

The Impact of Isolation on Poverty in Uganda: A Review of Selected Uganda District PPA II Reports

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1. Introduction

The following note reviews seven District PPA II reports for Uganda in order to identify the impacts of isolation on poverty. The note is separated into sections: Section 2 outlines communities' perceptions of physical isolation in relation to infrastructure including roads, electricity and social services such as schools, health clinics, water and sanitation. Section 3 addresses the isolation of communities from ideas and innovation and pays particular attention to access to media and information communication technologies. Section 4 focuses on isolation as exclusion from policy processes. Section 5 explores subjective well-being and isolation. Section 6 examines the relationship between isolation, crime and insecurity.

Selection of districts:

The District PPA II reports reviewed were selected from an index of isolation, in which districts were ranked according to degree of remoteness based on indicators of access to infrastructure and services (see Annex 1). There were 12 districts on the ranked list for which PPA reports existed. Of these, the 5 most remote districts and a control of 2 of the least remote districts were selected. In order from most to least remote these are: **Ntungamo, Moroto, Arua, Soroti, Bugiri, Masindi and Jinja.**

2. Physical isolation and inadequate infrastructure

Quality of and distance from roads:

All communities in all districts commented about the absence of roads and the poor quality of existing ones. Some examples are provided below:

- Communities of Kihagani and Kawiti villages in **Masindi district** claimed they are not benefiting from government road programmes. Access roads to their villages are poorly maintained and movement during rainy seasons is difficult and costly. Transport charges on the 7 km stretch to Kihagani costs 2,500/=. Communities also reported loss of lives due to failure to access medical attention because of impassable roads in wet seasons (Masindi District Report, 2002, Pp. 45).
- Okunguro and Acomia villages in **Soroti district** commented that during the rainy season, the roads become impassable and that this discourages children from going to school (Soroti District PPA Report, 2002, Pp. 60).
- The community meetings in all sites in **Arua district** expressed disappointment over the issue of tarmacking of roads. They stated that this had contributed to a loss of votes for the government (Arua District PPA II Report, 2001, Pp. 66).

Some communities emphasised the link between inadequate roads and lack of access to basic social services and/or markets for agricultural produce. Increasing levels of poverty were attributed to poor quality roads:

- In Lwitamakoli village in Buyengo sub-county, **Jinja district**, communities stated that as a direct result of poor roads, trading centres, schools and health units could not develop in the village. They were also concerned that extension workers from the sub-county could not access their communities: *"People do not come to buy our maize because of that road and we can not transport it to better markets. The roads in this village are like footpaths; they are all covered by sugarcane on all sides. That is why there are no taxis here.*

We only depend on bicycles to go to the main road", Woman in Focus Group Discussion, Lwitamakoli (Jinja District PPA Report, 2002 Pp. 132).

- Communities in Kisarabwire, Kawiti and Kihagane villages in **Masindi district** considered improvement of access to, and quality of, roads important in that it reduces transport costs and increases communities' profit margins on crops taken to market (Masindi District Report, 2002, Pp. 45). They reported that people coming to buy produce in vehicles have difficulty accessing the villages (Pp. 45). The fishing community in Kigungu emphasised the importance of access to roads for their livelihoods, since they depend on the sale of fish which is a perishable product (Pp. 21). Those in the 'rich' category in Masindi emphasised poor road condition as a priority problem because it constrains delivery of services like health, water provision, extension services and marketing of produce.
- In **Soroti district**, poor infrastructure, including roads, was identified as a causal factor in relation to poor markets and low incomes (Soroti District PPA Report, 2002, Pp. 41). A local councillor observed that the lack of transport due to poor roads in Okunguro village was the main cause of the collapse of Kamurojo market communities. He explained that agricultural produce was not being bought from Kamurojo because buyers could not reach the market with their trucks. According to him, opening the road would enable produce buyers to reach the village and thus, provide a market for its produce (Pp. 87).
- Communities in Soroti district reported that middlemen offer very low prices for farm produce, which, for the majority of rural farmers, is an important source of income. Infrastructural constraints (poor roads and lack of established markets) have resulted in isolation of rural communities from potential markets and buyers who would offer better terms. Consequently, the level of household income for peasant farmers has significantly decreased, with many failing to meet the cost of basic needs and services necessary to sustain livelihoods (Pp. 17).

Availability of electricity

The district reports varied with regard to the amount of information provided on availability of electricity:

- Communities in **Jinja** described electricity as a commodity of the rich (Jinja District PPA Report, 2002 Pp. 44) and of foreigners (Pp. 52), and as a cause of business collapse, due to extremely high tariffs (Pp. 52).
- While the urban community in **Bugiri district** complained about the high cost of using electricity, those in the rural communities were complaining about not having it at all. The latter complained that the system of power supply, which concentrates in urban areas, is unfair. They stated that the government appeared to have forgotten that the supply of electricity to rural areas could lead to the development of those areas. It was suggested that electricity supply to rural areas would solve the problem of unemployment as it would enable investors to set up small scale industries in such areas, thus creating employment opportunities. (Bugiri District PPA II Report, 2002, Pp. 106).
- In **Soroti district**, fuel wood was reported to be the most commonly used source of energy: 99.7% of the district population. It is used in the form of firewood in rural areas, and charcoal in urban areas. There is also considerable use of agricultural crop residue. Other energy sources such as electricity, petroleum, solar and biogas are of negligible use or not in use at all in some parts of the district (Soroti District PPA Report, 2002, Pp. 25).
- **Arua district** reportedly lacks power in the form of electricity for industry. The only power source runs through 4 generators with a total capacity of 1.26 MW, which is too small to supply Arua Municipality alone for 4 hours a day (Arua District PPA II Report, 2001, Pp. 26). According to all sites, private sector processing of agricultural products, to add value to them, requires a constant electricity supply to processing plants. Communities suggested that the government should support this (Pp. 60).
- **Moroto district** is not served by the main hydro-electricity grid, and so the main source of energy for cooking, heating and lighting is wood-fuel (Moroto District PPA II Report, 2003, Pp. 3).

Distance from state primary schools

- Distance from primary schools was not highlighted as a problem by communities in **Jinja district**.
- In **Masindi district**, most of the communities reported that access to Universal Primary Education (UPE)¹ schools has improved over the last five years. This has made it easier for many pupils to access education. One exception is the internally displaced community in Kawiti, which remains isolated; the nearest UPE School is over 9 km away. For this community, distance from schools is a major factor affecting primary school enrolment, especially those in lower classes of P1 - P4. They noted that the long distance factor is coupled with other issues that compound the problem, such as a lack of adequate food for the children to carry with them to school and the fear that children will be assaulted on the way to and from school (Masindi District PPA Report, 2002).
- The **Bugiri district** education statistics show that there are 184 primary state-aided schools and 47 Community schools in the district. Despite an average of 1 to 3 state-aided UPE schools in the majority of counties, some rural communities, especially the more isolated ones, do not even have one. In such cases, children are obliged to travel long distances of between 3 and 12 km to schools (Bugiri District PPA II Report, 2002).
- In both **Soroti and Arua districts**, primary schools were physically accessible in all sites and distance was not generally perceived to be a problem. More pupils were reported to be accessing education nowadays than before. Following the introduction, in 1997, of the government policy of UPE, primary schools are generally nearer households. Financial costs were perceived to be much more significant in terms of contributing to reduced school attendance (Arua District PPA II Report, 2001, Pp. 59).
- In **Moroto district**, distance was mentioned as factor that discourages children from attending school, leading to poor enrolment and retention. Four of the villages in the study, namely Lorukumo, Lokileth, Nakapelimen and Naoi, had schools within the nationally accepted distance (under 5 km away). Alekilek had the furthest school, which was 6 km away (Moroto District PPA II Report, 2003, Pp. 61).
- Another problem facing communities in Alekilek village is that during the wet season the rivers make it difficult for children to cross. For this reason, some parents prefer to send their children to Kapuat primary school, which despite being further away than some other schools, can be reached via the main Moroto-Soroti road (Pp. 61).
- In **Ntungamo district**, lack of nearby schools in some sites was perceived as a cause of poverty at community level that trickles down to household and individual level. In all the sites, children were reported to attend state primary schools, which are approximately 3 km away, with the exception of children from Kabanda village, for whom the nearest primary school is 15 km away (Ntungamo District PPA II Report, 2002, Pp. 36). As lunch is not provided by schools, pupils without a packed lunch either go back to their homes or stay without lunch. Pupils that going back to their homes complained about getting tired while walking to and from home. They indicated that at times they reach their homes when lunch is not ready and end up missing afternoon classes (Pp. 41).

Distance from state primary health clinics

- In **Jinja district**, findings revealed that poor communities are accessing more health services than ever before. This is because there are now more health units within reach of villages. The exceptions are remote areas such as Kagoma gate in Kakira where women reported having to travel distances of 8 km to the health unit and in many instances, needing to obtain permission from their husbands in order to do so (Jinja District PPA Report, 2002 Pp. 114). Faced with a walk of over five km, the majority of women choose to go to the nearest traditional healer instead (Pp. 115). Health workers were also said to reside far (5 - 8 km) from the health units and trading centres. Consequently, they are often late for work and close the health centre at exactly 5.00 p.m. As a woman from Lwitamakoli remarked, *“For us in Lwitamakoli we are supposed to be sick only during the day but not at night. This is because there will be no body to attend to you at night. Because of this many of our women here have given birth by the roadsides at night when we are trying to take them to Buwenge Health Centre (10 km) away. In fact one woman gave birth in that swamp-3 km from*

¹ Under the Education Sector Investment Plan for 1997-2003, Universal Primary Education (UPE) is the government's education policy. UPE has been introduced to assure universal access to primary education, by removing financial impediments to access and provision of facilities. It involves enhancement and revitalisation of quality through provision of basic learning materials, training of teachers and expansion of post primary opportunities (Soroti District Report, 2002).

here and they used a sugar cane peeling to cut the umbilical cord at night because they had no razor blade.” Woman in a community meeting, Lwitamakoli (Pp. 126).

- In **Masindi district**, each village site has at least one health facility within reach. The IDPs in Kawiti have a health facility 9 km away, while the pastoral community in Kihagani have one 7 km away (Masindi District PPA Report, 2002, Pp. 22). The main problem is a lack of drugs (Pp. 67).
- Apart from the urban community in **Bugiri District**, which is situated approximately 1 km from Bugiri main hospital, the nearest other communities reside between 4 and 9 km away government health centres. Most of the remote health units treat minor ailments and provide immunisation services. For more serious illness community members are referred to main hospitals located over 38 km away (Bugiri District PPA II Report, 2002, Pp. 78). According to the communities, ambulances only benefit hospital staff and rarely stop to pick anyone up (Pp. 79).
- Most communities in **Arua district** are able to access health services within distances of not more than 5 km. The exception is Baito village, where patients travel more than 10 km to access Okollo health centre (Arua District PPA II Report, 2001).
- Communities also complained about the cost of transport to health centres: it is expensive to transport the sick during emergencies to health units. It costs between 5,000/= and 10,000/= to hire a vehicle to transport a patient in an emergency from Oluodri to Arua referral hospital, 2 km away. ‘Rich’ households are able to afford it but the poor and poorest households use bicycles and locally made stretchers to transport their sick to health units. In Baito, local people revealed that they sell food items and assets (e.g. livestock) to meet high transport costs (Arua District PPA II Report, 2001, Pp. 51).
- Apart from those in Nakapelimen, located within Moroto town, communities in the other sites in **Moroto district** travel distances exceeding 5 km to the nearest health centre. For example, the nearest health facility to Lokileth village is Tapac Mission dispensary, 11 km away. There shorter option involves crossing rugged mountainous terrain. According to health information provided by district authorities, only 24.3% of the district population was within accessible walking distance to health centres in 2003 (Moroto District PPA II Report, 2003, Pp. 82).
- All sites visited in **Ntungamo district** except for Cell I in Park Ward, which is an urban site, reported that health centres are far from them. Besides long distances, shortage of drugs and payment of bribes were said to limit accessibility. For the women of Rwamutunga, distance was less of an issue. They claimed that their husbands stop them from using family planning because they look young and attractive and will be admired by other men (Ntungamo District PPA II Report, 2002, Pp. 30).

Distance from safe water and sanitation

Water coverage is low in all districts and a large percentage of the population uses water from unprotected sources. The main water sources accessed by the communities are boreholes, protected and unprotected springs, tap water and streams/rivers. However, the water points are inadequate to serve the entire population and some are unsafe for drinking:

- It was reported that more effort has gone into urban water supply than rural water supply in **Jinja district** and that rural areas suffer from lack of safe water supply. According to the youth and women of Buyala ‘A’ village, Budondo sub-county, safe water can only be secured from a borehole in a neighbouring village 2 km away. One generally has to wait in a long queue and those who cannot wait resort to dirty water in nearby springs or from the lake (Jinja District PPA Report, 2002 Pp. 130).
- In **Bugiri district**, all village sites but one had between 2 to 7 wells, which were considered the main sources of water. When the wells are dry, community members access unsafe water from the shores of Lake Victoria. Distances vary depending on the village but communities in Buwoya reported walking 16 km to the lake. The rich collect water on bicycles from Lugala landing site but the majority of people, especially women and children, do it on foot (Bugiri District PPA II Report, 2002, Pp. 89). Tap or piped water is only found in the centre of Bugiri Town accessed by only a small section of the Busanzi ‘B’ community. Even then, however, it is not reliable (Pp. 91).
- In **Soroti district**, only one of five sites (Kabola village) has a borehole while other sites have, at best, a protected spring well in the village or none. Increased investment on water in the district did not benefit the sites of the PPA research (Soroti District PPA Report, 2002).

- In **Arua district**, clean and safe water supply remains inadequate. Baito community has the worst water problem. There are only three water points that serve both human beings and animals in this village. The only borehole available in the community is 5 km away from most households. As a result, most women resort to collecting and using the unsafe water from River Ora, the nearest source to them. The women and girls often walk between 5 and 6 km in search of clean water. In an attempt to avoid walking the same distance many times, women often carry two of the twenty-litre jerry cans, one on top of the other, thus increasing their health problems and workload. Girls' time for school is reduced, resulting in poor performance. In better off families, boys and girls collect water using bicycles but such cases are very few (Arua District PPA II Report, 2001, Pp. 55).
- Lokileth village in **Moroto district** observed that not many people use the borehole because it is located far from the settlements. They mentioned that the utilization of the borehole often increases during the dry season because of the scramble for water with livestock and wild animals at the wells (Moroto District PPA II Report, 2003, Pp. 88 - 89)
- All communities in **Ntungamo district** have access to safe water sources (mainly piped and boreholes), but Ihuriro, Kabanda and Kicece villages complained that the sources are distant. In such cases some community members are accessing water from unsafe sources (Ntungamo District PPA II Report, 2002).

3. Isolation from ideas/ innovation/ technology (poor communication, media and ICTs connection)

In all sites in all districts, communities were concerned that they are not receiving enough information about government programs. Communities in Bugiri district attributed this to a number of factors, such as poor access to information technologies e.g. radio and deliberate denial of information by leaders. The most common definition of poverty given by the women and men of Busanzi, Butema, Kigusa, Sigulu and Buwoya villages was that poverty is 'obutamaha' or 'lack of knowledge'. Women reported that a lack of knowledge on the actual solutions to poverty is, in itself, poverty (Bugiri District PPA II Report, 2002, Pp. 15).

Availability of telephone network coverage (landline, cellphone)

- The 'rich' in urban areas of Jinja were the only group explicitly reported to telephones (Jinja District PPA Report, 2002 Pp. 44).
- The island communities of Bugiri district claimed that they are isolated by lack of communication connectivity to the main land. The communities' main concern is the absence of telephone services and hence the demand for cellular phone connectivity with the mainland. The only means of contact between islands and the mainland is through risky water transport. Communities felt that telephone networks, and especially cellular communication services, would improve communication and reduce recourse to risky transport. They also suggested it would make business easier and allow for early warning mechanisms in case of accidents. According to the Islanders, efforts to convince MTN/CELTEL to deliver cellular services landed on deaf ears and these services remain lacking (Bugiri District PPA II Report, 2002, Pp. 98).
- *"Very often you hear the members of parliament from Ntungamo district on Radio West boasting about what they have done in their constituencies but you do not have a telephone to call and dispute whatever they are saying. You become annoyed and feel like breaking the radio."* An old man in poor category of well being in Cell I Ntungamo Town Council. (Ntungamo District PPA II Report, 2002, Pp. 56)
- Telephone networks or coverage were not mentioned in Masindi, Soroti, Arua and Moroto district reports.

Coverage by main national Radio stations

In all sites in all districts, communities reported that they obtained information via radio. However, both men and women in poor communities reported that access to radio in such communities is gendered; women have far less access than men.

- Poor women in **Jinja district** noted that most information is accessed by men who own radios. Most men in the rural areas move with their radios and women can access them only at night when their husbands return. Women access information on health matters when they visit health centres and women groups. Brochures,

particularly on HIV/ AIDS, are pinned at vantage points on trees and walls in the village. However, these only benefit the literate category, particularly the youth, who have attended post-primary education (Jinja District PPA Report, 2002, Pp. 128).

- In **Bugiri district**, communities reported that 'rich' men and women both have equal access to and control over radios and can easily access information. However, this is not the case with regard to poor women who neither access nor control radios. In poor households, be it in towns or the rural areas, men described how they remove the dry cells from their radios to save money, or take the radio away altogether. Women complained that even when they can access radio, the information they receive is limited by their heavy workload, which does not allow them enough time to listen to broadcasts (Bugiri District PPA II Report, 2002, Pp. 97 and 133). Most women stated that their husbands deny them access to 'family' radio. The main sources of information for women in Bugiri communities include: radio, neighbours, husbands, and friends.
- In **Arua district**, women reported that household assets, including radios are controlled by men (Arua District PPA II Report, 2001, Pp. 35).
- In **Soroti, Arua and Ntungamo districts**, sources of information include local FM radio, public notices pinned on trees, letters and occasional meetings with Local Councils (Soroti District PPA II Report, 2002; Arua District PPA II Report, 2001, Pp. 35; Ntungamo District PPA II Report, 2002, Pp. 29)..
- In **Moroto district**, youth from Nakapelimen mentioned hearing from others and radio as the means by which they get to know what the government was doing or planning. Women stated that they do not know what is happening most of the time as they are in the slum, preoccupied with finding something to eat (Moroto District PPA II Report, 2003).

Circulation of main national Newspapers

- **Jinja, Masindi and Ntungamo** were the only reports to explicitly refer to newspapers.
- According to the **Jinja District** Report, information about government policies and programmes is channelled through politicians, newspapers, local media, posters or mere individuals, all of which are unreliable given the complexities of reaching a largely illiterate and very poor community (Jinja District PPA Report, 2002 Pp. 92).
- All sites in **Masindi district** reported minimal knowledge or information regarding government policies and programmes. Advertisements, if any, are heard on the local radio or in a few cases, in the local news paper (Masindi District PPA Report, 2002, Pp.9).
- Community members in **Ntungamo district** complained about the lack of information on government programmes and policies. The scanty information they obtain is from radios, newspapers and posters (Ntungamo District PPA II Report, 2002, Pp. 61).
- No mention of newspapers was found in **Bugiri, Soroti, Arua and Moroto** district reports.

Availability of TV coverage

- The issue of TV coverage was not addressed by any of the seven PPA district reports reviewed.

4. Exclusion from policy processes (through distance to decision-makers and centres of power)

All communities felt that they are excluded from policy processes. In general, the decentralised system of local government through local councils was appreciated for attempting to solve local problems and disputes and fostering development. At the grassroots level, however, few tangible results have been realised. Poor communities are rarely consulted for opinions or given feedback. There is a general sense that the *further* a community is from the sub-county headquarters, the less likely it is to benefit from sub-county support.

- For many reasons, communities in **Jinja district** did not perceive themselves to be benefiting from government services at sub-county level and there was a feeling that some villages and/or localities are alienated. Lwitamakoli village, located 8 km from Buyengo sub-county headquarters, has no proper road to the village from the sub-county headquarters and officials could not even locate the village on the sub-

county map (Jinja District PPA Report, 2002, Pp. 20). Perceived isolation has led to rural to urban migration. This, in turn, was considered a cause of poverty because flocks of migrants to Jinja increase competition in the informal employment sector, thereby reducing the profitability of informal sector work (Pp. 23). With regard to participation, a lack of transport allowance was said to have resulted in many women politicians failing to cope with attending council meetings. Women at the sub-county level complained that walking all the way to and from the sub-county makes them reach home late and that this has many negative consequences. New entrants into politics were thought to be de-motivated by this (Pp. 84).

- In **Bugiri district**, women appreciated local government for attempting to be more inclusive. However, they still considered themselves to be politically marginalised (Bugiri District PPA II Report, 2002, Pp xiii). “*Our representatives at central government do not come back to help us they just go to get rich!*” Quoted from a Woman in Buwoya East village, Bugiri (Pp. 124).
- The poorest category in all sites in **Soroti district** claimed not to understand the role of the Local Council I except for settling disputes upon a community member’s payment of U shs. 5,000/=. The roles of Local Councils II and III were not clear to the communities either. According to many, these levels of local government are far away and never seen in the communities. They only show up during election campaigns (Pp. 88).
- In **Arua district**, MPs got no appreciation for having been ‘too far’ for contact/consultations (Arua District PPA II Report, 2001, Pp. 8).
- In **Moroto district**, Nakapelimen community was the most advantaged in terms of information about what the government was planning. This was largely because they lived in town (Moroto District PPA II Report, 2003). The communities of Lokileth argued that their area had been isolated and had not felt the presence of government for a long time. The colonial government had established some presence in the area, evidenced by the presence of a road and a few boreholes, but since then the area had become increasingly isolated, almost abandoned: “... *since we grew up, we had never seen a DC (district commissioner) coming to this place. We are happy that Uganda has remembered that we also exist. Please when you go back, tell whoever opened the door of life us also that we are still here in our bush.*” Rich man, Lokileth (Pp. 22).

5. Isolation and subjective well-being

Community definitions of poverty often emphasised isolation:

- Poverty was defined in the five sites of **Jinja district** as *lack of basic necessities or business capital, as lack of information, as powerlessness, social isolation and as a vicious deprivation process* (Jinja District PPA Report, 2002, Pp. 9).
- In Rwakayata village, **Masindi district**, a poor community was defined as one that is, among other things, remotely located and isolated (Masindi District PPA Report, 2002, Pp. 28).
- In **Soroti district**, the absence of social support leading to a feeling of isolation, exclusion, powerlessness, deprivation of rights and inability to access services was described as a form of poverty (Pp.7).
- In all sites in **Arua district**, failure to access services such as clean water, education, medical care etc. came up in discussions as a prominent definition of poverty (Arua District PPA II Report, 2001, Pp. 18).

In **Masindi district**, communities linked poverty to a lack of information and knowledge:

- Poverty was described as an absence of knowledge or the state of being illiterate and ignorant about oneself and the opportunities available to you. The following quotation from a youth respondent demonstrates this point: “*Not knowing what you are capable of doing and where you can get support or help is being poor.*” Male youth – Kawiti (Masindi District PPA Report, 2002, Pp. 25).
- Knowledge, information and skills were seen as important resources that enable people to develop. The peri-urban community of Kisarabwire felt that knowledge and information are responsible for household success. They described the use of information (especially market information), by communities, to determine which economic activity to engage in or which crop to grow. The pastoralist community in Masindi also associated information and knowledge with success in livestock breeding. For them, information and knowledge about cattle keeping is essential for any individual or household (Pp. 22).

6. Crime and insecurity

Crime and insecurity were reported to be ongoing causes of poverty by communities in all districts except for **Masindi district**. However, in **Jinja district**, security was perceived to have improved over the last decade (Jinja District Report, 2002 Pp. 34). Different types of crime and insecurity were reported depending largely on whether the site was rural or urban:

Theft and vandalism:

- Theft and vandalism of personal or household items were considered a cause of poverty in **Jinja district** (Jinja District PPA Report, 2002 Pp. ix). That said, it was also reported that since 1992, the number of robberies and killings had reduced. Insecurity and violence was generally associated with travel along roads (Pp. 34) and with alcohol brewing and consumption (Pp. 50).
- In **Bugiri district**, communities reported considerable insecurity in the islands of Lake Victoria, ranging from petty thefts of household property and domestic violence to piracy involving theft of boats, nets and murder (Bugiri District PPA II Report, 2002, Pp. 104). Locals viewed security as central to poverty eradication. They stated that as long as their means of production (boats, nets and engines) and lives remain insecure, there will be little motivation to produce more by increasing fishing (Pp. 134).
- In **Soroti**, communities in all sites viewed insecurity as a cause of poverty. Cattle rustling by Karamojong has led to loss of cattle/bulls which were seen as a major means of economic production (Pp. 38). Loss of property due to theft is also rampant in the suburbs and discourages communities from owning property (Pp. 43).
- In **Arua district**, petty theft, domestic violence and armed robbery pose current security concerns in urban sites. Armed robbery affects most trading centres and some people were reported to have resigned from business due to attacks. Many traders have lost property on the Karuma-Pakwach road in busses and lorries, without any government compensation (Arua District PPA II Report, 2001, Pp. 31). Communities in Arua also attributed insecurity to the activities of the Lords Resistance Army (Pp. 25).
- In **Moroto district**, insecurity, perpetuated by cattle rustling, was perceived to be one of the main causes of poverty: Men in all village sites in Moroto reported that overall, cattle rustling has made them poorer, not wealthier. In a focus group discussion, men from Nakapelimen claimed that they had ended up living in slums because they had lost cattle and, in some cases, families, due to raids. (Moroto District PPA II Report, 2003, Pp. 15). In December 2001, a government disarmament programme had commenced in the district but this had not been implemented uniformly in the region. Men from Naoi and Alekilek claimed that collaboration with the programme had left them more vulnerable to raids by the Jie. Communities of Loliketh and Lorukumo, who border the Turkana of Western Kenya, also claimed that the disarmament programme had worsened their plight because they were no longer able to protect themselves and their livestock after handing over their guns: *“The removal of the gun has caused us more misery because of the Turkana. They have chased us from their places as well as our land. Our remaining cattle are now here at Nakiloro. We have become defenceless because we don’t have what to defend ourselves with. The deployment of the army does not follow the directions of the people who know where danger is”*. Poor old man, Lorukumo (Pp. 15).
- The women of Nakapelimen identified conflict between the warring groups of the Matheniko, who live on the plains and the mountain of Tepeth, as a major cause of insecurity which often prevents the collection of firewood and grass for sale in the town and suburbs – a major income generation activity for women. Similarly, women from Naoi and Lokileth said that their source of livelihood is threatened because they can no longer collect green vegetables, wild fruits and roots because they fear being raped or killed by cattle rustlers (Pp. 16).
- In Ntungamo district, *rural* communities stated that they felt secure and expressed their satisfaction to government for relative the peace the people are enjoying. Conversely, the *urban* community revealed that their cell was insecure with many cases of housebreaking, raping, thuggery and violence. According to them, the main cause of insecurity is youths who smoke opium and break the law. Communities felt insecurity had discouraged businessmen from investing money in the area (Ntungamo District PPA II Report, 2002, Pp. 60).

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Annex 1

isoindex

	Town	dm	dd	dk	di	ti	dnps	dnss	isoindex
1.	Kampala	4.9	4.9	4.9	39	16	.6	1.1	9.297279
2.	Jinja	8.7	9	84	4.6	22	.6	1.7	24.5711
3.	Mukono	40	30	48	73	40	1.1	2.5	33.85508
4.	Masindi	132	32.5	228	84	64	1.2	1.5	80.29845
5.	Mpigi	29	45	46	22	32	1.4	3	31.02113
6.	Kapuchorwa	89	23	339	89	91	2.7	6.9	104.7829
7.	Moyo	139	21	502	327	115	.6	5.8	153.8898
8.	Rakai	55	34	176	41	60	1.6	4.9	63.55566
9.	Mbale	22	23	269	61	49	1.4	3.7	71.89205
10.	Hoima	202	18	201	115	69	1.2	4.5	82.46004
11.	Luwero	68	26	67	89	43	1.3	5	41.17441
12.	Bugiri	70	14	160	139	77	1.7	4.2	67.46236
13.	Iganga	45	23	129	149	57	1.2	3.4	55.82008
14.	Soroti	31	30	374	52	49	1.3	6.3	92.62842
15.	Kamuli	54	36	150	76	63	1.7	4.5	61.72197
16.	Masaka	24	39.7	165	79	58	1	2.7	60.48588
17.	Bushenyi	71	30	347	76	23	.9	2.6	82.90661
18.	Kisoro	11.7	11.7	492	227	99	1.4	4.7	130.454
19.	Arua	37	39	520	2788	79	1	3.6	250.3922
20.	Moroto	64	70	426	133	90	1.2	15	131.3246
21.	Adjumani	131	14	474	199	129	.7	7	146.0746
22.	Kumi	45	16	313	36	41	.36	4.8	76.69527
23.	Kabale	26.5	26.5	450	202	110	1.3	4.6	129.4653
24.	Ntungamo	31	23	351	202	47	1.6	5.9	93.2759
25.	Katakwi	55	33	411	173	84	1.9	6.9	117.9319
26.	Lira	51	50	373	214	117	1.5	6	125.9063
27.	Kabarole	51	50	315	92	78	1.8	7.8	99.19331
28.	Kotido	157	52	616	370	93	2.2	8.1	177.2258
29.	Mubende	120	67	120	109	64	2.8	5.6	70.16171
30.	Mbarara	59	59	339	133	60	1.3	6.3	101.4417
31.	Nebbi	96	29	427	282	71	1.2	5	123.3328
32.	Pallisa	46.8	21	208	110	50	.8	4.5	65.68386
33.	Busia	39	15	223	40	52	1.2	2.9	63.43555
34.	Tororo	19	22	227	133	36	1.3	3.4	63.32087
35.	Rukungiri	114	34	416	215	39	1	4.3	110.7842
36.	Kibaale	136	41	304	150	45	1.4	5	93.80959
37.	Kalangala	23.28	12	200	615	12	1.2	1	70.35722
38.	Kiboga	110	33	110	136	66	1	5.9	62.76379
39.	Apac	49	44	324	153	113	2	8	112.9586
40.	Nakasongola	147	30	147	221	103	1.7	8.7	87.76466
41.	Sembabule	62	24	270	112	58	1.2	5.9	81.28292

wfindex

	Town	pwe	pswat	gh	ph	wfindex
1.	Kampala	96.4	97	10	36	68.80213
2.	Jinja	61	95	28	35	57.90066
3.	Mukono	43	81	4.6	28	41.97762
4.	Masindi	39	60	10	26	36.77903
5.	Mpigi	48	55	6	21	36.77185
6.	Kapuchorwa	46	62	12	12	35.20972
7.	Moyo	27	76	24	13	33.12813
8.	Rakai	27	58	7	26	31.371
9.	Mbale	35	63	10.4	12	30.98297
10.	Hoima	34	68	4	13	30.7807
11.	Luwero	24.3	62	3	24	29.70514
12.	Bugiri	25	45	17	25	29.57439
13.	Iganga	34	55	14	11	29.38431
14.	Soroti	31	67	0	12	28.41768
15.	Kamuli	18	83	8	12	27.91825
16.	Masaka	33	52	4.5	9	26.0897
17.	Bushenyi	16	89	7	2	24.59874
18.	Kisoro	12	70	12	12	23.9251
19.	Arua	15	63	14	10	23.38726
20.	Moroto	8	72	6	16	23.15802
21.	Adjumani	22	48	11	11	23.04023
22.	Kumi	25	49	0	12	22.7922
23.	Kabale	9	90	0	7	22.69421
24.	Ntungamo	16	70	5	5	21.74865
25.	Katakwi	0	54	18	23	21.33124
26.	Lira	16	52	5	12	20.84063
27.	Kabarole	11	45	6	20	20.63792
28.	Kotido	0	73	0	19	20.34825
29.	Mubende	13	39	2	22	20.27364
30.	Mbarara	24	52	2	2	19.80922
31.	Nebbi	17	70	0	0	19.49585
32.	Pallisa	17	38	11	11	19.28838
33.	Busia	24	50	0	0	18.3833
34.	Tororo	22	38	5	5	18.01363
35.	Rukungiri	4	70	4	0	15.30478
36.	Kibaale	0	67	6	0	13.58749
37.	Kalangala	0	44	0	15	13.51244
38.	Kiboga	9	28	9	9	13.35718
39.	Apac	8	33	5	5	11.81428
40.	Nakasongola	9	30	9	0	10.56648
41.	Sembabule	0	0	0	0	0
Mean		22.40732	58.8537	7.304878	13	25.28542
N		41	41	41	41	41