will be used in my PhD thesis and in reports to poverty eradication forums. A copy of the results will be available at the University Templeman library. Findings from the research will contribute to developing better approaches to service provision in society.

This researcher is organising the study with supervision from University of Kent and the funding is upon the researcher.

Contact for Further information;

Rosette Kabuye,

E-mail:rk254@kent.ac.uk

Academic supervisor: Dr Lavinia Mitton

E-mail:L.mitton@kent.ac.uk

Second supervisor: Prof. Peter Taylor Gooby

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR OFFICIAL IN CBO

Today date:

1. Participant number:
2. Contact information,

-Respondent name:

-Telephone number:

-E-mail address:

3. What is your job title in terms of providing services?

4. Demographics

Female: Male:

5. Do you have any project that involves the older people? If Yes, can you answer the Questions please.

6. Can you give me the statistics and contact of the older persons you provide services.

7. What are the objectives of your projects

8. What services do you give to older persons?

9. Please describe your role in delivering of the services to older persons.
10. Can you please describe the objectives, and focus of your program for older persons?
11. What approaches are used in delivering your services?
12. How do you assess the needs for those provisions?
13. How effective are your approaches and do you measure the effectiveness?
14. Do your services contribute to poverty reduction? If yes please describe how they contribute.
15. What, if any have been the challenges in providing the services to older persons?
16. If you did not use this approach, Is there any other way you would have handled the project?

Thank you so much for your time.

Appendix F:Photos of participants

PHOTO A An Older person making a mat



PHOTO B Researcher with two older people with their grandson who lives in their house.



PHOTO C Researcher with Luwero group



PHOTO D Locally made bee hieave owned by a group of older people



PHOTE E Bututumula focus group members



WEDEC chairperson displays older people's products for sale



Researcher at WEDEC organisation



Appendix G: Poverty reduction support forms



REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

LOCAL GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT AND SERVICE
DELIVERY (LGMSD) PROGRAMME

COMMUNITY DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT (CDD)

COMMUNITY EXPRESSION OF INTEREST FORM

(This form shall be filled by the community wishing to access support from
the Sub County/Town Council/Division for a CDD Project)

1. District/Municipality
.....
.....
2. Sub-County/Division/Town
Council.....
.....
3. Parish/Ward Village
.....
.....
4. Name of Community Group
.....
.....
5. Registration
No.....
.....
6. Name of Contact Person.....
.....
7. Telephone.....
.....

We the members ofCommunity/Group based inVillage have fully examined the requirements of CDD and would like to therefore express our interest to participate in the programme. The group is engaged in (please provide a brief description of the group).

Group aim
.....
.....
.....

Group objectives
.....
.....
.....

Group activities
.....
.....
.....

We request the office of the Sub county chief/Town Clerk to come and assess our readiness to access funding.

(Please attach of the Registration Certificate, Constitution and List of Members and additional information if appropriate)

Signed:

Secretary
(Name).....
SignatureDate

Chairperson/PMC
(Name)..... Signature
.....Date.....

Members

(Name).....
SignatureDate.....

Type/Category of community project/investment refers to different categories e.g. Income Generating, Small infrastructure developments that are not funded by the Local Development Grant (LDG).

Sub-activity refers to the different stages of project/investment implementation. Funds will be released on completion and certification of the phases by subject-matter specialists (staff) and TPC.

