



EVALUATION OF THE UGANDA SOCIAL ASSISTANCE GRANTS FOR EMPOWERMENT (SAGE) PROGRAMME

Midline qualitative research evaluation report
February 2012 – October 2013

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Preface / Acknowledgement

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All opinions expressed, and any mistakes, remain the responsibility of the authors.



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Executive Summary

Introduction

The Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment (SAGE) pilot cash transfer scheme aims to help to tackle chronic poverty in Uganda. The pilot is expected to reach around 15% of households in 14 targeted districts, over a four-year period between 2011 and 2015. Two targeting methodologies, each providing a cash transfer every two months, will be implemented in separate sub-counties:

- **Vulnerable Family Support Grant (VFSG):** employs a composite index based on demographic indicators of vulnerability such as disability, age and orphanhood to determine eligibility.
- **Senior Citizens Grant (SCG):** People above 65 years of age are registered onto the programme (above 60 years in the Karamoja region).

This report presents the findings of the mid-term qualitative evaluation research. The overall design of the mid-term qualitative research remained the same as it was at baseline; however greater focus was given to ‘social relations’ as an area of special interest. The qualitative research was conducted in eight districts in which the SAGE pilot is being conducted. In each district, the research was conducted in two sub-counties; focusing on a cluster of villages in each sub-county. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and participatory analyses were facilitated with male and female beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, and interviews were facilitated with village opinion leaders, government officials, programme implementers and SAGE pay agents.

Qualitative Evaluation Findings

Use of the SAGE cash transfer

Overall, the cash transfer is reported to be mainly used to purchase food and other immediate basic needs, and a large portion of the transfer is utilized in the week that it is received. For both SCG and VFSG beneficiaries, the most common reported uses of the cash transfer are purchase of food and schooling materials and expenditure on healthcare. A large number of the beneficiaries we spoke to also say they used the cash transfer to purchase soap and clothing; and (particularly in SCG areas) to purchase mattresses and bedding and to repair their homes. Other commonly reported uses of the cash transfer include hiring labour and contributions to agricultural livelihoods such as purchase of seeds. Some beneficiaries have made investments in livestock assets, and a small number have made investments in businesses. Use of the cash transfer for investment in local savings groups and social risk mitigation strategies is also commonly claimed (particularly among women); while some men report using a portion of the cash transfer to build their social capital, status and self-esteem by sharing local brew and cooked snacks with other men.

Control over the SAGE cash transfer

In most VFSG and SCG households we spoke to, the named beneficiary (whether male or female) tends to make decisions on the use of the cash transfer, because the money is ‘given to them’. However, in a smaller number of households, husbands control the cash transfer that was given to their wife (the named beneficiary). In SCG households, while it seems most common for the named beneficiary to make decisions on the use of the cash transfer, there are instances in which

the decision is shared between husband and wife. This is most often in households in which both husband and wife are SCG beneficiaries.

Poverty and wellbeing

Definitions of poverty, and characterisations of the ‘very poor’, ‘fairly poor’ and ‘better off’, remain similar to the baseline. The majority of SCG recipients are considered to be ‘very poor’ by those we spoke to. In contrast, VFSG recipients are perceived to be equally distributed between the categories of ‘fairly poor’ and ‘very poor’. The VFSG targeting is widely believed to have captured some ‘fairly poor’ or ‘better off’ households at the expense of the ‘very poor’ that are in dire need.

Across the evaluation sites we visited, and in the view of those we spoke to, both SAGE beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries alike, there has been a general downturn in poverty over the past eighteen months, as well as widening gaps between the rich and the poor. Several factors were identified as contributing to this overall trend, including climatic shocks, indebtedness, sale of assets, and loss of livestock or businesses. Many SAGE beneficiaries explained that while the cash transfer has helped them, their lives have remained a struggle against this context of deepening poverty.

Yet the SAGE cash transfer is seen to have enabled improvements in wellbeing for some SAGE beneficiaries, particularly among SCG recipients: Some SCG beneficiaries are perceived to have moved from the category of ‘very poor’ to ‘fairly poor’. This change in wellbeing in SCG areas is referenced to the effect of cash transfer on reducing elderly beneficiaries’ dependence on others and their need to ‘beg’; as well as enhancing their status and dignity, their capacity to fulfil basic needs, their ability to share and thus access reciprocal support relationships, and their participation in community meetings.

In VFSG areas, the cash transfer is seen to have had less marked effects on experiences of poverty. Where wellbeing is perceived to have improved, these changes are largely limited to SAGE beneficiaries within two sub-groups: (a) those that experience the VFSG as a more ‘personal benefit’ (such as unmarried people with disabilities, who use the transfer on their personal needs); and (b) those that are ‘fairly poor’ (as opposed to ‘very poor’).

The greater impact of SAGE on wellbeing for SCG recipients appears to be underpinned by various factors. Firstly, the baseline indicated a greater level of poverty and food insecurity among elderly, which has affected the impact of the cash transfer. Secondly, the SCG has largely been understood and accepted as a ‘personal benefit’ for the elderly: intended to help elderly people as individuals; and to reduce the burden of care for the family members that would otherwise support them. In contrast, the VFSG is largely understood as a benefit for the household and has been spread more thinly among the needs of many household members.

Vulnerabilities and coping strategies

The risks that people face remain the same as found at baseline, with little variation across the study sites. At baseline, the most common coping strategies that people report using when faced with a shock were social support and informal borrowing, sale of assets, reducing consumption and taking up additional or alternative livelihood activities. The midline evaluation found that each of these coping mechanisms remain important for both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries.

The SAGE cash transfer has had mixed impacts on the ability of beneficiary households to cope with shocks and on the way in which they cope. Some SAGE beneficiaries report that there has

been no change in their coping mechanisms, or capacities to cope with shocks, over the past eighteen months. For these beneficiaries, the limited impact of the cash transfer was often explained by its small value, and the interval (two month or greater) between transfers.

However, the cash transfer has helped some beneficiary households to cope, particularly when the timing of the shock coincided with receipt of the cash transfer. The two most common examples cited were use of the transfer to purchase medicines when faced with health care shocks, and purchase of food when crops were destroyed by harsh climatic conditions (in Moroto, Nakapiripirit and Kaberamaido - SCG pilot districts). In the case of crop failure, beneficiaries reported using the cash transfer in combination with other coping strategies such as taking up additional livelihood activities, reducing consumption and selling assets. Some SCG beneficiaries reported that the cash transfer has reduced their reliance on negative coping strategies, such as distress sales of productive assets or staple consumption items. Overall, the impacts of the cash transfer on beneficiaries' capacities to cope have been greater in SCG areas, which may be related to the aforementioned tendency for the SCG to be understood as a 'personal benefit'.

There were also indications of some indirect impacts of the cash transfer on beneficiaries' capacities to cope with shocks, in both SCG and VFSG areas. For example, across the districts, the cash transfer is perceived to increase beneficiaries' creditworthiness and their capacity to reciprocate social support. This has enhanced beneficiaries' access to credit in shops and pharmacies, and their access to support and borrowing from friends and neighbours. Related to this, a few non-beneficiaries (particularly in Apac) reported that SAGE beneficiaries have supported them when they have faced a shock. Some beneficiaries (particularly women) have also used a portion of the cash transfer to join 'saving and credit' groups, which have been drawn on at times of need.

Livelihoods

The dominant experience in livelihoods over the past eighteen months has been a downturn in agricultural yields and challenges for pastoralist, bush-based, fishing and small business livelihoods. This has been largely due to adverse climatic conditions, pests and diseases, as well as the perceived negative outcomes of particular government policies. A large number of SAGE beneficiaries explain that the cash transfer has been used mainly to purchase food and other basic needs, and thus that they have not been able to invest in their livelihoods. Yet, as noted above, some SCG beneficiaries and 'fairly poor' VFSG beneficiaries have used a portion of the cash transfer to purchase seeds, farm tools and small animal assets, and some have also invested in small business ventures. In some cases, these investments have been enabled by placing some of the cash transfer in local savings groups. Influenced by the 'boost' that SAGE has contributed to the local economy, some non-beneficiaries have also benefitted from increased sales or have responded to increased demand by setting up new businesses or supplying labour to beneficiaries.

Provision of services and the social contract

There are no significant changes in perceptions of the social contract over the past eighteen months. Taxation and democratic elections were seen as the basis of a social contract in which citizens expect services to be provided in exchange for their votes and taxes. Ineffective public services and the lack of responsiveness of elected leaders were interpreted as a breach of the contract, and one that respondents were clearly unhappy about. As found at baseline, the government is seen as the main provider of services in areas such as education, health, agricultural extension and social protection; while non-government organisations also provide

support and services in similar areas (i.e. health, education, agriculture and supporting the poor). In most cases, the services identified as most important by respondents are health and education, together with security and policing, support (e.g. through SAGE) to poorer households and to households at times of crisis, and agricultural extension services.

Across the locations and respondent types there is a widespread understanding that being in receipt of the SAGE transfer does not affect the receipt of other forms of support (formal and informal) or access to other government or non-government programmes. In many locations access to services, particularly health and education, is facilitated by the SAGE transfer. The SAGE transfer is reported to have increased access to some services, particularly health and education, for some recipients. Increased access to and participation in savings groups is also reported in some locations.

Social relations

In general, in most households it is reported that there has been no change in patriarchal control over assets and decisions, or gendered roles and responsibilities, over the past eighteen months. However, particularly in SCG households in Katakwi, Moroto and Nebbi, some female beneficiaries have experienced increased influence in household decision making due to their new status as 'breadwinners'. Especially in Katakwi, there are indications that female beneficiaries' purchase of, and control over, small animal assets represents a shift in gendered relations in some households.

For many elderly SAGE beneficiaries, the cash transfer has reduced their dependence on their wider households. In some cases, this change has shifted into an increased dependence on the elderly as a new source of resources and support within households. There is some indication that female VFSG beneficiaries have taken on greater household responsibilities in the past eighteen months, which is partly due to a gradual change in men's attitudes and fulfilment of their traditional roles and responsibilities, but in some instances is seen to be influenced by women's receipt of the SAGE cash transfer.

There are some fairly significant positive changes reported in emotional relationships within many SCG and VFSG beneficiary households over the past eighteen months. This has been influenced by the contribution of the cash transfer to household incomes and associated reduced stress, alongside greater respect for the SAGE recipient as a contributor and avoidance of arguments with them to maintain access to the benefits of the cash transfer. In contrast, in Kyarusozzi and some communities in Nakapiripirit (both VFSG areas), the identification of women as the named beneficiaries has provoked or exacerbated marital strife in some households. And in some households across the districts, tensions have been catalyzed by men using the cash transfer to buy local brew at the expense of household needs.

With regard to the impacts of the cash transfer on community tensions and cohesion, there is a stark contrast between SCG and VFSG areas. Across the VFSG areas we visited, although to varying degrees, SAGE is seen to have contributed to inter-household tensions. These tensions have been catalyzed by the perceived lack of fairness in the targeting mechanism, and perceptions that female beneficiaries are 'haughty' and are not using the cash transfer to support others. This has spiralled into jealousy and social exclusion for some female beneficiaries. In contrast, in the SCG evaluation sites SAGE is generally seen to contribute to improved cohesion between households, related to enhancements in existing systems of sharing, borrowing, support and reciprocation.

Across the districts, many elderly beneficiaries have experienced enhanced voice and respect in community meetings over the past eighteen months. This has been enabled by the contribution of the cash transfer to enhancing elderly beneficiaries' appearance and self-esteem, alongside their decreased dependency and their new ability to support their households and friends. With the exception of elderly beneficiaries, change in access to community decision making was very rarely reported in VFSG areas.

Conclusions

After twelve months of operation, the SAGE pilot programme has contributed to a number of dimensions of change in many of the key impact areas analysed by this evaluation. Some of the most significant contributions to change have been related to social dimensions of poverty, which have been positive in some communities and households and more negative in others. Changes in material dimensions of poverty have been less marked. The cash transfer is reported to have contributed to capacities to fulfil basic needs (particularly in the week of SAGE payment), and for some beneficiaries it has also increased the ability to cope with economic shocks, partly due to enhanced access to social support and credit. Some beneficiaries have also been able to use a portion of the cash transfer to invest in their livelihoods and local savings groups. These uses of the cash transfer may demonstrate more marked impacts on wellbeing over the longer term.

The qualitative research finds several differences between VFSG and SCG areas in terms of experiences of the cash transfer and its impacts. Key amongst these differences are: perceptions of the SCG as a 'personal benefit', while the VFSG is often spread thinly among the needs of large households; greater tension over the VFSG targeting; and a perceived greater proportion of 'very poor' people among SCG beneficiaries compared to the VFSG. Improvements in wellbeing are seen as greatest among SCG recipients; in VFSG areas, they seem largely limited to beneficiaries that (a) experience the VFSG as a more 'personal benefit', or (b) beneficiaries who are 'fairly poor'. There is also a stark contrast between the contribution of SAGE to positive change in inter-household relationships in SCG areas; and its contribution to negative change in VFSG areas.

The qualitative research also points to some gendered differences in experiences and use of the cash transfer, as well as some areas of gendered social relations where the cash transfer has contributed to change. In many VFSG and SCG households, the cash transfer has contributed to improved marital relationships, and in some SCG households it has helped to enhance women's participation in decision making. Yet in a few communities, the cash transfer has exacerbated marital tensions. There are also some indications that receipt of the VFSG has increased the household responsibilities of some female beneficiaries. This may be seen as a form of socio-economic empowerment, but some women pointed to the more negative outcome of an increase in women's already large burdens and workload.

Areas for follow-up research

Social relations, psycho-social impacts, empowerment and disempowerment

Many respondents report using the transfer on necessities associated with personal presentation (e.g. soap and clothes) which enhances their dignity, and many men have used a portion of the transfer to share snacks and drinks with other men which builds their social capital, status and self-esteem. Enhanced self-esteem and respect from others seems to be an important and achievable impact of the SAGE cash transfer, particularly for elderly beneficiaries. Even further, improving these 'psycho-social' dimensions of beneficiaries' lives seems to lead to improvements in material

dimensions of wellbeing and reduced vulnerability by enhancing access to reciprocal social support and risk-pooling networks. For elderly beneficiaries, enhanced self-esteem and respect have also supported their capacity to participate in community meetings. Understanding these processes and pathways of change could be an important area for further analysis in the next round of the qualitative research. In particular, what are the positive material outcomes of improved psychosocial wellbeing and participation in community decision-making processes, and how these impact on beneficiaries' perception of the social contract.

Impacts in the wider community and local economy

The midline evaluation indicates that some SAGE beneficiaries' have made investments in savings groups. The follow up evaluation will analyse in more detail the proportion of beneficiaries that have invested in savings groups, and the reasons that some have invested while others have not. Extending this analysis to the use of loans by non-beneficiaries could help to clarify ways in which SAGE may impact on the wider community. This could be coupled with more detailed analysis of the impact of SAGE on local markets (improved buoyancy) and the start-up of new businesses (among both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries). This may offer a more nuanced picture of the interaction of the SAGE cash transfer with the local economy.

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List of Abbreviations

DFID	UK Department for International Development
ESPP	Government of Uganda's Expanding Social Protection Programme
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
KII	Key Informant Interview
OPM	Oxford Policy Management
PDC	Parish Development Committee
PLWHA	People living with HIV or AIDS
SAGE	Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment
SCG	Senior Citizens Grant
UPE	Universal Primary Education
VFSG	Vulnerable Family Support Grant
VHT	Village Health Team

1. Introduction

This report presents detailed findings from the qualitative research conducted for the midline round of the independent impact evaluation of the Uganda SAGE programme. Its purpose is to provide an analysis of the context in the study locations, and how the situation in those locations has changed over the 18 months since the baseline study, including any contribution the SAGE programme has made to changes during that time.

The impact evaluation has both a qualitative and quantitative component and is being conducted over three rounds: baseline, midline and endline. The research presented in this midline report was undertaken in September and October 2013. The qualitative evaluation baseline was undertaken in February-March 2012, and the endline will be conducted in September-October 2014. The qualitative research at baseline was conducted more than 12 months prior to the midline round of data collection. This was part of the intended sequencing of qualitative and quantitative research activities, in order that preliminary findings from the qualitative study could inform the design of the quantitative study. The different seasons in which the qualitative baseline and midline were facilitated does not affect the midline findings, since the approach of the qualitative research is to facilitate discussion on experiences and changes over a broad eighteen month period, and to identify within that period where the SAGE transfers are reported to have contributed to change over and above other factors.

The findings of the qualitative research have been combined with those from the quantitative component in a separate mixed methods report¹ in order to produce a robust and comprehensive assessment of programme impact. In this, the aim of the qualitative component is to enable an assessment of impacts that are difficult to cover completely and sensitively using only a quantitative survey, and to provide nuanced data that help to explain the quantitative findings. A third report provides an assessment of programme operational performance using a combination of both qualitative and quantitative data².

The SAGE theory of change is presented in Annex A and identifies both the core impact areas that underpin the qualitative evaluation questions and links these with the quantitative indicators.

1.1 Overview of the SAGE programme

The Government of Uganda is implementing the Expanding Social Protection Programme (ESPP). A key element of the ESPP is the pilot Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment (SAGE). The aim of the SAGE pilot is test a range of implementation modalities for an efficient, cost effective and scalable social transfer, generate evidence for national policy making, and provide a reference point to relevant stakeholders about the government's acceptance of and commitment to social protection. The SAGE pilot is expected to reach around 600,000 people in about 95,000 households over a period of four years (April 2011- Feb 2015), covering approximately 15% of households in 14 pilot districts³.

¹ Evaluation of the Uganda Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment (SAGE) Programme: Impact after one year of programme operations 2012–2013 (March 2014).

² Evaluation of the Uganda Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment (SAGE) Programme: Programme operations performance report (February 2014).

³ Apac, Kaberamaido, Katakwi, Kibogja, Kyenjojo, Moroto, Nakapiripirit, Nebbi, plus the newly created districts of Zombo, Kole, Napak, Amudat, Kyegegwa and Kyankwanzi.

Two targeting methodologies are being used in separate sub-counties of the 14 pilot districts. One – known as the Vulnerable Family Support Grant (VFSG) – employs a composite index based on demographic indicators of vulnerability to determine eligibility. The other – Senior Citizens Grant (SCG) – uses age to determine eligibility⁴.

If present in a beneficiary household, adult women are selected by the programme to be the physical recipient of transfers under the VFSG. In the case of the SCG, the transfer is given to the individual older person enrolled in SAGE. The programme makes provision for an alternative recipient to be able to collect the transfer in cases where the named beneficiary is sick, infirm, or where it is simply physically more convenient for another person to collect the money.

The transfer is currently worth 25,000 UGX per month and is paid bi-monthly. This amount represents a slight increase on the original value of the transfer when it was set in 2011 (UGX 23,000). The amount is reviewed and updated once a year⁵. At midline the transfer value represents around 13% of total household consumption for beneficiary households (the same for both SCG and VFSG recipients respectively)⁶, and the vast majority of beneficiary households had received between 2-3 transfers, amounting to around UGX 130,000⁷ in total (see section 3 below).

The telecoms provider MTN is contracted to transfer cash to beneficiaries using electronic transfers. A Management Information System (MIS) has been developed to monitor programme implementation. Households were registered onto the programme via a census-style exercise, in which details were gathered from all households and entered into the SAGE MIS. The registration exercise was carried out by local government with the support of URSB, UNICEF and the SAGE programme. Registration took place between April and June 2012.

Responsibility for implementation of SAGE sits with the SAGE Implementation Unit based within the Social Protection Secretariat in the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MoGLSD). An ESPP Steering Committee oversees the work of the Social Protection Secretariat, including implementation of the SAGE programme. The ESPP Steering Committee reports to the Minister of Gender, Labour and Social Development, which in turn reports to Cabinet and Parliament.

Within the pilot districts SAGE is administered by local government officials, including district chairpersons, Community Development Officers (CDOs), sub-county chairpersons, parish chairpersons and village chairpersons (LC1s). Payments are administered by agents supplied by payments provider MTN and overseen by relevant local government staff (sub-county and parish chairpersons) at the paypoint.

This report is written for an audience which is assumed to have a minimal working knowledge of the SAGE programme and Ugandan administrative context. For more detail on the SAGE programme, including on enrolment and eligibility procedures, see the Evaluation of the Uganda Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment (SAGE) Programme Baseline Report (2013)⁸.

⁴ Over 65 years; over 60 years in Karamoja region.

⁵ The transfer increased to UGX 24,000 in July 2012 and again to UGX 25,000 in July 2013.

⁶ For more detail on the size of the transfer in relation to household size and consumption see Evaluation of the Uganda Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment (SAGE) Programme: Impact after one year of programme operations 2012–2013 (March 2014).

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ <http://www.opml.co.uk/projects/uganda-social-assistance-grants-empowerment-sage-programme>

1.2 Overview of the evaluation methodology

The SAGE programme includes an evaluation component. The purpose of the Evaluation Component is to assess the impact and operational effectiveness of the SAGE pilot programme, compare the relative performance of the two targeting methodologies used by the pilot, and ensure that evaluation findings are disseminated nationally.

The evaluation component will help to determine the relevance and effectiveness of cash transfers in delivering the broad aims of the ESPP. The evaluation component will also help to inform stakeholders of the programme's performance and enable lessons to be drawn to improve future practice and policy. An internal operational monitoring exercise is being conducted which, together with results from the Impact Evaluation, will feed into the SAGE programme Learning Framework.

The Evaluation will assess SAGE against its main objective of empowering recipient households through:

- Reducing material deprivation
- Increasing economic security
- Reducing social exclusion; and
- Increasing access to services.

In order to assess these impacts, the Evaluation collects quantitative and qualitative information over three years on a range of key indicators and supporting data. The impact analysis is conducted using a mixed methods approach, combining qualitative research with a quasi-experimental quantitative survey design.

The quantitative survey is implemented in 399 clusters across 48 sub-counties in eight programme districts⁹. The two targeting mechanisms (SCG and VFSG areas) are randomly assigned evenly between the 48 sub-counties, with the exception of the Karamoja region in which only the SCG targeting mechanism was employed. The SAGE programme implemented the enrolment process in evaluation areas where selected recipients receive the transfer, but only after they were surveyed at baseline. A panel of these households is then interviewed on an annual basis for two rounds of follow-up surveys, midline and endline. There is a gap of 12 months between each round of survey, with data collection taking place between September and October, starting in 2012 (see baseline report). A sample of control communities was also surveyed in order to measure impact on a selection of community-level outcomes.

Qualitative fieldwork was facilitated in four districts in the baseline year, selected purposively¹⁰ from within the eight SAGE evaluation districts to give a range of different contexts. At midline and endline, the qualitative research is expanded to all eight evaluation districts. Data collection at baseline took place between February and March 2012. Data collection at midline was conducted between September and October 2013. At endline, data collection is due to take place between September and October 2014.

⁹ Apac, Kaberamaido, Katakwi, Kibogja, Kyenjojo, Moroto, Nakapiripirit and Nebbi.

¹⁰ 'Purposive sampling' is a qualitative sampling method that selects research locations or respondents based on their characteristics, to ensure that different contexts are included (e.g. urban/rural, trading/agricultural/fishing livelihoods etc.). This provides an appropriate cross-section of contexts and views, and enables disaggregation of data based on these differences.

The Evaluation also reports on the operational effectiveness of the Programme, with the objective of providing an overall assessment of programme operational effectiveness on a range of indicators, such as functional effectiveness of the payments system, beneficiary satisfaction with the programme, and cost to beneficiaries of participating in the programme. Data on operational effectiveness is gathered using both qualitative and quantitative methods and analysed using a mixed methods approach in the same way as programme impact.

1.3 Structure of this report

The remainder of this report is structured as follows. Section 2 describes the methodology used for the midline qualitative research. Section 3 presents information on the SAGE transfer and how it is used by beneficiary households. Section 4 analyses findings around the impact of the programme on poverty and wellbeing. Section 5 looks at programme impact on household vulnerabilities and coping strategies. Section 6 considers the effect of SAGE on people's livelihoods, and section 7 analyses provision of and access to services, including healthcare, education and financial services, as well as notions of the social contract. Section 8 presents findings around the interaction of the SAGE programme with social relations within and between households and within the community as a whole. Section 9 offers concluding thoughts.

2 Qualitative research methodology

2.1 Overview of the qualitative research at midline

During the evaluation inception phase it was agreed by the programme stakeholders and the evaluation team that the qualitative research should not exactly mirror or duplicate all areas of the quantitative survey. Rather it would build on the relative strengths of participatory research and qualitative data to analyse themes that are less easily addressed through quantitative survey data. The qualitative research thus analyses key impact areas as well as the broader context within which the SAGE transfers are being provided. The midline qualitative research was also designed to increase the likelihood of identifying unexpected areas of impact that can be explored further in the endline round of data collection.

Based on the overarching set of evaluation objectives presented in Annex B, the midline qualitative research was collected across five key impact areas, identified based on findings from the quantitative and qualitative data at baseline. These are:

- Reduced poverty within recipient households and the wider community
- Reduced vulnerability to the effects of seasonal stresses, longer term trends and shocks
- Improved livelihood choices and options
- Increased access to services
- Reduced social exclusion of marginalised individuals, groups or households

These research areas and associated Matrix of Research Questions are presented in Annex C. They are linked to the four main programme objectives outlined in the evaluation theory of change (presented in Annex A).

2.1.1 Special focus on social relations

The overall design and methodology of the midline qualitative research remained the same as it was at baseline. However, the qualitative research was also designed to focus on specific themes in each successive round, based on findings from the previous round. This allows the research to investigate areas of particular interest that emerge, or areas in which in-depth research is required in order to better understand the quantitative data.

With regard to assessing the impacts of SAGE, the baseline research highlighted ‘social relations’ as an area of special interest¹¹. Evidence from other cash transfer evaluations show how the impacts on social relations may be manifested in improvements in mutual support and sharing practices, intra- and inter-household relations (see Kardan et al, 2010), increased trust and confidence through collaboration in community meetings (ODI, 2009), and increased involvement in community level saving groups (OPM, 2012). But the impact of cash transfers on social relations may not always be positive. For example, targeting processes may create resentments and jealousies between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries (see Kardan et al 2010). In current

¹¹ They also highlighted programme operations as an area for focussed research but results from that strand of the study are presented in Evaluation of the Uganda Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment (SAGE) Programme: Programme operations performance report (February 2014).

cash transfer evaluations, the link between these sorts of social relations and cash transfer impacts on poverty and wellbeing is often either not examined or unclear.

To examine these links, the qualitative research at midline expanded the baseline research questions, to provide increased focus on understanding the impacts of the SAGE transfer and the SAGE operations on social relations, and how these affect poverty and wellbeing. The in-depth research questions for analysis of social relations are presented in Annex C.

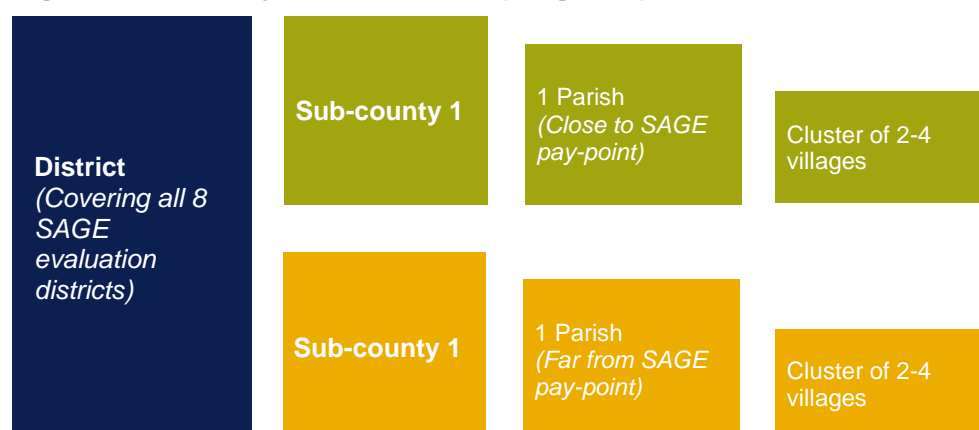
2.2 Sampling

2.2.1 Selection of research locations

The qualitative research at midline and endline are being conducted in all eight districts in which SAGE is operational, as opposed to just the four covered at baseline. The list of sub-counties in which the qualitative research was undertaken is provided in Annex E. The qualitative evaluation research is being facilitated only in SAGE intervention districts. Comparative analysis of impact is provided by facilitating the research with both SAGE beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries at each research site.

Within each SAGE intervention district, two sub-counties were purposefully selected. In districts in which both the SCG and VFSG are operational, the two selected sub-counties covered both targeting methods. In Moroto and Nakapiripirit, only the SCG is operational so only SCG sub-counties are selected. The other exception is Katakwi, in which both sub-counties selected at baseline were SCG targeting areas¹². In four districts (Apac, Katakwi, Kiboga, Kyenjojo) the research was facilitated in the same sub-counties covered by the baseline research.

Figure 1: Summary of location sampling for qualitative evaluation



In both the districts covered by the baseline and the additional four districts covered by in the midline research, sub-counties were selected in order to cover a range of socio-economic settings, taking into account livelihood profile, vulnerability context, and urban/rural distinctions. This selection was done through analysis of secondary data for each sub-county, in conjunction with

¹² The decision of sampling two SCG areas in Katakwi, rather than one SCG and one VFSG area, was taken based on discussions with local stakeholders on the basis of a range of criteria (see Evaluation of the Uganda Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment (SAGE) Programme Qualitative baseline research design and impact evaluation strategy, October 2012).

discussion with the team leaders from each district. Sub-counties were thus selected to provide diverse contexts within the districts.

Within each sub-county, the research was undertaken in one parish, focusing on a cluster of between two and four villages. The sampling of parishes was based on the 'remoteness' of the locations in relation to the SAGE paypoints, such that:

- One parish that is close to the SAGE pay-point (not remote)
- One parish that is far from the SAGE pay-point (remote).

Based on these criteria, the selection of parishes was made in conjunction with the field research teams, utilising their local knowledge. The selection of parishes was discussed with district and sub-county CDOs during courtesy visits and interviews in order to: (a) identify the location of SAGE pay-points; and (b) to ascertain their views on whether the identified parishes were typical or unusual in terms of their context and operations of the SAGE programme. This provided a check against biasing selection of the research locations (for instance only selecting sub-counties with positive programme implementation records).

Within the two parishes per district, a cluster of two to four villages has been selected based on the livelihood and social characteristics of the beneficiaries, as well as the number of beneficiaries per community. This information was gleaned from the list of beneficiaries provided by the SAGE programme office. The number of villages per cluster varies due to the need to sample at least 16 male and 16 female beneficiaries per parish. In the parishes selected for the qualitative research, many of the villages had less than this required number, with the number of male beneficiaries being particularly low in both VFSG and SCG areas. The endline research will be facilitated in the clusters of villages, although without a specific aim to interview the same respondents, due to the approach of group-based analysis (FGDs).

2.2.2 Sampling of respondents

Individual respondents were sampled to enable analysis with different social groups in each community. This included research with an equal number of beneficiaries *and* non-beneficiaries, and an equal number of women and men. The sampled beneficiaries have been in the programme for approximately the same length of time: there has not been a second registration of beneficiaries since the programme started, and very few appeals have yet been addressed.¹³

The analysis was conducted through Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and Key Informant Interviews (KIIs). Over 128 FGDs and over 140 individual interviews were facilitated in the midline data collection, covering 1,164 respondents in total.

Sampling of respondents for Focus Group Discussions

Eight FGDs were facilitated in each parish/sub-county, with each of the following categories:

- Two with female SAGE beneficiaries (8-10 participants)
- Two with male SAGE beneficiaries (8-10 participants)
- Two with female non-beneficiaries (8-10 participants)

¹³ *Evaluation of the Uganda Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment (SAGE) Programme: Impact after one year of programme operations 2012–2013* (March 2014).

- Two with male non-beneficiaries (8-10 participants)

The first step in determining the sampling for the FGD categories was social analysis of the community. This entailed identification of different social groups, important livelihood groups, vulnerable groups, and so on, to support identification of priority groups to engage in the research. This social analysis was facilitated through discussions with key informants with good knowledge of the community.

The participants for FGDs with SAGE beneficiaries were purposively selected through analysis of the SAGE beneficiary list. In each FGD with beneficiaries (male and female), wherever possible the selected participants had similar characteristics: such as 'elderly widows', 'elderly non-widows', 'male farmers', 'males with disabilities', and so on.

The non-beneficiary FGDs were designed in two ways: (a) FGDs with non-beneficiaries that have the same defining identity as the beneficiary groups (widows, livelihood groups, disabled, etc.) to enable comparison; or (b) alternative identity groups that would provide different perspectives (such as FGDs with businesswomen or fishermen, or youth in SCG areas).

Sampling of respondents for Key Informant Interviews

At the village level, key informant interviews (KIIs) were undertaken with local opinion leaders who have everyday contact with their communities (teachers, health workers, religious leaders, women's leaders, local officials, businesswomen, youth leaders, etc.). These key informants shared their expertise, knowledge and views on local contexts, changes over time, and the process and impacts of the SAGE programme. We also facilitated KIIs with district and sub-county level officials, programme implementers and pay agents. A set of key informants were initially selected based on information from the social mapping exercise, and subsequently additional KIIs were identified through snowball sampling¹⁴ and as issues for further analysis arose from the FGDs and interviews.

2.3 Research approach

The midline research took place from September to October 2013. The fieldwork was facilitated by twenty-four Ugandan field researchers, who each attended a six-day training in Kampala. The training included facilitation of a pilot study in Kiboga district. The pilot study was used to both test the research questions and sampling methodology, and also to provide a practical training opportunity for the field-researchers.

The field researchers were organised into six teams with appropriate language skills and contextual knowledge to cover the eight districts. In each district, the research was facilitated by a team of four field-researchers (two male and two female), and one staff member from OPM or Makerere University to play a quality assurance and oversight role. The research teams spent six full days in each district (three days in each sub-county). At least 16 FGDs and 16 KIIs were facilitated per district.

Each FGD was facilitated by two researchers: one facilitator and one note taker, and lasted for approximately 1.5 hours. The two female researchers in each field team facilitated the FGDs with women; while the two male researchers facilitated the FGDs with men. The discussions were also

¹⁴ Snowball sampling refers to a sampling methodology whereby sampled respondents identify further respondents to sample.

recorded on an MP3 recorder, subject to participants giving prior consent. The KII questions covered broadly the same key areas as the FGDs, but were tailored to the respondent. Interviews were also recorded with prior consent. KIIs generally lasted approximately 30 minutes to one hour, depending on the topics discussed and the availability of the respondent.

During the FGDs, a number of participatory tools were used to help people explain and debate their views, and to enable local stakeholder analysis of themes. The tools we used included:

Institutional mapping (Venn diagram) to analyse:

- The relative importance and accessibility of different informal institutions in processes to enhance wellbeing (e.g. household, clan, savings groups, reciprocal support relationships, etc.);
- The relative importance and accessibility of different formal institutions in processes to enhance wellbeing (e.g. school, clinic, NGO, government programmes, etc.).

Vulnerability mapping, to analyse

- People most vulnerable to poverty and social exclusion and why;
- Selection of SAGE beneficiaries – who was included and excluded and why;
- What is done, if anything, to assist the most vulnerable, and has this changed over time?
- How has people's vulnerability changed over time (e.g. are there more vulnerable groups or are there different vulnerable groups now compared to previously?).

Well-being ranking, to analyse:

- The characteristics of different categories of wellbeing (e.g. very poor, poor, better off, rich) as defined in local terms and languages;
- Identification of particularly vulnerable social groups in the community and within households;
- The distribution of poverty categories within the community, and the poverty categories of SAGE beneficiaries;
- Shifts and changes in poverty categories in the last eighteen months and reasons for these changes.

Process mapping and time lines, to analyse

- The process of SAGE operations;
- Key changes in socio-economic wellbeing.

Given the time limitations and the nature of this type of research, the participatory tools were used flexibly with different groups at different times to gain an overall understanding of the context and situation. Three to four research themes were analysed within each FGD. The researchers also worked flexibly and switched their focus to particular themes in response to issues raised during discussions.

At the end of each day, the team leader (QA) facilitated a de-briefing session, in which the team shared and analysed their findings so far and identified interesting themes and contextual issues that should be incorporated into the next day of research.

2.4 Analysis of the qualitative data

The data analysis commenced during the daily debriefing sessions, in which common and unusual themes were identified and analysed, alongside difference between social groups. The daily debriefings also enabled the researchers to clarify issues and strengthen understanding by incorporating additional key questions into the next day of research. Each research team produced a district-level research report, which provided a summary of the research process and an analysis of key findings and contextual issues.

The data from each FGD and KII was then transcribed and, after a process of review and clarifications, imported into NVIVO¹⁵. A data coding framework was then developed, focusing on the key impact areas and associated questions, as well as emerging common and unusual themes.

Assessment of SAGE impact was made by eliciting from respondents their experiences of changes over the eighteen-month period between baseline and follow-up data in each of the key research areas, as well as analysing community member's perceptions of change over the past eighteen months. The different seasons in which the qualitative baseline and midline were facilitated thus does not affect the midline findings because the approach of the qualitative research was to identify first any changes within that period, and second where the SAGE transfers are reported to have contributed to that change, over and above other factors.

Using NVIVO, data under each research theme was disaggregated and analysed by gender, district, sub-county, respondent type (beneficiary, non-beneficiary, government official etc.) in order to identify differences in experiences and perceptions.

¹⁵ Qualitative data analysis software.

3 The SAGE Cash Transfer

This section summarises the findings from across the eight evaluation districts on who controls the use of the SAGE cash transfer and how the money has been used by beneficiary households.

Due to delays to the programme implementation, most beneficiaries have so far only received three payments (2.7 payments on average, across districts¹⁶). However, they have usually received 2 instalments at once (of around UGX 48,000); on average totaling UGX 128,500 in SCG areas and UGX 138,500 in VFSG areas¹⁷. In Katakwi, beneficiaries have often received one payment less than other districts, because (in July-August 2013) the minibus carrying the cash to the pay-point had been hijacked and the issue had not yet been resolved. Additionally, across the evaluation sites visited, the SAGE transfer had not been received for around three-months at the time of the qualitative midline research, which was explained as related to the transfer from the manual payment system to ‘mobile money’. However, with the exception of Katakwi, the qualitative research did not find clear differences between the districts in the number of payments received, or in the trend of receiving bi-monthly payments of two-instalments at once. Differences in receipt of payment were often at the individual level, where non-payments (which have affected a few beneficiaries for several instalments) were due either to their names going missing from the beneficiary list or loss of their SAGE cards.

3.1 Control over the SAGE cash transfer

In VFSG areas, it is reported that the named beneficiary (whether male or female)¹⁸ tends to make decisions on the use of the SAGE cash transfer. Across the research locations beneficiaries state that *“the money is given to me, so I decide how it is spent”*. As we explain below, a large portion of the cash transfer is spent on household basic needs, and in VFSG areas individual decisions on the use of the cash transfer are most often made in the interests of the wider family.

Yet there are some differences observed among districts in the way that the cash transfer is managed. In Kyarusozi sub-county in Kyenjojo, while named male and female beneficiaries do largely make the decision on the use of the VFSG in some households, many female beneficiaries explained that male household heads control decisions over the use of all financial resources, including the SAGE cash transfer.

It is the man who decides on use of SAGE money. If a wife resists he chases you from his house. [Female beneficiary, Kyenjojo, VFSG area]

In some families, the man partitions the money and decides and allocates it to where he sees fit. [Female beneficiary, Kyenjojo, VFSG area]

As explained in section 8 below, there have been significant tensions within households over women’s control over the VFSG in Kyarusozi, in contrast to other sub-counties in which the cash transfer has often contributed to family harmony. In Kyarusozi, many men have contested female

¹⁶ SAGE Impact Evaluation, Household Survey *Preliminary findings*, April 2014

¹⁷ This variation between SCG and VFSG may be due to the difficulties that the elderly have in counting their transfer. The qualitative research found that many elderly beneficiaries are very unfamiliar with larger denomination notes (USG 10,000, 20,000) and feel cheated when they receive just a few large denomination notes (instead of 48 x USG 1000).

¹⁸ 84.2% of VFSG beneficiaries are female (source: preliminary findings April 2014, SAGE midline household survey).

beneficiaries' management of the VFSG and have worked to reassert their dominance. In some cases, this has resulted in sole male control over the cash transfer.

In contrast, in Kiboga and Kaberamaido, many male and female beneficiaries explain that in most families they collectively decide how to use the cash transfer.

SAGE beneficiaries are making more decisions since the money coming in the home is because of them. But in the majority of households, the family sits and agrees on how to spend the money. [Male beneficiary, Kiboga, VFSG area]

On my side, we sit down and discuss with my wife by first looking at the most important things such as salt, soap, paraffin, sugar and many others. [Male beneficiary, Kaberamaido, VFSG area]

In SCG areas, most elderly male and female beneficiaries report controlling the cash transfer themselves. Yet compared with VFSG areas, we find different reasons for individual control of the SCG. For elderly female beneficiaries, this personal decision-making power is influenced by their marital status: a large number of female beneficiaries in SCG areas are widows¹⁹ and therefore the heads of female headed households. Elderly male beneficiaries, both married and widowers, also explained that they make the decisions on the use of the SCG because the money is given to them personally.

For us widows we are the ones who decide since we are husband and the wife at the same time. [Female beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

Whoever signs for the money is responsible for spending it in this community, whether man or woman. This is because this money comes in their names. [Male beneficiary, Kyenjojo, SCG area]

SCG beneficiaries' personal control over the cash transfer is partly explained by the contribution of SAGE to a reduction in elderly people's dependence on others for their subsistence, which has been welcomed by both beneficiaries and their wider families and communities. This has helped to position the SCG as a personal benefit for the elderly, replacing support that was previously provided by others or neglected (see section 4 below). Some key informants also explained that elderly beneficiaries make their own decisions on the use of the SCG because "*they are old, they have no family now*". [Parish Chief, Katakwi, SCG area]

While most SCG beneficiaries control the cash transfer themselves, there are instances in which there is shared decision making over the use of the transfer in SCG households. Joint decisions over the use of the SCG are particularly prevalent in households where both husband and wife are beneficiaries; as well as where the elderly beneficiary lives with their relatives and the money contributes to household basic needs. Shared decision making is most common in the research locations in Kaberamaido, Katakwi and Nebbi, and equally mentioned by male and female elderly beneficiaries in these districts.

¹⁹ 83.9% of SCG beneficiaries are household heads; 55.6% of SCG beneficiaries are female (source: preliminary findings April 2014, SAGE midline household survey). This data indicates that a large number of female SCG beneficiaries are household heads (i.e. widows, as found in the qualitative research, or household heads for other reasons).

For me the fact that I have the husband, we do sit down and decide on how to use this money since he is also weak and we stay with our grandson who now helps us a lot. [Female beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

For me in my home we are both beneficiaries so when we get the money we share ideas together to see what we can do with it. [Female beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

By the time this money comes, you find that there is no salt at home, children have been chased from school and there are other necessities. We come to an agreement and find what to buy first and what to buy last. So both of us will take part in deciding on how to spend this money. [Male beneficiary, Kiboga, SCG area]

Some male SCG beneficiaries explained that they ultimately decide on the use of SAGE money, but that they usually discuss the expenditure with their wife or wider household. Yet in some SCG households with a female beneficiary, decisions over the use of SAGE are made by the male household head, and this is often justified by patriarchal discourse and norms. Such cases were found across the districts, and appear to be shaped by individual family practices and preferences.

I am the one keeping the money and I decide what she can do – either repair the bicycle or buy chicken ... This is based on capable responsibilities of men because women are not wise. [Male beneficiary, Apac, SCG area]

3.2 Use of the SAGE cash transfer

In both VFSG and SCG households across the districts, beneficiaries explained that they **primarily use the cash transfer to purchase food** and cooking inputs such as salt and oil. There are gender differences in the kinds of foods that are commonly purchased. In line with gendered divisions in household responsibilities, women's purchases focus on uncooked foods and inputs (salt, maize, oil, beans, kerosene etc.), while men tend to purchase pre-cooked foods (posho (cooked/mingled maize flour), bean dishes, grilled meat). Both male and female beneficiaries also purchase tea leaves and sugar, and protein-rich foods (like meat, fish and milk) for immediate consumption, which many state they could not previously afford. Particularly in SCG areas, non-beneficiaries describe the consumption of such foods as a level of luxury that has raised the status of beneficiaries in the community. In discussion about the positive outcomes of SAGE, many **beneficiaries highlight that they have gained greater access to nutritious food**, particularly in the week of the SAGE payment. In Moroto, Kyenjojo and Kiboga especially, it was also noted that the cash transfer has enabled beneficiaries to sustain their food consumption in times of hardship, such as drought and crop failure.

In both VFSG and SCG areas, a large number of beneficiaries use the transfer to purchase **schooling materials** (books, pencils, etc.). Some SCG beneficiaries explain that they use the cash transfer to purchase schooling materials because they are responsible for their grandchildren, since the parents no longer live in the village – some have migrated for work, while others have died (often related to HIV). Yet many SCG recipients who are not directly responsible for their grandchildren also use a portion of the cash transfer to purchase schooling materials. This is partly because they care about their grandchildren's welfare and future, but also because they perceive that their kindness will be reciprocated when their grandchild starts to farm or earn

income. Particularly in VFSG areas, a small number of **beneficiaries also use SAGE to contribute towards primary school fees**²⁰.

Expenditure on healthcare is another common use of SAGE payments, particularly in SCG areas where most elderly beneficiaries cited medication as one of the major uses of the cash transfer. This may be influenced by the larger number of elderly people with ailments, or with ailments for which free drugs are not available, but also the difficulties that elderly people experience in accessing free medications in some districts (see Section 7).

A large number of male and female beneficiaries use the cash to purchase **soap (for washing clothes and bathing), clothing and shoes**, for both beneficiaries and their children. Particularly for elderly SAGE recipients, this has made an important contribution to their self-esteem and psycho-social wellbeing, often enhancing the respect they receive from others. This is contextualised by the lack of priority given to elderly beneficiaries' hygiene and clothing in contexts of widespread poverty.

Particularly in SCG areas (but to some extent also VFSG areas), a portion of the cash transfer is reported to be used to purchase **mattresses and bedding**, and to **repair houses**. This is often described as a priority need for the elderly, many of whom previously feel cold at night and live in dilapidated homes.

Many SCG beneficiaries (but also some VFSG beneficiaries) claim to use a portion of their cash transfer to **hire labour** to dig and weed their land. In SCG areas, beneficiaries also hire labour for other strenuous tasks such as collecting water. Elderly beneficiaries explain that they usually hire their young relatives and perceive this both as a way of sharing the cash transfer and as a way of getting much needed assistance without begging.

In several districts, a portion of the cash transfer is used to **hire boda boda** (motorcycle taxi transport), particularly for transportation to the SAGE pay-point.

A number of SCG and VFSG **beneficiaries also use the cash transfer to purchase seeds and farming implements** like hand hoes. A few have purchased or mended fishing nets and chains (see section 6 below). Particularly in SCG areas, **some beneficiaries have made investments in other productive assets such as livestock** (particularly chickens, goats and pigs). In eastern Ugandan areas, a few SCG male beneficiaries have used SAGE to buy drugs for their cattle, or to contribute towards purchase of calves. Purchase of productive assets was variably explained as a household investment and form of savings; for consumption and sale of by-products; or as a risk mitigation strategy (since these assets can be sold in times of need). The lower number of VFSG beneficiaries that have purchased productive assets can be explained by the tendency for the VFSG to be stretched thinly across the needs of many household members; while SCGs are often perceived as a personal benefit for the elderly (see section 4). SCG female beneficiaries report using the cash transfer to purchase animals slightly more frequently than their male counterparts. This may be explained by the large number of widows among SCG recipients, for whom purchase of productive assets is a priority because many of them lost access to land and livestock when their husband's died (section 4).

Investments in new businesses are less common than the expenditures mentioned above. Many beneficiaries claim that the **SAGE transfer amount is too small to affect business investments**,

²⁰ The Government of Uganda has a Universal Primary Education policy; but purchase of scholastic materials, lunch and uniforms are the responsibility of the parents/guardians.

because little is left after fulfilling basic household needs. Several respondents in SCG areas also note that beneficiaries are too old to invest in businesses. Yet a number of beneficiaries in each sub-county do make such investments. To give a few examples, some female beneficiaries started small businesses like brewing or selling fish and cooked foods; while a small number of male beneficiaries started petty trade and small business ventures such as carpentry and renting out fishing nets (section 6).

Some female beneficiaries, and also a few men, report using SAGE for other forms of **saving and risk mitigation**. These include investing in savings groups, as well as supporting other community members with their cash transfer in the knowledge that this support will be reciprocated when they are in need. Some men in SAGE beneficiary households have also utilised a portion of the cash transfer to build their social capital, self-esteem and status, by purchasing and sharing local brew and cooked foods with family and friends.

Particularly in VFSG areas, the cash transfer has also been used to **repay debts**. This is largely related to on-credit purchases of the items discussed above. In most of the VFSG and SCG communities we visited, **the cash transfer has enhanced some beneficiaries' access to credit in local shops and pharmacies**. On-credit purchases are made between SAGE transfers and there are expectations of timely repayment when the SAGE money is received. Some beneficiaries explain that their ability to purchase on credit has been enabled by the SAGE programme, but that their associated tendency to get into debt has been influenced by the infrequent nature of the cash transfer.

4 Poverty and wellbeing

This section presents findings on experiences of poverty and changes over the past eighteen months. A participatory *Wellbeing Ranking* tool was used in FGDs to analyse categories and levels of poverty; the distribution of poverty among community members; the poverty status of SAGE beneficiaries; and changes over time. To assess the impact of the SAGE cash transfer we compare the findings of the baseline and midline research and then utilise community members' analyses of change over the last 12 months of actual programme implementation.

4.1 Definitions and characterisations of poverty

In broad terms, definitions and characterisations of poverty remain similar to what they were at baseline and do not vary greatly between study locations. The causes of poverty are analysed in section 5 below. Some of the most frequently mentioned characteristics of poverty include:

- **Inadequate and unbalanced diet:** eating once a day; begging for food; consuming no meat or fish;
- **Homelessness or poor quality shelter** – grass-thatch mud houses in a dilapidated state, leaking roofs;
- **Poor cleanliness, clothing and bedding:** tattered clothes, naked children; no mattress or blankets; no money for soap;
- **Unable to meet basic health and education needs:** children do not attend school; no money to buy required medications;
- **Dependence on others for survival:** begging, borrowing;
- **Insecure livelihoods:** casual labour; not able to work due to old age, ill-health or disability;
- **Low social status, self-esteem and voice:** not attending community meetings, or no capacity for voice in such meetings; low capacity to socialise (particularly men); low self-esteem and a lack of respect received from others.

This analysis of poverty is deepened in the sections below, where we use the participatory *Wellbeing Ranking* to distinguish between different categories and levels of poverty: the 'very poor', 'fairly poor' and 'better off'. Using these categorisations of poverty as a basis for analysis, we then discuss changes in poverty over the last eighteen months (the period since the baseline study). The maximum period of SAGE implementation in the focal communities is 12 months.

4.2 Categories of poverty

As described by the baseline research, using *Wellbeing Ranking* FGD participants in most communities identified three distinct categories of poverty: 'very poor', 'fairly poor' and 'better-off'. Each category was identified by distinct economic and social characteristics, which had strong similarities across the districts.

4.2.1 The very poor

The very poor are typically described as having no productive assets (land, livestock), inadequate shelter (homeless or living in dilapidated homes), weak support networks, many dependents, and as unable to fulfil their basic needs. They have poor diets and eat only once per day; wear ragged

clothes; are not able to buy soap to maintain basic hygiene; and sleep on papayas mats with no bedding. Across the research sites, very poor households are described as not having the means to send their children to school. Family members often suffer ill-health (partly due to inadequate diet and stress), but are unable to access healthcare or purchase medicines. Many of the local language terms used to describe the very poor depict a state of destitution or helplessness:

- *Abanaku* (literal translation: ‘extremely poor and helpless / with nothing’) – Kyenjojo
- *Acan Atwal/Atek* (literal translation: ‘forever poor’ or ‘hard poor’) – Apac
- *Bakateyamba* (literal translation: ‘destitute’ or ‘they cannot help themselves’) – Kiboga

Because they have low asset holdings, the very poor that work tend to perform casual labour, such as digging other people’s farms and (in peri-urban areas) unloading cargo from trucks. Such work is hard to secure, unreliable and poorly paid. Particularly in the eastern Ugandan pastoralist areas, women in this poverty category often gather wild vegetables and grasses to sell for roof thatch. In Moroto and Nakapiripirit, such work in the bush is widely perceived to put women at increased risk of attack and rape. People that are unable to do physical work (the elderly, disabled and sick) have multiple disadvantages and, as at baseline, are often seen as synonymous with very poor.

Because poverty is widely defined as a state of dependence—an inability to independently sustain oneself and therefore relying on others for basic needs—overarching themes present in definitions of the very poor include a sense of hopelessness and a lack of social and family support.

Poverty means losing all your family members and you have no one to help you cultivate, no one can give you food, no soap ... Poverty means being unable to access treatment, you sleep hungry and even your own children do not support you. The ones that would help are far away in Soroti. [Female beneficiary, Katakwi, VFSG area]

Poverty is when you need something so fast, you can’t afford to get and have no one to help you ... It is a problem where you are defeated in everything. [Male beneficiary, Nebbi, SCG area]

In this regard, the very poor are also described as having no relatives or support systems on which they can depend, which thrusts them into a deeper form of poverty and vulnerability. Such social categorisations of poverty are often used to describe the situations of widows and widowers, the unmarried and childless, those with only girl-children who have been married into other households; and those that have lost many family members to HIV-AIDS.

When describing the very poor, many women and men (including those that described themselves as very poor) across districts, depict requests for support as ‘begging’. This rather negative depiction may relate largely to people that have weak integration into kin-based support systems, which tend to be shaped by reciprocal obligations. In most communities, both the baseline and follow up research suggests that such kin-based support systems increasingly prioritise only immediate family members (see section 8 below).

An overarching social characteristic of the very poor is the visible nature of their poverty – low levels of cleanliness, ragged clothes, ‘roaming and sleeping rough’ – which many explain as limiting both dignity and respect in these contexts. Linked to their low social status, the very poor are also characterised as lacking influence and voice. This is cited particularly in the north-west (Apac and Nebbi):

Poverty is when no-one will listen to you: you cannot stand in a community meeting because they will say “Who are you standing there in ragged clothes, all dirty?” [Male beneficiary, Nebbi, SCG area]

They [the very poor] do not attend community meetings, they are always in the garden. They fear socializing because they are always dirty. [Female beneficiary, Apac, SCG area]

Such links between lack of voice and physical appearance, lack of respect and low self-esteem, are keenly felt, especially by elderly men. In some communities, elderly men categorise the very poor not only as having weak social entitlements to participate in community meetings, but also as having limited capacity to socialize at all due to their lack of cleanliness, ragged clothes and associated lack of dignity. That this social form of poverty was most mentioned by elderly men likely reflects gendered norms and the fact that men are nominally expected to hold positions of authority, especially as elders. Men are expected to have influence and maintain social networks, while women tend to have lower expectations in this regard due to their traditionally prescribed roles. Elderly women, in contrast, speak more about the very poor in terms of their own situations as widows, with weak access to productive assets, limited support from their late husband's families, and their struggle to fulfil their household's daily needs.

4.2.2 The fairly poor

While the boundary between categorisations of the very poor and the fairly poor are often blurred at the boundaries, there are some clear distinctions. Unlike the very poor, the fairly poor are most often described as having some productive assets and physical capacity to engage in livelihood activities.

The Acan a ber (fairly poor) cultivate, but in small scale, they have land like 1-3 acres. But if they don't have land they have no money to hire land for cultivation. They dig their own gardens, most of them are strong and can hire out their labour. They have one goat and chicken. ... They can afford to have two meals a day. [Female non-beneficiary, Apac, VFSG area]

A poor person in our community is called Lopeitee, meaning one cow. Then the very poor are described as Ekaramit meaning a person “with nothing”, not even a hen, goat, no beddings, poor clothing. [Male non-beneficiary, Nakapiripirit, SCG area]

Ownership of some economic assets and the physical capacity to labour positions the fairly poor as more self-sufficient than the very poor. The fairly poor are often described as subsistence farmers, with some selling surplus produce (although this is often limited because of low yields and small acreage), and some with small businesses. Others engage in casual labour such as digging the farms of the better off.

Compared to the homelessness or dilapidated houses of the very poor, the fairly poor often live in 'semi-permanent' houses. In some communities, the fairly poor have pit latrines, a few saucepans and bedding, while the very poor do not.

Access to education is another common distinction between the fairly poor and very poor. As noted above, children in very poor households frequently do not attend school. Yet in many communities, households categorised as fairly poor are seen to afford to send their children to government schools (UPE - Universal Primary Education) up to primary level, albeit with some

struggle. The increase in school fees at secondary level is described as beyond the means of fairly poor households.

With regard to healthcare, while some feel that the fairly poor are able to purchase medicines (particularly in Nebbi), it is more generally perceived that unexpected healthcare needs are often hard to cover for both fairly poor and very poor households.

They can afford to pay for their children in school but when the children reach primary seven and have to go to secondary they fail to pay because the fees is higher. Some of them can afford to buy medicine, but some cannot. [Female non-beneficiary. Apac, VFSG area]

While many describe the fairly poor as dependent on the support of others at times of need, the difference with the very poor is that this support is more often a reciprocal relationship, because the fairly poor have greater capacity than the very poor to borrow and to ask for and reciprocate support. As such, some respondents (often females) depict the fairly poor as people that help others when they can.

Particularly in Apac and Nebbi, some respondents made a comparison between the fairly poor and very poor in terms of their capacity for voice, dignity and receiving respect.

An Acan Idyere dyere (fairly poor person) is not disrespected in the village and he is listened to. [Young non-beneficiary, Apac, VFSG area]

A [fairly poor] person has something to take to the market, has clean clothes, when they walk they can hold up their head. [Female beneficiary, Nebbi, SCG area].

4.2.3 The better off

The final category of wellbeing is identified as the better off. People in this category are described as having strong ability to fulfil their basic needs, such as: providing a nutritious diet and eating three times a day; owning relatively sizeable amounts of land and livestock; being in a position to hire labour for their farms, with some holding government jobs or civil service pensions; having good accommodation (with iron sheet roofs etc.); and owning assets such as motorbikes that they can rent out (e.g. for boda-boda work). The better off are depicted as able to send their children to secondary school, able to afford medicines, and to have strong access to voice and influence due to their resources.

4.3 Distribution of SAGE beneficiaries among the poverty categories

Table 1 and Table 2 provide a summary of the participatory *Wellbeing Ranking* findings related to (a) the distribution of poverty in the community; and (b) perceptions of the proportion of SAGE beneficiaries that fall into each poverty category. In Table 1, the difference in the proportions of community members that are perceived to be very poor in Kyenjojo and Kiboga is affected by the tendency of elderly FGD participants in these two districts to define the very poor in more limited terms as 'destitute'. Putting this anomaly aside, the two tables and the broader findings of the *Wellbeing Ranking* provide some useful insights into trends and perceptions, which are discussed below.

Table 1: Distribution of poverty and poverty categorisation of SCG recipients

	Apac	Kaberaido	Katakwi	Kiboga	Kyenjojo	Moroto	Nakapiripirit	Nebbi
Very poor								
'Very poor' as % of total community	70%	50%	61%	20%	23%	Very many	70%	60%
Proportion of beneficiaries that are 'very poor'	95%	'Most'	'Most'	20%	30%	'Most'	50%	'Most'
Fairly poor								
'Poor' as % of total community	25%	45%	29%	60%	72%	Some	30%	30%
Proportion of beneficiaries that are 'fairly poor'	5%	'Most'	'Some'	80%	60%	'Some'	50%	'Some'
Better off								
'Better off' as % of community	5%	5%	10%	20%	5%	'Few'	'Few'	10%
Proportion of beneficiaries that are 'better off'	0%	0%	'Few'	'Few'	1%	'Few'	'Few'	'Few'

Notes: Figures are mode averages (or the most common non-numerical response) from discussions with both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries (these are combined as there was little difference in perceptions). The analysis was facilitated through Wellbeing Ranking, with 100 beans used to identify proportions of people in each category.

Table 2: Distribution of poverty and poverty categorisation of VFSG recipients

	Apac	Kaberaido	Kiboga	Kyenjojo	Nebbi
Very poor					
'Very poor' as % of total community	40%	55%	60%	41%	58%
Proportion of beneficiaries that are 'very poor'	50%	'Few'	50%	59%	'Most'
Poor					
'Poor' as % of total community	45%	35%	30%	56%	40%
Proportion of beneficiaries that are 'fairly poor'	50%	'Most'	45%	38%	'Many'
Better off					
'Better off' as % of total community	5%	10%	10%	3%	2%
Proportion of beneficiaries that are 'better off'	5%	'Few'	5%	3%	'Few'

Notes: Figures are mode averages (or the most common non-numerical response) from discussions with both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries (these are combined as there was little difference in perceptions). The analysis was facilitated through Wellbeing Ranking, with 100 beans used to identify proportions of people in each category.

It should be noted that the above tables do not present an objective analysis of the SAGE targeting by poverty status, but rather reflect the communities' perceptions of who tends to receive the SAGE transfer.

4.3.1 Poverty categorisation of SCG recipients

In most SCG areas surveyed, the majority of people are considered to be very poor and most SCG recipients are perceived to come largely from this group. In these communities, there is both a widely held perception that the elderly are susceptible to fall into the very poor category and a general appreciation of the targeting of the elderly.

In SCG targeting areas in which most people are considered to be fairly poor (Kyenjojo, Kiboga and to some extent Karamaido), a significant number of group discussions (both with beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries) conclude that the majority of very poor people are not SAGE recipients. As highlighted in the quotes below, this is largely related to the SCG focus on the elderly, whereas many very poor people are perceived to be younger in age.

The majority of the people in [...] village are very poor, they take over 55% of the population. But few of the very poor are SAGE beneficiaries, not because they were left out but because here we are under senior citizens grant which does not cater for vulnerable households but only looks at the elders of 65 and above. This left many of the highly poor people out. [Female beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

All the SAGE beneficiaries were selected from the fairly poor. Although they need this money, the very poor should have been put into consideration because they need this money more. [Female beneficiary, Kiboga, SCG area]

The destitute should have all been selected to benefit from the cash transfer because they have nothing. [Male beneficiary, Kyenjojo, SCG area]

Both forms of categorisation highlight important perceptions of poverty and its distribution: The elderly are perceived to be highly vulnerable to poverty and thus the SCG is appreciated. Yet perceptions of the fairness of the SCG targeting are influenced by comparisons with other very poor groups that are not eligible for the SCG due to their younger age²¹.

4.3.2 Poverty categorisation of VFSG recipients

In contrast to SCG areas, the perceived poverty status of SAGE beneficiaries is more varied in VFSG areas. This is largely explained by the tensions and perceived problems related to VFSG targeting²² and associated struggles to shift or broaden the definition of vulnerability in VFSG areas. While a large number of SAGE recipients in VFSG areas are perceived to be very poor, there was a significant complaint in many communities that the targeting had not captured those really in need.

4.4 Changes in experiences of poverty and wellbeing

In this section we analyse changes in poverty over the eighteen months prior to the midline qualitative fieldwork – the period elapsed since baseline and including the maximum possible length of time (12 months) that SAGE could have been implemented in the study communities. Due to delays to the programme implementation, it should be remembered that across districts and study sites beneficiaries have so far only received two or three payments on average, over a

²¹ For more discussion of perceptions of SAGE targeting, see Evaluation of the Uganda Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment (SAGE) Programme: Programme operations performance report (February 2014).

²² *Ibid.*

period of 5-6 months, and totalling around UGX 130,000. In addition, in some individual cases the SAGE transfer has not been received for several months (see section 3 above).

To avoid reporter bias, analysis of change was approached largely through general questions about ‘change over the last eighteen months’. Where the SAGE cash transfer was mentioned as a contributing factor to change, this was followed up with more specific probing about its specific impacts. This analysis of change is framed by the respondents’ interpretation of movements between the poverty categories outlined above.

The baseline research found an increase in poverty reported across most communities over the past ten years, as well as widening gaps between the rich and the poor. Several factors were identified as contributing to this overall trend, including indebtedness, sale of assets, and loss of livestock and businesses. However, other notable reasons for downward movement in welfare included climatic shocks, ill-health and death of household members, divorce, and alcoholism. These themes are discussed in more detail in section 5 below.

The baseline research also reported various factors that could contribute to an upward move in welfare. These included joining savings groups, increased labour participation, education, and to some degree, access to the benefits of government programmes such as NAADS²³ and NUSAF²⁴ (although many respondents were quite critical about the effectiveness of these programmes).

At midline, respondents across districts generally see a continuation of the trend identified at baseline. This is often related to adverse climatic conditions (such as crops being destroyed by heavy rains in Apac, and drought in Kyenjojo and Kiboga), outbreaks of crop diseases and pests, rising prices, and poor terms of trade with procurers of agricultural products. In some districts, particular problems have arisen that have contributed to poverty. For example, in a fishing community in Nebbi, a new government policy requires use of expensive government standard fishing nets (to reduce the catch of small fish), which has reduced local capacities to generate income. In Moroto, cattle raids and outbreaks of disease are cited to have diminished herd sizes. In Katakwi, an outbreak of cattle disease led the government to quarantine large numbers of cattle.

4.4.1 VFSG areas – impacts of SAGE on poverty and wellbeing

In VFSG areas, the majority of **non-beneficiaries** explained that their experience of poverty has not changed over the past eighteen months, and for some poverty has deepened. Yet some non-beneficiaries in VFSG areas explained that their businesses have gained some buoyancy over the past eighteen months (albeit small and fluctuating). They related this to the injection of the SAGE cash transfer into the local economy.

Many VFSG **beneficiaries** similarly explained that their lives have remained a struggle against an ever harsher context. An overarching experience of the VFSG is that the money is short-lived and used for daily needs, and has not greatly affected experiences of poverty. In this regard, many respondents explained that the programme is too new, and the cash transfer not large enough, to affect changes in their experience of poverty²⁵.

²³ National Agricultural Advisory Services Act, 2001.

²⁴ Northern Uganda Social Action Fund.

²⁵ The value of the transfer represents around 13% of total household consumption on average (see section 3).

Two days they [SAGE beneficiaries] have the money, they are rich but after that they are back in poverty. [Female non-beneficiary, Nebbi, VFSG area]

Very few people invest that money because it is so little to do any business. It is hand to mouth. [Female beneficiary, Nakapiripirit, VFSG area]

In the *Wellbeing Ranking*, most respondents in VFSG areas asserted that the cash transfer has generally not contributed to moving very poor beneficiaries into the fairly poor category.

There hasn't been any visible change in the household distribution [in the poverty categories] because the beneficiaries mainly use this money to buy salt, scholastic materials and soap. Not much has changed regards their wellbeing generally. [Male non-beneficiary, Kyenjojo, VFSG area]

For us who benefit from SAGE we have not seen a reasonable economic shift, though we have been supported we cannot say that we have shifted. [Female beneficiary, Kyenjojo, VFSG area]

With regard to the impacts of the VFSG on experiences of poverty, there was a noted difference between 'very poor' beneficiaries that have a large number of dependents, and **VFSG beneficiaries who experience the VFSG as a relatively 'personal benefit'**. The latter category includes people with disabilities and elderly people with few dependents, as well as some adult orphans and divorced men (who are perceived to have been erroneously targeted or included in the programme due to patronage influences²⁶). The data suggest that the VFSG is more likely to be seen as a 'personal benefit' when the recipient is without dependents, and was previously highly dependent on others. For these beneficiaries, the cash transfer has helped to reduce the 'burden of care' for other people in their households and communities, and this seems to reduce expectations that the benefits of the cash transfer will be shared evenly among the wider household. These beneficiaries explain that, while the cash transfer does not go far, on occasions when they have received the VFSG it does help reduce their dependence on others and in some cases enhances their status via enabling them to share. A small number of beneficiaries in this group are thus perceived to have moved from the category of very poor to fairly poor.

However, there are indications of a gender difference in the upward movement of this subset of VFSG recipients. A number of female respondents in VFSG areas noted that some men have a tendency to "*drink their SAGE*", and have therefore not experienced a change in their economic situations. In contrast, many men in VFSG beneficiary households claim that socialising and sharing brew has helped to enhance their non-material dimensions of wellbeing, such as their status, social capital, self-esteem and opportunities to tie themselves into reciprocal support relationships.

In contrast, in '**very poor**' **VFSG households with large numbers of dependents**, the cash transfer has been spread thinly among needs, and these households are not perceived to have moved upwards in terms of general welfare. Yet some respondents mentioned that the VFSG can sometimes enable beneficiaries to fulfil their basic needs when economic shocks have hit, and it has therefore helped to reduce depth of poverty. Similarly, in many of the communities visited,

²⁶ See Evaluation of the Uganda Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment (SAGE) Programme: Programme operations performance report (February 2014).

some VFSG beneficiaries now have access to credit because they are known to have a means to repay, which has helped to strengthen the use of credit as a coping strategy (see section 5).

The VFSG is also perceived to have improved the wellbeing of **‘fairly poor’ beneficiaries**. As noted above, around half of the VFSG beneficiaries are felt to be fairly poor rather than very poor, a situation that is quite widely criticised by non-beneficiaries. Compared to very poor VFSG beneficiaries, the fairly poor have been more able to use the transfer as a platform to invest in farm inputs, productive assets or small businesses.

If you are very poor, you cannot do much with the money; it will just take you a few days. But for the fairly poor, the money is not swallowed. They can invest and some have bought goats and chickens. One woman even started to sell. [Male beneficiary, Kiboga, VFSG area]

For me, in my family, I use the money I receive from SAGE to boost up my business and it also helps me to top up for daughters’ school fees. [Female beneficiary, Kaberamaido, VFSG area]

For me, this money has helped me in a way that I was able to add it to my other savings and I have been in position to send my grandchild from senior one to senior four. I managed this because I had other [savings] group of four people where we could collect UGX 20,000 each every month and UGX 80,000 could be given to one person. [Male beneficiary, Kaberamaido, VFSG area]

4.4.2 SCG areas – impacts of SAGE on poverty and wellbeing

While experiences of poverty, and change in those experiences over the past eighteen months, are to some degree similar in both VFSG and SCG areas, there are also discernible differences. In terms of similarities, a large number of the elderly beneficiaries we spoke to in SCG areas explained that SAGE has been largely used for immediate daily needs. In this regard, the SCG is reported to have enhanced beneficiaries’ ability to provide for their basic needs in the face of poverty challenges such as ill-health, adverse climatic conditions, limited capacity to engage in livelihood activities, and low access to healthcare. Some SCG beneficiaries also explain that their age places limitations on the use of the cash transfer.

There is no change in the past eighteen months because we are against too many risks that keep dragging us back, like drought, raids, hunger. [Male beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area]

The situation has taken a slow pace to change, because those who were really very poor are now improving a bit because of the SAGE cash transfers. This is seen because they can now buy clothes using the SAGE money and also they now eat a bit well. [Male non-beneficiary, Nakapiripirit, SCG area]

We have not used this money for business because we are always sick so we cannot maintain businesses. The only profitable business for women in this village is brewing, which is so demanding and we are too weak. [Female beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

Yet overall, the **SAGE cash transfer seems to have had a more marked impact on the wellbeing of SCG beneficiaries compared to VFSG beneficiaries**. As we explain at the end of

this section, a large share of SCG beneficiaries (up to 50% in some areas) are reported to have moved from the category of ‘very poor’ to ‘fairly poor’.

Across SCG areas, the cash transfer has helped to reduce elderly beneficiaries’ dependence on others and to increase their ability to cope with shocks, at least in the short term. As explained in section 4.2.1, dependence and the associated ‘need to beg’ are central to definitions of poverty.

A good example is that our crops were destroyed by drought, nothing or little was harvested, so the SAGE beneficiaries have been able to cope by buying sorghum and other things using SAGE cash, instead of bothering other people. [Male non-beneficiary, Nakapiripirit, SCG area]

The elderly people who used to disturb the able bodied people are now capable of looking after themselves. It has reduced reliance on others. We used to bother people for food and many other necessities, but we have now been empowered to cater for ourselves, i.e. buy food, clothes, soap and many more things. [Female beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area]

Unlike in VFSG areas, in SCG areas some beneficiaries (who were largely described as very poor) report purchasing assets with their cash transfer²⁷. Use of the SCG to purchase assets, especially small animals, was particularly notable in the pastoralist areas of Katakwi, Kaberamaido, Nakapiripirit and Moroto, but also in Kyenjojo and Nebbi. In addition, a small number of SCG beneficiaries have started small businesses.

I know we have only benefited for six months but by the end of this year I could have purchased three goats. Every time when I am coming back from receiving money I buy chicken. As per now I have ten chicken. [Male beneficiary, Nebbi, SCG area]

Before she did not have a goat or birds but now she used SAGE money to buy some animals for herself and is keeping them at home. [Female beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

For those women who are in the SAGE program a few have invested their money into brewing the local drinks for sale and have now left doing farming and other activities, but in a small scale. [Male non-beneficiary, Nakapiripirit, SCG area]

Some of the men who benefit from SAGE buy tobacco, which they will later re-sell to the community in order to get much profit. [Male non-beneficiary, Nakapiripirit, SCG area]

This indicates a difference between SCG and VFSG areas: In VFSG areas, the ‘very poor’ have not been able to make productive investments with their SAGE money (see section 4.4.1); yet in SCG areas a fair number of ‘very poor’ beneficiaries reported doing so.

This contrast may be partly explained by the difference in the way that the SCG and VFSG are understood and utilized. While SCG recipients do claim to share their SAGE money with others within the household and beyond, the expectation that they will do so is often lower than for VFSG beneficiaries. The SCG is widely perceived as a ‘personal benefit’ for the elderly beneficiary

²⁷ It is useful here to provide an indication of the cost of small livestock. Beneficiaries in several districts reported that a chicken cost UGX 5-7,000 (UGX 15,000 for a larger chicken in Nebbi), while a small goat costs UGX 24,000-35,000 (although larger goats can cost up to UGX 80,000). This can be compared to the average total transfer so far received by beneficiaries in SCG areas (UGX 128,500).

(rather than for their wider families with whom they may live) which is intended to increase their independence²⁸. This is understood to simultaneously benefit their wider families who would otherwise provide for their needs. In contrast, the VFSG is largely understood as a benefit for the household, and thus is often spread thinly among the needs of many household members. This contrast between understandings of the SCG and VFSG is illustrated in the quotes below.

A great change has come into households because of this SAGE: a burden has been relieved from those who have been taking care of the elderly people. [Clan leader, Nakapiripirit, SCG]

I am satisfied and happy because I have parents who are very old, and yet I do have a large family to take care of so it was hard for me to also take care of my parents, but this has made things easy now. [Male non beneficiary, Nebbi, SCG]

The relationship between us and our husbands is now very good because we are able to buy for ourselves basic needs like salt, soap as opposed to those days when we used to ask them to provide for us so now we are more at peace and harmony because we stop disturbing them all the time for money. [Female beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG]

It is a token of appreciation to the senior citizens of this country for their support in bringing up Uganda, e.g. those who fought in the army. It is to ... better their lives by giving them some cash to keep themselves well, and to reduce the burden other people are facing in providing the elderly poor people with basic needs. [Male beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG]

This program is supposed to help the needy families with what they lack at their homes. We think it is supposed to support those that can't afford and supplement their income in order for them to take care of their families. [Female beneficiary, Apac, VFSG]

When they bring this money, it is meant to be for the whole house, but some of the men who collect it they take it for themselves. It is wrong. [Health worker, Nebbi, VFSG]

The men are complaining that women who were chosen to receive the money on behalf of the home are first solving their own problems leaving men out altogether. But we try to counsel them ... We tell them the money is for solving family problems not individual problems. [Parish Councilor, Kyenjojo, VFSG]

In many cases, the SCG has enhanced both male and female beneficiaries' sense of dignity, ability to socialise and share, the respect they receive from others, and their voice in community meetings. Such non-material dimensions of poverty were the most notable aspect of change in SCG areas, and are discussed in detail in section 8 below.

Those days they used to be beggars. So now they socialize and economically they have improved. They can now buy local brew to the members, they even have a voice in the community where they are called for meetings, unlike before they [people] used to say, "They are like children who cannot reason". [Government official, Moroto, SCG area]

²⁸ This finding does not appear to be directly related to household size per se. The baseline household survey did indicate that elderly people tend to live in smaller than average households, yet this affects both VFSG and SCG eligible households. At baseline, 16% of SCG eligible households were comprised of one-person (of which the average age was 70); while 25% of VFSG eligible households were comprised of one-person (of which the average age was 72). The actual size of SCG and VFSG beneficiary households will be identified in the midline household survey data (when it is available) and this data will be incorporated into the mixed-method impact evaluation report.

These non-material dimensions of poverty are all central to definitions of the very poor. In the *Wellbeing Ranking*, a large number of group discussions identified upward movement from the very poor to the fairly poor for SCG beneficiaries. In some cases, this upward movement was perceived to involve up to half of the SCG recipients in that community. Although similar to VFSG areas, some women reported that the impacts on poverty status are more marked for female SCG recipients “because the old men drink the SAGE money, while the women spend it on their food, clothes and houses” [female beneficiary, Nebbi, SCG area].

Half of the very poor moved to the [fairly] poor category among the beneficiaries. Some of the poor manage to send their children to school. [Male beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

There is a change; most of the very poor people have crossed over to the fairly poor due to SAGE and they have bought goats and chicken. [Female non-beneficiary, Apac, SCG area]

The very poor are the majority of people benefitting in the SAGE program, and for them it has improved their lives because they have been elevated into a certain standard of life where some of them have improved to another class of life. [Female beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

5 Vulnerabilities and coping strategies

In this section, we first explore susceptibility to poverty for different social groups. This analysis links to the discussion in previous section, and also provides an introduction to analysis of vulnerability. We then explain the range of risks and shocks that households and individuals face. Finally, we explore the coping strategies that people employ and changes in these strategies over the past eighteen months, including the impacts of the SAGE cash transfer.

5.1 Susceptibility to poverty

At baseline, the social groups perceived to be most susceptible to poverty were the elderly, women, widows and orphans. These groups are also identified as particularly vulnerable in the midline research, but some additional social groups are also mentioned, with similarity across the districts. These include people with disabilities, the sick (particularly people living with HIV or AIDs - PLWHA), and some categories of youth such as girls who give birth at a young age and children that drop out of school. Below we present findings about these specific groups and changes in their situations over the past eighteen months.

5.1.1 The elderly

Across the districts, the vulnerabilities of the elderly (in general terms) were described in similar terms to the baseline. The elderly are considered to be particularly susceptible to poverty because they are less able to engage in productive work and are often dependent on others for their subsistence. This is particularly the case for elderly women, and even more so for widows, who tend to have very few assets (see section 8.1.1 below). A large number of elderly females also take care of grandchildren and orphans, putting further strain on their meagre resources. Many elderly people also suffer from poor health, yet face common difficulties in accessing free medication that should be available at government clinics. This is due both to their inability to pay for transport to clinics and because the drugs are rarely in stock; it is also because, in some areas, nurses tell the elderly that they are not a priority group for free drugs. In a similar vein, and across the districts, the elderly are often depicted as ‘waiting for death’ and therefore not a priority for household expenditure. What is more, elderly people’s requests for support are often considered negatively as begging.

Generally the old people are so vulnerable because young people think that their time is up so they do not mind about helping them. [Teacher, Katakwi, SCG area]

The elderly cannot work and earn incomes and therefore are likely to starve to death. They have no money for clothes, cannot pay for medical services. [Male beneficiary, Kyenjojo, VFSG area]

In this community, there are also elderly women who are suffering poverty to the nails, because here people are careless about the elderly. It even scares me who is poor and getting older. [Female Village Health Team member, Nebbi, VFSG area]

While explanations of vulnerability associated with old age at midline are similar to those articulated at baseline, the SAGE programme is perceived to have reached a large number of elderly people, especially in SCG targeting areas, and consequently susceptibility to poverty has started to change for those that benefit from the programme (see section 4.4 above).

5.1.2 Orphans

Similarly to perceptions at baseline, orphans are perceived as particularly susceptible to poverty because many grow up in child-headed households without support from relatives, or are in a weak position within adoptive families that already support numerous children. Due to this, many orphans have weak access to education and healthcare. As they grow up, orphans also tend to have weak access to their family's assets. Male orphans may formally inherit land but this is often sold off or taken by others in the family before they reach adulthood, while female children do not inherit land under patrilineal norms. Orphans rarely have strong capacity to advocate for their inheritance rights, particularly those living in child-headed households. Struggling from a young age, susceptible to child labour and without much human capital or productive assets, many orphans enter adulthood on a weak footing and cannot escape the cycle of poverty.

The orphans are vulnerable because they do not have parents to support them. They drop out of school in primary. They do not have clothes or food. They become thieves and street children. Orphans start doing casual work but because they are children they get exploited, they are over worked and under paid. For example he can dig a portion of the garden worth UGX 20,000 but is only paid UGX 10,000 because they have nowhere to report to. When they cultivate without parents and the sun destroys their crops, they starve and they become beggars or even steal food. Their father can die without leaving them any property, not even an animal. [Health worker, Apac, VFSG area]

On the orphan, they fail to go to school when they are girls. They are sexually abused/defiled or raped when still young. They end up getting infected with sexually transmitted infections, including HIV/AIDS. [Religious leader, Kyenjojo, VFSG area]

While the VFSG includes targeting of households with orphans, there were no strong indications that SAGE money is being specifically used for those orphans: The money is used to support the wider household, and respondents did not speak specifically of a change in the wellbeing of the orphans that they care for.

5.1.3 Women and girls

As found at baseline, gendered difference in the nature and intensity of poverty are underpinned by asymmetries in access and control of household resources, as well as gendered divisions of labour in households and livelihood activities. Some women explain that they are vulnerable to poverty because they are responsible for the household and its problems but without control or ownership of household resources.

Across the districts, patriarchal norms place men in control of land and household resources. In pastoral areas (Nakapiripirit, Moroto, Katakwi and Kaberamaido) men own cattle, and the use of cows to pay bride-price is often highlighted, by both women and men, to explain why men also 'own' their wives and therefore control the household and its resources (see section 8.1.1 below). Such discourse helps shape the vulnerabilities of young girls who get pregnant while living in their father's house, who can be "disowned by the families and have to start living their own lives" [Teacher, Kaberamaido, SCG area]. In Moroto, Nakapiripirit and Katakwi, women and young girls are also vulnerable to attack and rape when gathering grasses and wild vegetables in the bush.

We have many single mothers. Some have over three children from different men who are not caring for their offspring. These girls have to work in other people's gardens to make a

living. They may rent one room which is overcrowded. [Female beneficiary, Kyenjojo, VFSG area]

Women are at risk of poverty because they are behind most of the household necessities - soap, salt... You ask the man for new clothes, they will start quarrelling with you instead. If you are unfortunate, having a drunkard man, he does his casual labour work [and] all the money is wasted before reaching home. The woman has to do casual labour for feeding the children and taking care of herself. [Female beneficiary Nebbi, VFSG area]

Across the study locations women and men explained that SAGE has not altered male control of important assets and resources, and women continue to have limited influence over communal decisions that affect their lives. Yet in some households the SAGE programme has influenced the status of female beneficiaries and their ability to participate in household spending decisions (see section 8). Additionally, many women claim that the cash transfer has enhanced their capacity to fulfil their family obligations (provision of food, healthcare etc.), and in some households the transfer has contributed to women's capacities to choose safer and more secure sources of livelihood (see section 6).

5.1.4 Widows

Female respondents in several areas explained that while some elderly men can cope with shocks by making returns on their assets, elderly widows can rarely pursue such strategies. Across the districts, widows are described as particularly susceptible to poverty because they tend to lose access to their land and other assets when their husband's die due to their husband's male kin assuming ownership. Many widows also lose access to support from their husband's family. This often thrusts widows and their children into poverty.

Widows are also vulnerable since nobody respects any woman who doesn't have any husband and in case of any problem nobody comes to her rescue. [LC1, Nakapiripirit, SCG area]

The widows are vulnerable because she has been used to doing work together with her husband, now that she is left on her own she cannot manage and she just keeps crying. Maybe by the time her husband died, all the assets were sold in order to raise money for medication and she has nowhere to start from. The husband might have died having infected her with HIV, and her health begins depreciating, and yet she has to look after the children. Her husband's family might have grabbed all the land, so she cannot cultivate and feed her children. [Female Village Health Team member, Apac, VFSG area]

A fair portion of the SCG beneficiaries spoken to as part of this research are widows, alongside a number of VFSG recipients. Particularly for widowed SCG recipients, the cash transfer has often helped to reduce dependence on others. It has sometimes enhanced their capacity to fulfil their basic needs and in some cases to purchase productive assets.

5.1.5 People with disabilities

People with physical disabilities are perceived by many respondents as often being unable to engage in physical livelihoods such as farming, and generally lack the capital to pursue alternative livelihoods. People with mental disabilities can face additional challenges. In many communities, both physically and mentally disabled people have low status, and in some cases suffer verbal and

physical abuse. With limited access to suitable livelihoods, people with disabilities are often reliant on others for their subsistence. As with the elderly, this support is often depicted negatively as begging.

The disabled are vulnerable because they have no legs or vision, and cannot go to the garden to dig, cannot move on their own to the health centre, and cannot access clean water because the borehole is far so they resort to drinking nearby water from the swamp. They are denied education ... There are those who are disabled mentally, [who] cannot think or plan to do something on their own so they have to rely on support from other people. [Teacher, Apac, VFSG area]

Some disabled people have a problem that they cannot get married because nobody wants to carry their burdens. People use bad language on them. [Village health team member, Kyenjojo, VFSG area]

For the case of the disabled ... their female counterparts are even prone to rape cases and this can expose them to sexually transmitted diseases like HIV/AIDS. [Religious leader, Kabermaido, SCG area]

Discussions about the vulnerabilities of people with disabilities are largely similar to those conducted at baseline. However, some people with disabilities do demonstrate changes in their lives over the past eighteen months, often as an outcome of either the SAGE cash transfer or NGOs specifically focused on support to the disabled. With regard to SAGE beneficiaries, the changes reported largely revolve around reduced dependence on others for their subsistence, and greater respect from their families and community due to their new ability to make financial contributions to their households.

5.1.6 People living with HIV or AIDs

People living with HIV or AIDs (PLWHA) are widely identified as a group that is susceptible to poverty.

They don't have money for medicine and yet they are sick. They are weak and so they cannot go to the farm, so they have to beg for food. [Male beneficiary, Nebbi, VFSG area]

Some respondents point to the inter-linkages between HIV/AIDs and the poverty of widows, widowers and orphans.

The elderly who have lost their children to AIDS and are left with grandchildren to look after without any income. [Female, health worker, Kiboga, SCG area]

The widows or widowers who may have lost their spouses through AIDS and they are also sick. They may not have enough strength to do profitable work. [Female Village Health Team member, Katakwi, VFSG area]

Orphans, especially the girls, are at high risk of getting infected with HIV/AIDS because of hardships and lack of parental control. [Male, teacher, Nebbi, SCG area]

There are no explicit indications in the data to suggest that SAGE has greatly affected the lives of people living with HIV/AIDs.

5.2 Types of risk and shocks

Respondents were asked to identify and explain the main problems or risks that people in their community face which affect their livelihoods and household wellbeing. The types of risk which people face have generally remained the same since the baseline research. In this section, we explain some of the key risks. Annex F summarises the data by district and sub county.

Risks related to the natural environment (such as draught, flood, pests and diseases that affect crops and livestock) are the most prevalent form of risk. This was also the case at baseline, and reflects the heavy reliance on natural resources as a source of livelihood across all sites. This includes urban locations, although to a lesser degree. Extreme weather (both drought and heavy rains) have impacts particularly on crops and storage of produce. There is also a perception of increased unpredictability in seasonal weather patterns, which increases the risk of undertaking specific farming activities (e.g. planting crops) during the usual periods. Inability to afford higher quality inputs, such as seeds, or to address pest and disease problems adequately, also increases the risks for agricultural production, with subsequent impacts on poverty and food security.

Health shocks and deaths are another common source of risk. As found at baseline, health shocks and death become an economic risk that affects entire families, particularly when they affect income earners or those that sustain their households through farming or raising livestock. At such times, households have to hire alternative labour, or withdraw of children from school, and incur expenses for treatment or funerals. These shocks are idiosyncratic in nature but the risks are faced by most households across the communities. The elderly are considered as particularly vulnerable to illness, yet face common difficulties in accessing free medication that should be available at government clinics, and financial support for their health care is often not a priority for their wider families in these contexts of poverty (see section 5.1.1).

Economic shocks are another significant risk across all locations. Economic risks include price fluctuations and barriers to markets as well as crime and insecurity. Risks associated with prices include both high prices for inputs and goods and low prices for produce sales. Risks associated with markets include land markets, where the declining availability of land as a result of population increase leads to increased sub-division of plots, which reduces productivity. It also includes a lack of access to land for some, including widows (and orphans) who often lose access to household land after their husband (or father) dies. Women are also vulnerable to economic shocks when they become separated from their husbands, who often provide no support to help provide for their children; and (like widowhood) this separation usually leads to a lack of access to productive resources such as land (see section 5.1.4).

I have six children and am separated from my husband. Now I have to raise school fees on my own for the children. [Female non-beneficiary, Apac, VFSG area]

I separated from my husband and returned home, I was denied a garden by my brothers and other family members so I do not have land to cultivate. [Female non-beneficiary, Nebbi, VFSG area]

Risks associated with crime and insecurity includes theft of productive assets (such as livestock) and in some cases cash (including the SAGE cash transfer). There do not appear to be clear patterns in the distribution of crime, but raiding was more commonly cited in the Karamoja region²⁹.

Social risks were less widely reported and quite various, but very important for those that are affected. Women and girls are vulnerable to risks relating to insecurity and domestic violence, abuse and rape. In some cases, these risks are exacerbated by female engagement in bush-based livelihood activities, such as collecting firewood or grasses. Young boys who herd cattle away from the village also face insecurity risks. Such insecurity concerns are most prevalent in Katakwi, Moroto and Nakapiripirit.

There is insecurity when we are trying to earn a living, like when we go collecting firewood in the bushes, we always meet the enemies (warriors) who are hiding in the bushes, and they end up either beating, raping or killing us. [Female beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area]

The main risk these women face when trying to earn a living is insecurity – when collecting firewood and burning charcoals you can easily meet with warriors. [Female beneficiary, Nakapiripirit, SCG area]

Sometimes the enemies also disturb us in this place they raid our animals and sometimes kill our young boys who are grazing the animals in the bushes. [Male beneficiary, Nakapiripirit, SCG area]

There are some indications that the SAGE cash transfer has helped a few women and girls (in Moroto and Nakapiripirit SCG areas) to move into new livelihood activities as an alternative to dangerous work in the bush. Interestingly this change in livelihoods is most common among younger non-beneficiaries, who have been attracted to new livelihoods in response to new or increased demand in the market. The evidence is not conclusive, but there are some perceptions that such increases in demand are at least partly due to SAGE (see section 6.3).

Additionally, some women report lower incidence of domestic violence as a result of the cash transfer, and relate this to greater household harmony and reduced stress. On the other hand, the cash transfer has exacerbated marital tension in some VFSG households, especially in Kyenjojo. (See section 8.1.4).

5.3 Coping mechanisms and strategies

The baseline household survey found that the most common coping strategies were to seek support (or to borrow) from relatives and neighbours; sale of assets, and engaging in additional casual labour. With regard to casual labour, at baseline, SCG eligible households were more likely to engage in self-employment (such as collecting firewood for sale), and VFSG eligible households were more likely to seek casual work on farms. This seems to reflect the different human capital resources available to elderly people compared to the often younger VFSG-eligible households. Negative coping strategies were also common, such as selling assets, withdrawing children from school and reducing consumption.

²⁹ The Karamoja region is prone to shocks and stresses due to harsh weather of prolonged drought and intermitted heavy rains that cause floods. Most people in the area engage in pastoral livelihood and traditionally have engaged in cattle rustling.

The midline research found that each of these coping strategies remain important for both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries across the districts. Some coping strategies attempt to pool risk, while others draw on social networks such as neighbours or extended families, particularly in the case of a death in the family. Most people adopt a combination of these strategies where possible.

We at times resort to our relatives for assistance. Sometimes we end up selling our assets like goats, cows, and anything that can earn us money. Those who have no alternative end up cutting down their consumption rates, by reducing daily amounts of food. [Male beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area]

When these risks occur, they try to improvise on their own by selling charcoal and firewood. For those who have animals, such as goats, sheep and cattle, they can sell, and others get it [support] from anybody who comes to their rescue. [Female beneficiary, Nakapiripirit, SCG area]

At baseline, a level of resignation was also expressed by some respondents (beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries alike) across the districts, in both VFSG and SCG areas. This resignation is often linked with a belief that such shocks are out of people's control and *"in the hands of God"*. As might be expected, this is particularly the case for large-scale climatic shocks such as floods or droughts, which affect crops. But interestingly it is also often the case for shocks such as theft of crops or livestock, where some respondents explained that they just continue to cultivate and re-plant as before as best as they are able, because there is no other option open to them.

When my crops are destroyed I get seeds and plant, and leave the rest to God. [Female non-beneficiary, Apac, SCG area]

We continue planting even if we know the thieves will steal them. [Female beneficiary, Kiboga, VFSG area]

Leave it in the hands of God. Just pray and then life moves on. [Male non-beneficiary, Kaberamaido, VFSG, urban area]

Overall, the cash transfer was not frequently mentioned by SAGE beneficiaries in discussions on coping strategies. Long-held coping strategies (such as seeking casual labour, informal support, conserving on consumption and selling assets) remain the most important. However, the midline qualitative research does produce testimony that the SAGE cash transfer has helped some beneficiary households to cope with shocks, particularly in SCG areas. The transfer has both provided some beneficiaries with an additional coping mechanism directly, and in others it has strengthened beneficiaries' access to other coping strategies such as informal support and borrowing. The extent to which the cash transfer has provided a coping mechanism depends on the type of shock that people face.

We discuss these issues in the sections below, in which we present the main types of coping strategy that are adopted in response to shocks, and the changes that were observed in the midline research compared to the baseline.

5.3.1 Livelihood diversification

As found at baseline, when faced with shocks, one of the most common coping strategies is to diversify livelihoods, by engaging in additional casual work or livelihood activities.

The most common form of **casual labour** that is utilized as a coping strategy is working on other people's farms, either for cash or food. As found at baseline, this strategy is less available to the elderly.

*For us, we cannot go and sell labour because they feel that we shall die in their gardens.
[Male beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]*

A few other energetic people go out to do odd jobs so as to earn a living, but the old weak ones only rely on NGOs. [Female non-beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area]

*We the poor, but able bodied, go and work in other people's farms or gardens. The old people have nothing much to do about it. They will depend on neighbours or live in hunger.
[Male beneficiary, Kiboga, VFSG area]*

Adopting additional or alternative livelihood activities is another common coping strategy across locations, for both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. In this regard, the most common activities include burning charcoal and cutting firewood for sale, and (for women in particular), tailoring, petty trading, selling cooked foods and brewing.

Some of us who only depend on agriculture during hard times of dry weather can also resort to making bricks and burning charcoal as a way of survival. [Male non-beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

There are some people who are still strong and they go to the bush to burn charcoal and cut firewood, which they sell for a living. [Female beneficiary, Kiboga, VFSG area]

I would look for work to do; I would brew alcohol and sell to raise money. [Female non-beneficiary, Apac, VFSG area]

Some respondents (particularly in Moroto and Nakapiripirit) reported that burning charcoal and collecting firewood as a coping strategy has been curtailed by a government policy that places restrictions on tree felling (see section 6.3). In a few cases, this has pushed people towards more negative coping strategies, such as sale of assets; although many respondents indicated that this remains an important coping strategy when they are affected by a shock.

In some cases, diversification strategies require some capital to invest, so the very poorest are unable to adopt them as a coping strategy.

Those with some capital give it to their women to make local brew for sale in order to earn some money to cater for domestic needs. But the very poor, in most cases, have nothing to do but just continue suffering unless helped out by neighbours. [Male non-beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

While there are indications that some SAGE beneficiaries have been able to use a portion of the cash transfer to invest in businesses (see section 6.5), this was not mentioned in relation to strategies to cope with shocks. The data suggests that when provision of the cash transfer has been timely for coping with a shock, it has been used directly to purchase food or medicine.

Migration is also adopted as a livelihood adaption strategy, particularly in Kiboga. This is most often in response to economic change, but is also used by pastoralists as a more enduring strategy to cope with adverse environmental conditions such as drought.

Well, some of us may fail to get a job around here and we move further looking for employment to make sure that we take care of our families. [Male beneficiary, Kiboga, VFSG area]

The families that have youths may send them to look for jobs elsewhere, and send back money to their families to buy food. [Female beneficiary, Kiboga, VFSG area]

Some cows were taken to other places where pasture and water was available, although some died on the way. [Male non-beneficiary, Kiboga, SCG area]

5.3.2 Conserving on consumption

Conserving on consumption is a common coping strategy across the locations, particularly when faced with an environmental shock. This can include cutting down on the quality or quantity of food (often reducing to just one meal a day) and also reducing the purchase of consumption goods. Reducing consumption was widely mentioned by all respondent types, and certainly remains an important coping strategy for SAGE beneficiaries. Yet there are indications that some SAGE beneficiaries have been able to purchase food with the cash transfer when they have faced harsh climatic conditions and subsequent food shortages. This was largely reported in SCG areas, and much less frequently cited in VFSG areas. This may be due to the greater tendency for the SCG to be seen as a ‘personal benefit’ (see sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2).

A good example is that our crops were destroyed by drought. Nothing or little was harvested. We had to reduce our feeding and beg. But the SAGE beneficiaries were able to cope by buying sorghum and other things using SAGE cash, instead of bothering other people. [Male non-beneficiary, Nakapiripirit, SCG area]

We, as SAGE beneficiaries, cope up by using the SAGE cash given to us to buy what we need, like if crops are destroyed. We can buy beans, posho, meat, or anything, as opposed to those who may not have any assistance at all. [Male beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area]

This has changed for the last eight months since they started receiving this money. This change is seen in a way that even those affected by floods, or whose crops are destroyed by hailstorms, can buy something even if it is a meal a day rather than sleeping with the empty stomach as it was the case before this programme started. We are therefore very grateful with the programme and we pray for more programmes to come up so that we live longer. [Male beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

The possibility of using a cash transfer as a coping strategy is influenced by the timing of the transfer. In this regard, some beneficiaries explained that the SAGE transfer had not arrived in time (see section 5.3.7). This was most commonly reported by Katakwi, where the cash transfer had not been received for five months at the time of the midline research. Yet it was also reported in Kiboga and Kyenjojo in both SCG and VFSG areas.

5.3.3 Borrowing and credit

Borrowing is a coping strategy adopted across locations and across respondent types. In most cases, people borrow from neighbours or friends. Traders and shopkeepers that provide credit or loans, and loans from savings groups, are generally secondary options. Both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries report borrowing in some form.

I would go and borrow money from my friends, which I have to refund when I get money. [Female non-beneficiary, Apac, VFSG area]

We try to borrow assistance in form of money from neighbouring households that are well off and later pay the debt. [Female non-beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

We also turn to getting loans to help us carry on with whatever activities we do, in the case of business people. [Female beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area]

Borrowing from family members is much less commonly reported than borrowing from neighbours and friends. This was explained both by the fact that family members are likely to be in the same situation as the borrower, and by the issue of shame and stigma. Two quotes below articulate the order of preferences for sources of borrowing:

Firstly, borrow from friends; second go to bank; and third borrow from family. We don't borrow from family much because we have few relatives and actually their problems will be the same as ours. [Sub-county chief, Nebbi, VFSG area]

For me I cannot borrow money from close relatives because when I try they just laugh at me and say, "You old woman, what is your problem? You even earn a salary [referring to SAGE] from the government so do not disturb us." [Female beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

As indicated in the last quote above, some SAGE beneficiaries now have reduced access to support from relatives and neighbours (see section 5.3.6 below), although this is not a widely experienced outcome of the cash transfer. A more common outcome has been an increase in SAGE beneficiaries' access to credit in shops, including pharmacies (see section 6.7). However, beneficiaries referred to such credit largely as a strategy to cope with everyday needs (in the months between cash transfers); it was less frequently mentioned as a strategy to cope with economic shocks.

Savings groups were fairly widely mentioned as a source of credit, particularly by women. Both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries participate in these groups. Yet there are indications that this coping strategy has become more accessible to some SAGE beneficiaries over the past eighteen months, because the cash transfer has enabled them to join and contribute to such groups (see section 6.7).

We have joined saving groups so that they can lend us money in case of any problem. This is a change of recent; before I started getting the SAGE money I didn't have the money to join the savings group. [Female beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

In the last 18 months, we formed a savings and credit group, including some of us who get the SAGE money; this money has helped us start the group. Each person contributes UGX 1,000, and we give to one member each time, until we got through to all members. For me, I got money when I had to buy medicine. [Female beneficiary, Kyenjojo, SCG area]

5.3.4 Sales of assets

Sale of assets (mainly livestock, but also stored produce and tools) is another common coping strategy across the districts, used particularly when needs are immediate. The value of the assets sold reflects the size of the crisis and need for cash.

We sell off chicken and goats to pay for health care. [Male beneficiary, Apac, SCG area]

For the case of diseases, when they occur and the money at hand is not enough, the only option is to sell something like a goat because there is no way you can leave a child to die when you have a goat. [Female non-beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

We try to reduce these problems by selling some produce we have like cassava and groundnuts, chicken, and even goats and sheep in case the problems at home are grave. [Male beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

The qualitative research at midline does not indicate a clear difference between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries in use of this negative coping strategy. However, it is important to note that a few SCG beneficiaries explained that they now less frequently resort to selling assets to enable purchase of food and expenditure other basic needs.

We no longer depend on selling off produce or animals to buy basics. We now use this SAGE money to buy these items. [Female beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

Respondents across the districts also deliberately invest in assets with the intention to sell them at times of need or crisis.

Then also we try and invest in animals like poultry which we can sell off during hard times. [Female non-beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

I have had to sell my chicken in the market to buy some food, yet I was saving it for my children's school things. [Male non-beneficiary, Kyenjojo, VFSG area]

The cash transfer does not appear to have greatly affected the use of such negative coping strategies among beneficiaries. Again, in this regard some beneficiaries explained that the cash transfer is not large enough to cover the needs that have arisen, or has not been received at the right time.

5.3.5 Withdrawing children from school

At baseline, there were some indications that withdrawing children from school was sometimes used as a coping strategy, both to reduce costs and to increase the availability of household labour. This strategy was not reported by participants in the midline research. This may suggest that this strategy is now less frequently used, although respondents did not highlight this when discussing changes in coping strategies. Additional data on this theme will be provided by the household survey. If any changes are indicated, they can be explored further in the endline qualitative evaluation.

5.3.6 Informal support networks

The baseline household survey indicated that households most commonly resorted to social support networks when confronted with shocks, particularly support provided by relatives and friends and informal borrowing. Informal support networks remain a key coping mechanism for both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, yet there are nuanced differences between the baseline and midline findings. The midline research indicates that informal support mechanisms and borrowing are most often used in combination with other strategies, such as casual labour, sale of assets and reducing consumption. Additionally, the midline research indicates that both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries are now more likely to seek informal support from neighbours and friends rather than family members.

The very poor in most cases have nothing to do but just continue suffering unless helped out by neighbours. [Male non-beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

The neighbours help by giving support to us like for instance giving food and materials in case of house fire. [Female beneficiary, Nebbi, VFSG area]

Question: *What about getting support from your own family?* Answer: *People in the community can help you. People in the family can also help you especially if they trust you. By the way, people in your family only assist you when you have something that can be sold off like cattle, goats, chicken etc. [Female non-beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]*

As a widow, my fellow widows help me. Like when am sick they bring me food, water, depending on what problems I have. We help each other weed gardens. Other kind people also help us. People fetch me water, others buy for us soap. We do not borrow much, maybe only UGX 1,000. [Female non-beneficiary, Nebbi, VFSG area]

Like me, my friends came and consoled me when my husband had an accident. They gave me money; some of them gave UGX 5,000 each, others gave UGX 1,000, and some gave me beans... Otherwise my husband would have died if they did not support me. [Female beneficiary, Apac, SCG area]

Such support relationships develop over long periods of time; and a broad shift is indicated by the prevalence of support from non-family members among both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. Yet there are indications that this shift maybe partly influenced by the cash transfer. As explained in the baseline report, while family support mechanisms are rooted in obligation, community forms of support (from friends, neighbours and groups) is largely framed by anticipated reciprocity and trust. At baseline, the elderly had weak access to community forms of support due to their weak capacity to reciprocate. However, the midline data indicates that the cash transfer has enhanced some beneficiaries' access to support from friends and neighbours because they are now more able to reciprocate. This outcome is more prevalent in SCG areas, where the cash transfer seems to have enhanced inter-household sharing and support relationships. Some VFSG beneficiaries have experienced greater access to support from other households, and yet this is less common (compared to SCG areas) due to the community tensions that are reported to have arisen over the VFSG across the sites visited. This issue is discussed in detail in section 8.2.

When requests for social support are not framed by expectations of reciprocity, they are often negatively depicted as 'begging'. At baseline, begging was one of the most common coping strategies for the elderly and the very poor. Begging remains an important strategy for both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries at midline, particularly when faced with large economic shocks related to medical expenses or failed harvest.

There is a widespread view that a death within a household is an event that people should support each other through. Respondents commonly explain how they both give and receive support in the event of such a shock. In most cases the support is informally arranged (i.e. on a self-help basis), although in a few cases it can be more formal, particularly in Apac, Katakwi and Kaberamaido. For instance in Apac, it was explained that in the event of a death, there is a group called *can apoto atura* ('untimely death') which works together to:

...fetch water, food and part of your land is sold in case you are unable to arrange for a decent burial ... This is done when you do not have a goat or a cow to offer to pay for the burial requirements; [which could mean] you end up hiring land and become landless. [Female non-beneficiary, Apac, VFSG area]

When one dies you support the bereaved. Different households cooperate. Some people contribute two cups of beans each; the men contribute UGX 1,000 each; each one brings one heap of cassava; some people contribute fire wood; some people fetch water. [Male beneficiary, Apac, VFSG area]

In times of sorrow, like when a death has occurred, we all participate to help the grieved family with different roles. Women cook, men dig the grave, welcome visitors etc., and it's the chairman and his village committee to take charge. [Female non-beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

Some coping strategies involve longer term social and gender impacts. Although not explicitly mentioned elsewhere, in Kaberamaido the marriage of young girls to a better-off family is cited as a coping strategy.

Some young girls, if their families are affected by famine, they now resort to marriage with the better off family. [Male non-beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

5.3.7 Formal sources of support

There is a strong expectation of support from government in the event of environmental shocks, particularly where these are covariate shocks and affect many households or the whole community. Reports of formal responses to such large-scale covariate shocks are mixed.

Last year there was a serious flood but the government flew in food for us. We were given maize flour and beans because we did not have food. [Female beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

When these problems occur, we try to solve some. Others, like pests or disease outbreaks, we report to government authorities, which at times responds, or they delay to respond and at times they don't respond at all. [Male non-beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

As explained in the sections above, the midline qualitative research does produce testimony that the SAGE cash transfer sometimes has had impacts on both the ability of SAGE beneficiary households to cope with shocks, and on the way in which they cope. Some of the impacts have been *direct*: for example, some beneficiaries have been able to use the transfer to purchase food when harvests have failed; or to purchase medicines when faced with a health care shock. Other impacts of the cash transfer have been *indirect*: for example, the effects of the transfer on some beneficiaries' access to savings groups and reciprocal support relationships. The transfer has also helped to reduce the use of negative coping strategies in some instances, such as distress sales of productive assets and staple goods. While these impacts were noted in both VFSG and SCG areas, they were more frequently noted by SCG beneficiaries.

Non-beneficiaries also explain that SAGE beneficiaries are better able to cope and have changed the combination of strategies that they use to use, again particularly in SCG areas.

Most old people now are able to stand on their own without bothering the people. This is brought about by the SAGE cash transfers. The beneficiaries no longer depend on others as they can now buy soap, salt, food, clothes by themselves using the SAGE money. So it has reduced dependence very much. Even during times of scarcity, they can now cope. [Male non-beneficiary, Nakapiripirit, SCG area]

For the recipients of SAGE, the way they cope has changed because they get the money. But for us, the non-beneficiaries, life is hard and we cope as usual. We have no choice but to depend on friends, neighbours, and family members that are able to help. [Female non-beneficiary, Kiboga, SCG area]

Some non-beneficiaries also explained that they have been able to borrow from SAGE beneficiaries when they have been affected by an economic shock.

The SAGE beneficiaries are the ones who are helping us and we borrow from them when we have a problem. [Male non-beneficiary, Apac, SCG area]

Most of us have no option but to run to the people who get the SAGE money for assistance. When I have a hen, I take to them to buy and they give me money which I use it to buy basic needs. [Female non-beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

However, overall, the cash transfer has contributed to a range of coping strategies that are used in combination. Moreover, a large number of beneficiaries reported no change in their capacity to cope with shocks over the past eighteen months.

We have always done these [coping strategies]. There is no change for the past one year and a half. [Female beneficiary, Kiboga, SCG area]

Others try to borrow from their friends, especially when you fail in business, e.g. brewing local brew. Others are forced to reduce consumption because you cannot afford two meals in a day. These haven't changed in the last 18 months. [Female beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area]

We the poor, but able bodied, go and work in other people's farms or gardens. The old people will depend on neighbours or live in hunger. With the coming of SAGE, this has changed a bit because we are able to afford most basic needs. However, we sometimes have to resort to looking for jobs in the rich people's homes because the money is too little and waiting for two months is too long. [Male beneficiary, Kiboga, VFSG area]

The last quote above highlights that while the SAGE cash transfer has assisted beneficiaries, the transfer amount is not large enough to cover household needs when they are faced with economic shocks. Additionally, the bi-monthly provision of the transfer has been a problem when this has not correlated with times of need.

6 Livelihoods

In this section we analyse the livelihood strategies pursued across the eight districts, and changes over the last eighteen months, including the contribution of the SAGE cash transfer to any changes in livelihoods. Annex E provides a summary of the main livelihood activities in different sub-counties, and a comparison of findings in the baseline and midline research.

6.1 Crop farming

Crop farming is the most common livelihood strategy in most of the sub-counties visited, with the exception of some urban areas such as Labourline in Moroto. In some sub-counties men have alternative main sources of livelihood (e.g. fishing in Pakwach), and in some areas women explain that while it is the men who nominally own the land, in practice farming is often a female activity.

As found at baseline, crop farming is mainly undertaken on a subsistence basis, although some households produce a surplus which is sold for additional income. Yet the ability to produce a surplus is typically constrained by small land holding and affected by customary inheritance law and increases in population. Many respondents also assert that crop farming as a livelihood activity has been increasingly threatened by low prices, poor terms of trade, soil exhaustion, drought, heavy rain, pests and diseases. As discussed in sections 4 and 5 above, such risks and vulnerabilities are key causes of poverty.

In many communities, the dominant experience of farming livelihoods in the past eighteen months has been a downturn in yields due to harsh climatic conditions, pests and diseases, and reduced incomes from crop sales linked to low yields, low prices, and poor terms of trade with procurers. In both Kiboga and Kyenjojo, drought in mid-late 2013 had a large impact on agricultural livelihoods. The drought has affected a lack of both food and money within households, and pushed people into alternative livelihood activities.

The last season, June to September 2013, we had drought, we planted crops but nothing came out, no harvest was made.... We did not even get what to eat in our homes. We now depend on buying food to eat instead, unlike before when we could have produced most of the food we eat at our homes. Whereas in the past we used to get some money from sale of crops, this has not been the case last season. [Female beneficiary, Kiboga, VFSG area]

When the season is good, we can get some excess for selling. But because of the drought, some people have gone to work on construction sites, to be able to buy food for their homes. There was no work in gardens. [Female non-beneficiary, Kiboga, VFSG area]

Some people have now resorted to working in the tea plantations because of the drought that hit us May to August this year, which made our crops give poor yields ... We have now resorted to providing labour in the gardens of the rich. It helps us to get money to buy food. [Female non-beneficiary, Kyenjojo, VFSG area]

The drought has also impacted on trading livelihoods based on crop surpluses: “Many roadside stalls were closed down because of lack of food to sell there.” [Female beneficiary, Kiboga, VFSG area]. In contrast, in a community in Apac, a group of male beneficiaries explained that the scarcity of firewood has reduced the possibility of charcoal burning as a livelihood and so some have “resorted to cultivation”.

More broadly, over the past eighteen months some farmers have changed crops in response to market demand. For example, in Apac some farmers have shifted from growing maize and beans to tea.

Because things like maize and beans no longer yield well in this soil, and also because tea is a long term crop which now has good market prices especially at the nearby factories. [Male non-beneficiary, Kyenjojo, VFSG area]

Similarly, in Apac some farmers have shifted from planting millet for consumption to sorghum for sale because

sorghum it is marketable to the company that brews Nile beer. We sell 1kg at UGX 600 and yet millet goes for only UGX 250 per kilo. [Male non-beneficiary, Apac, VFSG area]

For some, improvements in agricultural production are claimed to be due to specific agricultural support programmes operating in the evaluation sites. The NAADS programme, for instance, has operated in many areas over the past eighteen months, providing goats, new seed varieties, new techniques and rental access to farming machines for selected households. For those that have benefitted, NAADS is perceived to have brought positive change. Yet many are critical of the limited targeting of the NAADS programme, for example benefitting mainly youth (in some Moroto communities) and expectant mothers (in some Nakapiripirit communities). NAADS benefits are also widely believed by respondents to be siphoned off before they reach communities. Another NGO, Wealth Hunger, has also provided improved seeds and goats to youth in some communities, alongside tree planting techniques and employment for some women.

But there are also changes in farming strategies that are attributed by some specifically to SAGE. One reportedly important and common use of SAGE is to buy seeds, and this was particularly important in areas in which drought or disease had destroyed the previous season's crops. In SCG areas, a fair number of respondents (particularly in Kaberamaido, Kyenjojo and Kiboga) report that elderly beneficiaries have used the cash transfer to hire labour to dig on their farms. In this regard, most explain that this hired labour has replaced their own and thus reduced a physical burden on their elderly bodies. And for some who had previously left farming due to old age, the ability to hire farm labour has helped to reinstate farming as a source of livelihood.

Me and my wife we both receive [SAGE]. We used it to employ people to dig for us because we cannot dig. So now we can plant more food like cassava, beans and groundnuts. Previously we used to find life so hard that if you do not dig, you will sleep hungry, but now that this money comes monthly at least we can afford to buy salt and even some food if you do not have. We buy the seeds from SAGE money. So when the harvest is good, we sell and continue with the digging. [Male beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

Some non-elderly people in VFSG areas, including younger widows, also use SAGE to hire labour. Additionally, a small number of widows in Nebbi, Apac and Kyenjojo who lost their land when their husband died used the SAGE money to rent small plots to farm. Others use SAGE to rent land and thus expand their acreage. In Nakapiripirit some beneficiaries state they use SAGE to hire oxen for ploughing.

This said, while use of the cash transfer to purchase inputs for agricultural livelihoods has been fairly common, an equally large number of beneficiaries report that the SAGE money is mainly for food and that they have not been able to invest in livelihood activities.

6.2 Fishing

In four of the sixteen sub counties (Abongomole, Chawente, Kapujan and Pakwach), some households engage in fishing. Across these areas, fishing is a male activity, although women are often involved in selling fish when a surplus is made. Typically, fishing is on a small scale, but better-off fishermen are able to afford more nets and boats, which enables them to earn income from sale of surplus.

However, at both baseline and midline it is noted that fishing livelihoods are threatened by declining stock levels and a recent government policy requiring use of government-standard fishing nets, whose purpose is to reduce the catch of small fish and thus halt reduction in fish stocks. Again, at baseline and midline, fishermen explained that the introduction of this policy has made fishing more difficult because most people cannot afford to purchase the new nets.

The SAGE cash transfer does not appear to have been greatly used to support fishing livelihoods. This is perhaps partly because fishing is a livelihood domain for men who are not old, and two of the four sub-counties are SCG targeting areas in which many of the recipients are widows. Yet there are a few examples of the use of the VFSG to support fishing livelihoods. A male VFSG beneficiary in Pakwach used his cash transfer as part-payment for a government standard net, which he now rents to other fishermen in the community. Another male VFSG beneficiary in Apac explained that he used part of his cash transfer to purchase nets and chains. Additionally, some female beneficiaries in the Pakwach VFSG community report using SAGE to buy fish for resale in the market.

6.3 Casual labour and bush-based livelihoods

At baseline it was found that, across all sub counties, casual labour was mainly pursued by energetic youth who had not yet accumulated any capital. Data at midline does to some extent point to casual labour as a male youth domain, but they also suggest that casual labour is an economic activity for a wider set of social groups, including women and children. This difference is likely largely explained by the inclusion of four new districts at midline, and the prevalence of female casual labour in these additional sites. For example, in Moroto and Nakapiripirit, particularly in more urban areas, women clean and collect water in better-off households, and also work alongside men in quarries (breaking stones).

While acknowledging this, it is also notable that in districts that were included in the baseline study, poorer women's provision of casual labour is more frequently noted at midline than it was at baseline. The qualitative research does not produce a representative sample of respondents, and so it is possible that this difference is simply the result of the different respondents participating in the research at each round. At the same time, it is possible that it also reflects the general economic and environmental hardships that have pushed more women into casual farm labour as their own crops failed (see sections 4 and 5 above). Equally, it might indicate an indirect impact of the SAGE programme because, as explained above (section 6.1), a number of SCG beneficiaries do report using their SAGE money to hire farm labour so these workers may just be responding to increased demand for labour. This was also indicated by some non-beneficiaries:

There has been improvement in feeding because people now know how to feed well and this has been brought about by labour that we now offer to so many people that have gardens, some of the old people that have their salaries now [SAGE] will hire you. [Female non-beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

Alongside casual labour, in nearly all sub-counties both women and men engage in bush-based livelihoods, such as gathering firewood or wood to burn as charcoal, and gathering grass to sell for thatching. In several sub-counties (particularly Moroto and Nakapiripirit), these economic activities are described as increasingly challenging due to recent government policies that have placed restrictions on the felling of trees. In the pastoralist areas of eastern Uganda, gathering grasses and wild fruits and vegetables in the bush has long been an important female livelihood strategy. Yet many women and men in these communities now perceive that such work places women in a dangerous situation, “*at risk of attack and rape by warriors and cattle raiders*” [Female beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area].

As found at baseline, and as in connection with casual labour, bush-based livelihood activities are typically explained as insecure and low paid. However, they are also seen as a starting point to gain capital that can then be used to progress into other livelihood activities. The following excerpt from a baseline discussion with young men in Usuk, Katakwi, succinctly explains this progression:

The basic starting point for those without capital is to burn and sell charcoal in order to start chicken businesses, which requires capital of UGX 10,000 to 30,000 at least. Between UGX 70,000 to 120,000, you graduate to goat business. Then cattle business follows after getting capital between UGX 500,000 to 1,500,000, but very few youth reach this level of business transaction, the majority are in to chicken and goats business. [Baseline: Male youth, Katakwi, SCG area].

In the quote above, charcoal burning is presented as a livelihood strategy that has been used as a starting point for capital generation, which can then be invested in assets and businesses. The following excerpts from the research conducted at midline highlight the dwindling nature of charcoal burning and gathering of firewood for sale, and associated impacts on livelihood strategies.

Some male youths who used to burn charcoal have shifted and gone to live in urban areas where they engage in petty business and casual activities – this has been because of the dwindling number of trees available for charcoal burning. [Female Beneficiary, Kiboga, VFSG area]

In this area there has been a change in livelihoods. For example, now charcoal burning has been affected because first of all there are enemies hiding in the bushes, they kill whoever goes to burn charcoal in the bush. Then also there are by-laws put in place prohibiting people from cutting trees, so it has become less desirable in the last 18 months. [Male Beneficiary, Nakapiripirit, SCG area]

In some Districts, particularly Moroto and Nakapiripirit, many respondents explain that the SAGE cash transfer has helped some women and girls to move into new livelihood activities as an alternative to dangerous work in the bush. In this regard, brewing and selling local alcohol was particularly mentioned (see section 6.5 below).

Casual labour has now become less desirable because some people have started earning SAGE, it helps them to pay for needs and start businesses. So they no longer look at casual labour as an important way of earning a living. [Female beneficiary, Apac, VFSG area]

There has been a little change in activities in 18 months. This is because the demand has gone up for the services. It is associated with the improved livelihoods in the area now,

amongst the people here. More elderly people now have engaged themselves into the small economic activities like baking and retailing charcoal. To a great extent, some ways of earning a living have become more desirable. This is because some people's livelihoods have greatly improved because of the SAGE cash transfers. Those who were doing small dirty jobs have now resorted to better ones, because they now have some money to do that. [Female non-beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area]

6.4 Animal husbandry

Like crop farming, animal husbandry is a common livelihood activity across most of the sub-counties. Across the districts, gender roles derived from patriarchal norms determine that men own economic assets such as livestock. In the pastoral areas of eastern Uganda, cattle are an important symbolism of manhood, and cattle-rearing is most often undertaken by young boys. Yet, across the districts, some women in all researched communities did speak of 'their animals' (mainly pigs, sheep, goats and chicken), and while they may have been referring to household assets, some of these women are widows.

At baseline, cattle rearing was found to be 'the most lucrative and preferred livelihood source across the four sites visited, due largely to the economic value of cattle and the potential return from sale. The economic and cultural importance of cattle was reiterated at midline: cattle are often regarded as a form of savings; they provide products for consumption and sale (milk, meat, skins); fertilizer for agriculture; transport; ploughing; as well as being used to pay the bride-price in marriage.

However, like crop farming, cattle rearing livelihoods have suffered over the past eighteen months. Drought (particularly in Kyenjojo and Kiboga) has reduced the availability of pasture and drinking water; and diseases have reduced herds.

Mid this year, we experienced a long drought and our cows did not have pasture, so we did not get reasonable quantities of milk, and all these made a reduction in our incomes. [Male non-beneficiary, Kiboga, SCG area]

In Kiboga some respondents noted a shift from pastoralism to crop farming due to reduced herds and drought. Although, as noted above, agriculture has also suffered from environmental challenges and thus often provides limited returns.

Other factors, particular to specific areas, have also impacted this livelihood activity. For instance, in Katakwi, pastoralists spoke of a government intervention to quarantine cattle due to an outbreak of disease, leaving many households without livestock assets and without information on when they would be returned.

This complex range of challenges is exemplified by the quote below:

We have changed our way of living. Some have changed to digging because some of us have few cows which cannot produce enough milk and so not enough money to help us buy everything we need. Growing crops helps us to reduce on buying food from the markets when we do not have the money. However, the soils here are not fertile so bananas only last for four years in the garden and then you have to plant again. Yes, much as we are pastoralists we experienced a long drought for the past five months. We had no water, pasture for our cows, we also spent a lot of money buying water from water tankers.

Animal diseases have become resistant to the veterinary drugs; drugs hardly kill ticks and drugs are expensive. Keeping cows has become expensive compared to the revenue we get from them. We keep going on but are making losses. [Female beneficiary, Kiboga, SCG area]

In terms of how SAGE has impacted this livelihood activity, some beneficiaries report using the transfers to buy drugs for sick cattle, particularly in Kyenjojo. More broadly, a fair number of SAGE beneficiaries have used a portion of the SAGE money to purchase smaller animals such as chickens and goats, and in some cases pigs. For some SAGE beneficiaries, particularly widows, this constitutes a new livelihood strategy and has even increased their social status:

I never had even a goat, a chicken. The first money I received I bought one hen. The second money I received I bought one goat. With the third money I received I have been able to pay school fees for the children. [Female beneficiary, Apac, SCG area]

From SAGE I bought three goats. Before I had nothing. We have become financially empowered. People now greet me because they see goats. I also bought two chickens, which are multiplying. [Male beneficiary, Apac, VFSG area]

As discussed in section 4, there are some social differences between those that have been able to use the SAGE transfers to purchase assets, such as livestock, and those that have not. Such purchases are fairly common for very poor SCG beneficiaries (particularly women), but in VFSG areas it is mainly the fairly poor (not the very poor) who are able to purchase assets. This is partly explained by the greater tendency for the cash transfer to be consumed by immediate needs in very poor VFSG households, which often have many dependents.

Purchase of livestock is often explained as a combination of a savings strategy, a consumption strategy, and an income generating activity. Some respondents report that SAGE has affected livelihood choices and options for beneficiaries:

Because of the cash transfer, they are able to start up better businesses like animal rearing (goats, pigs) hence improving incomes. This is a change of activities from farming to less labour intensive animal rearing. [Male non-beneficiary, Nakapiripirit, SCG area]

That [SAGE] money has helped me a lot because the first time I got it I bought a piglet and it grew up and so when I sold it I was able to get enough money to complete my house. [Female beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

Life was difficult before, I have nine children and two are orphans. With SAGE money, I can now afford to pay for them in school: I bought uniform, books, pens. I bought beans and stocked in the house. I also bought three chickens and I am planning to buy goats. Later I will sell them to make money. [Male beneficiary, Apac, VFSG area]

6.5 Small businesses

Across the study locations, small business is commonly mentioned as an important economic activity for the fairly-poor and better-off. It is also viewed as a widely desired livelihood strategy. Although the scale of businesses is often small, several respondents perceive trading as being less vulnerable to seasonal fluctuations than farming, and so able to provide more stable income throughout the year. The baseline research reported diversification into non-farm activities as a

notable trend over recent years. Ellis (2004) identifies some reasons for diversification into non-farm activities, such as overcoming risk and seasonality in agriculture, lack of access to adequate land, failures of agriculture to deliver improved income, decreasing farm sizes due to sub-division, reduction in soil fertility and environmental degradation. At the time of the baseline in 2012, respondents reported that many farming households had started to diversify their incomes by setting up small businesses, and that this had not been the case five years beforehand.

The midline research highlights a continuation of this trend towards diversification of livelihood activities to some degree. At the same time, for some, the business environment has become more difficult. For example, a large number of elderly men in Labourline sub-county in Moroto complain that their businesses have dwindled because male youth have entered the market and have more energy and capital to trade. Moreover, women and men in Kiboga and Kyenjojo reflect on the impact of the drought in mid-late 2013 not only on farming and pastoralism but also small businesses, which rely on the produce from those two sources. The following excerpt from an FGD in Katakwi highlights both the impacts of the drought on businesses and the livelihood strategies that have been used in response.

In the last two months there has been less produce due to the long drought, so now most people are not able to continue doing business in produce. Also, now some of us have diversified in the activities that we do, for example we buy goods in the market and sell off to people in the community. Also, now people have started selling cashew nuts, which wasn't the case before. And most women now are into business, also, like selling tomatoes, onions etc. This is because of the issue of security in the area, which has made people venture into business and away from the bush; and also the increase in the number of needs that households have, like school needs. Also [because of] the trainings that we have got, for example CCF [Child Fund], which has trained people on savings. And one of our leaders that we voted for has helped to put people in groups and encouraged people to save. [FGD with non-beneficiaries in Katakwi, SCG area]

At baseline, weak access to capital was found to be a large constraint on setting up small businesses. While this constraint remains for many, including a significant number of SAGE beneficiaries, there are indications that SAGE has helped to enhance access to local saving and credit mechanisms for some. In a number of communities a small number of SAGE beneficiaries report joining or starting savings and credit groups. These are cited as a strategy both to help households cope with shocks (section 5) and to enable investment in assets and businesses; and in some cases to start new businesses.

Yes it has changed in a way that even the old people these days have formed and joined saving groups, which has helped us to at least have something saved. This saving can be used to open up a small business. [Male beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

For me, when we got this money, my husband joined a small savings group where we got money to buy a motorcycle – we put all SAGE money into the savings group. [Female beneficiary, Kyenjojo, VFSG area]

As mentioned above, common across all the study locations was the assertion that the capacity to use the SAGE transfer to invest in business was greater for fairly poor SAGE beneficiaries than very poor beneficiaries.

There are also significant gender differences in the nature of the small businesses that have been developed over the last eighteen months. For women, the types of new business that are most

frequently mentioned are brewing and petty trade of cooked foods (such as silver fish, eggs, fruit and vegetables). The most common new businesses mentioned by men are petty trade in tobacco, basic household items (soap, salt), and buying beer in town to resell in the village. While female businesses are most often conducted within the community and local market, male businesses are conducted both locally and in nearby towns. The results of the qualitative research suggest that, to some degree at least, new businesses have been set up by women more than men, and that in most cases such new businesses represent either a diversification of farming livelihoods or a shift from casual labour.

Particularly in Nakapiripirit, Moroto and Apac, brewing is the most common female new business to develop over the past eighteen months. In these districts, it is generally the non-beneficiaries of SAGE that have started brewing, in response to increased demand that is widely attributed to the number of men who use a portion of the SAGE money to buy local brew. At least in part, this is done as a route to enhance social capital, status and self-esteem (see section 8 below).

There is a very small change in the way we earn a living. Like now there are more women who were brewing local drinks as opposed to the earlier days. This is because of the SAGE cash money which the people now get in our area. Some who earn that money now invest in the local brew business instead of carrying firewood to the town for sale. [Female beneficiary in Moroto, SCG area]

6.6 Child work

Children's engagement in livelihood activities varies across the evaluation districts. In the eastern pastoralist areas, male children tend to be responsible for cattle rearing. Across locations, both male and female children support particular aspects of crop production, as well as collecting water for household consumption. In Abongomole, Apac, some male beneficiaries explain that "*Children help at building sites as potters and some of them have gained skills and are now laying bricks*" [Male beneficiary, Apac, SCG area]. Children are also reported to engage in petty trade in Labourline, Pakwach and Nabliatuk sub-counties.

In Nabliatuk, child engagement in petty trade relates partly to new businesses that have been developed over the past eighteen months: "*There is the new retailing of salt, from the SAGE money. Young boys move from Manyata to Manyata selling salt.*" [Male beneficiary, Nabliatuk, Nakapiripirit, SCG area] There is no indication in the data that child work has reduced over the past eighteen months.

6.7 Local markets

As explained in section 3 of this report, a significant portion of the SCG and VFSG is spent within the first few days, largely within the local economy at the community or parish level. In effect, and across the eight districts, respondents report that the local economy 'booms' in the week following the SAGE payment.

In some parishes, expenditures start at the payment site where local entrepreneurs set up temporary stalls:

On payment day, the town street becomes so busy like a street in Kampala because all business shift here to sell their goods. The business community benefit also from the beneficiaries on this day. [Male trader. Kiboga, VFSG area]

Boda-boda drivers also make significant income in villages where paypoints are too far for beneficiaries to walk. In Kyenjojo, a few beneficiaries noted that boda-boda prices temporarily increase “because they know you have money”. [Male beneficiary, Kyenjojo, SCG area]

Beyond the day and site of the SAGE payment, local shops and consumer services within communities are also buoyant in the initial period after the payment. Across the districts, female and male beneficiaries explain that they purchase a month’s supply of basic household needs (such as salt and soap), as well as ‘luxury’ items such as meat and local brew, in the first few days after receiving the transfer. A few respondents report that the price of meat rises when the SAGE beneficiaries get paid.

Many respondents also report that, between SAGE cash transfers, beneficiaries are able to obtain goods on credit in local shops and pharmacies, as well as loans from friends and family. Credit is often repaid when they receive their cash transfer, which also contributes to the temporary ‘boost’ in local markets in the period immediately after the SAGE cash transfer is made.

In the community it has boosted business. This money is distributed on market days and these old people go straight to the shop. [LC1, Katakwi Usuk, SCG area]

The volume of business in the community has improved. The day of payment is very good for all the business members because they can sell their things. The moment they hear there is payment they target them, the butchers come to slaughter their animals and also books are sold and they all go home very happy. [Village Health Team member, Apac, VFSG area]

On a normal week, I may make UGX 20,000 in my pharmacy. But on the week of SAGE payments it can reach UGX 50,000. About UGX 20,000 of that may be credit repayments and the rest is new sales. People come to buy drugs when they have the money. [Village Health Team member, Nebbi, VFSG area]

While the boost in the local market looks at first sight as temporary, lasting the course of around one week after the payment date, some respondents also point to a longer term impact in the local economy as the money circulates.

It has brought changes; it has increased sales, the shop keepers are able to restock because they are making sales. [Village Health Team member, Apac, SCG area]

It has promoted the council local revenue indirectly, because when they are paid they purchase things in the market, hence benefiting the business community. [Assistant CDO, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

It has boosted the local markets because around over UGX 300 million shillings comes from SAGE, leading to the establishment of a market called Abarata here, and there is now a market there every Thursday of the week. [Assistant CDO, Katakwi]

Businesses have benefited from the SAGE program because the beneficiaries are buying things more. There are more monies in circulation. [Parish development team, Kiboga, VFSG area]

On the supply side, as explained in section 6.5, respondents across districts report a number of new small businesses that have developed in response to increased demand for goods and

services, particularly beans, oil, tea, soap, sugar, salt, meat, local brew and cooked foods. As indicated by the quote below, in the urban Labourline community some respondents thus point to a shift in the attractiveness of certain businesses.

To a limited extent, there have been changes in the last 18 months, because some people have set up new businesses on top of the existing ones. Even the existing ones there is high demand of the goods and services provided. This is associated with the change in people's ways of income over time. Yes, some activities have become more desirable than others, since people now have some money to open up better businesses like drinking bars, selling fresh foods, and many others. [Female beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area]

Some of these new businesses have been set up by SAGE beneficiaries using the cash transfer, or using the income enabled by investing the transfer in productive assets or savings groups. Yet it appears to be equally if not more common that new and expanded businesses have been set up by non-beneficiaries, in response to increased demand.

In this regard, many respondents emphasised the difficulties in obtaining the required capital to set up new businesses. But some are able to be entrepreneurial. One group of female non-beneficiaries in a Moroto community reported that some businesswomen have taken loans to enable them to respond to the increased demand:

...others have also gone into better or improved activities because of demand which has gone high amongst the people, most especially the elderly people. There have been little but not big changes. This is because we still lack many things to be able to do any better business; things like lack of capital, although there is high demand in the market of many services. So we have remained doing the same, only that there is more now invested due to demand. This has forced some of us to acquire small loans. [Female non-beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area]

Although these data do not constitute an objective or conclusive proof that the programme is having a positive impact on the local economy, these results do suggest SAGE may be having some spill-over effects beyond the immediate beneficiaries of the programme and highlight the pathways that such spill-overs could be taking.

7 Provision of services and the social contract

7.1 Provision of and access to services

Across the evaluation locations, the government is explained to be the main provider of services in areas such as education, health, agricultural extension and social protection. Even when it is not the main provider in practice, there is a general expectation that it should be.

In addition to government services, in every location respondents mention a number of non-government organisations (NGOs) and civil society organisations that also provide support and services in similar areas (i.e. health, education, agriculture and supporting the poor). These include faith-based organisations and churches.

The importance of these services to individuals, households and communities is clear. In most cases, the services prioritised by respondents are health and education, together with security and policing, support to poorer households (e.g. through SAGE) and to households at times of crisis, and agricultural extension services. There is a sense of reliance on these services, and an expectation that the government or state should provide them even if they are not always delivered at all, are of sufficient quality, or do not reach the intended recipients or benefit those that need them.

Most importantly, we rely on the government because it gives us different kinds of support, like medical services. And for entering university we also rely on the government because there is district quarter system and my son also went to university through that system. Just like now also it is the government that is paying us UGX 24,000 every month. That is why we say we rely most on the government. [Male beneficiary, Kaberamaido, VFSG area]

It is government and NGOs responsible of helping people when they face a problem, because they have the funds and government is the father to the people. [Male non-beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area]

In many cases across the study locations, this government responsibility is clearly channelled through individuals at a more local level, such as Members of Parliament or an LC3 or LC1.

It is the LC1 who is responsible for these problems since he is the head of the village; and maybe the LC3 because sometimes the LC1 sends you direct to the LC3. [Female non-beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

However, these local politicians and civil servants are not always perceived as successful at fulfilling their responsibilities.

It would be the members of parliament whom we voted for, but this is the reverse. These leaders of ours when they reach there, they tend to be quiet and do not bother, whether their community people are satisfied or not. [Male non-beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

Despite these expectations towards government to provide services, however, many individuals and households claim that they rely primarily on supporting themselves, with government and others providing services or support in particular areas or if larger problems arise.

We do not have any people that we rely on, we only work for ourselves. [Female beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

The people mostly depend on themselves, but also the government helps like on education and some cash like now the SAGE cash transfers. Also finding jobs or employment it is the government. [Female beneficiary, Nakapiripirit, SCG area]

This reliance on oneself first is found across locations and reflects the mixed perceptions of the quality and accessibility of services. In some areas, lack of provision, quality or access leads to a reliance on private providers rather than public.

They [public services] are not effective because services are not reliable (e.g. hospitals), low standards in schools, corruption police. [Female non-beneficiary, Nebbi, SCG area]

The hospital [is important] but they do not have medicines most of the time so keep referring us to clinics; and even when they bring medicines they do not even last for three days. [Male beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

[In the private health clinic] you only get treatment when you have money. They attend to you very fast, and it's our last resort when there is no medicine at the government health centre. [Male non-beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

There are isolated reports in Apac, Moroto, Kaberamaido and Nakapiripirit of SAGE beneficiaries being excluded from other programmes or support due to their recipient status.

We have been excluded from the other government programmes: during the extreme drought this year, food relief was brought and all the beneficiaries of SAGE programme were denied opportunity to benefit. I wrote my name and it was deleted, saying I was benefiting from SAGE programme. In similar programmes, like NUSAF and NAADS, all our names were left out. [Female beneficiary, Apac, VFSG area]

Some people benefit from NAADS and NUSAF but not us. [Male beneficiary, Apac, VFSG area]

SAGE has affected our ability to receive food. The old, especially those receiving SAGE money, are not given food. [Male beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area]

Yes, the SAGE programme has affected the beneficiaries from benefiting from other programmes because they are already receiving money. They want other people also to gain, unless it is another relative from their family. [Male non-beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area]

Some of these beneficiaries are no longer getting assistance from their former benefactors. [Male beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

However, more generally, and including in the districts mentioned above, it is not perceived that being a SAGE beneficiary excludes one from receipt of other support (formal and informal) or accessing other government or non-government programmes. In many locations, access to services, particularly health and education, is more likely facilitated by the SAGE transfer. Key informants, for instance, explain that:

This is actually the best programme among the programmes that have been designed by the ministry. It has actually reduced the death rate among the old people because they are able to access healthcare with the little money that they are given through the SAGE cash transfer. [CDO, Katakwi, SCG area]

SAGE has not affected how these beneficiaries benefit from other support programs, because the money they get from SAGE is not enough to cater for all their needs. They are given only UGX 25,000 a month, so these people still need the support being given by the other organizations. [Paypoint agent, Apac³⁰]

This sentiment is supported by beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries across the study locations. There is a clear recognition, including amongst non-beneficiaries, that despite receiving SAGE, recipients are not necessarily better-off or less vulnerable to shocks and so still need the same opportunities for support as others. In some cases, this also reflects an understanding of their rights as citizens to various government programmes, as well as a more functional understanding of basic needs.

No, it has not affected because we all still benefit from all supports that came to the community, as long as it is for all. [Female non-beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

No, it has not affected at all. This is because we believe SAGE is a different programme which purposely came to help a specific group and if you are left out then there is no need to complain. And also these beneficiaries are entitled to enjoy any programme which comes in our community here. [Male non-beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

The SAGE program has not affected any other programs and the way people benefit, whatever assistance that comes. They don't separate the SAGE beneficiaries from non-beneficiaries, all are served equally. [Female non-beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area]

People carry on. Nothing has changed, people still support each other the same. [Male youth, Nebbi, VFSG area]

SAGE cash transfer doesn't affect or deny the old people access to other forms of assistance, and we share with them even more than before since are now more involved with people in the community than before the cash transfer. [Male non-beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

The SAGE transfer is also reported to have increased access to some services, particularly health and education for some recipients. Access to and participation in savings groups is another service area where increases are reported.

Even if health and education services are notionally free to citizens, in practice a range of costs constrain access for the poor. These include costs of transportation, medicines, school books and materials amongst others. A group of female beneficiaries in Nebbi (VFSG location), for instance, explained that in order to raise money for school fees, they sold assets such as goats and chickens. When it was suggested that education was free, they responded:

³⁰ There is only one Pay agent in Apac covering both SCG and VFSG areas. A small team of pay agents covering three districts (including Nebbi) use a minibuss to deliver the SAGE transfers.

Ah... aah... Just leave it there! Uniforms, pens, books, all you should buy... No money, the child is sent back home. [Female beneficiary, Nebbi, VFSG area]

Improved access to health and education services for SAGE beneficiaries was generally a result of having additional cash available to spend on the usual costs of accessing these services. This was found across all locations, although the services mentioned differed between SCG and VFSG targeting approaches due to the profile of the recipients and the types of services they most usually require.

In terms of health services, respondents note SAGE beneficiaries being better able to afford access to health facilities and medicines.

As beneficiaries, we are now able to freely access medical support from the village health centres because we can afford it. [Female beneficiary, Kiboga, SCG area]

Some beneficiaries can now go to medical centres whilst before they would buy pain killers for all types of sicknesses. [Female non-beneficiary, Kiboga, SCG area]

[Before] The people who get SAGE money most likely were not even accessing other services, because, for example, if an old woman is sick, she may not even be able to go to a health centre which is several kilometres away. So now that she has the money, she can go there for treatment. [Female beneficiary, Kiboga, VFSG area]

In education too, the cash transfer has impacts on access, even in some SCG areas where the cash is targeted at older people. This may be because the cash is used for general household needs, including the education of grandchildren.

SAGE has helped facilitate some government programs like UPE [Universal Primary Education] because the beneficiaries are able to buy uniforms, books and pens for their school-going grandchildren. [Female non-beneficiary, Kiboga, SCG area]

The money is helping to pay some part of school fees. [Female non-beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area]

In some locations, respondents claim that SAGE had participation in informal savings groups.

We are also able to join cash round groups that help us get bigger assets out of our money. [Female beneficiary, Kiboga, SCG area]

Some elderly persons who did not have money to save with the SACCO can now do so, using SAGE cash transfer, unlike in the past. [Male non-beneficiary, Kyenjojo, SCG area]

In addition they buy household needs, and settle their debts in our saving groups. [Female non-beneficiary, Kyenjojo, VFSG area]

7.2 Citizenship and the social contract

The social contract, in this context, refers to public expectations and the degree of trust citizens have towards the government. This also includes the rights and responsibilities of citizens towards the state.

The baseline study indicated that taxation was seen as the basis of a social contract in which citizens expect services to be provided in exchange for their taxes. Ineffective public services and the lack of responsiveness of elected leaders were interpreted as a breach of the contract, and one that respondents were clearly unhappy about. Democratic elections were also seen as a basis for holding politicians to account for providing public services. Citizens gave their votes with an expectation that politicians would deliver the services that they had promised.

The midline qualitative research shows that, across the evaluation sites, this fundamental understanding of the basis of the social contract remains the same and is very clearly expressed. Both men and women, and younger and older respondents have the same basic understanding that both the government and citizens have responsibilities within the relationship. Citizens' responsibilities centre on the payment of taxes and dues, the production of food to feed fellow Ugandans, ensuring children receive an education and healthcare, participating in relevant programmes and ensuring security, law and order are maintained. These aspects of civic responsibilities are clearly articulated across research sites and respondent types.

For me, I pay tax as a citizen of Uganda. We also cultivate and when this food is sold in the market it feeds large population in the country. For me at least I stay with my grandson who goes to school and that also shows my responsibility as a citizen of Uganda. [Male non-beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

Our responsibilities as citizens are to see to it that we work together with the government, e.g. send our children to school, provide children with books, pens, uniforms. We also partner to make sure we provide the government with information related to security, i.e. make sure the government institutions provided to us are safe. Where taxes are required, it is our responsibility to pay, so that the services are brought to us. We also have the responsibility to elect/vote for our leaders, who will provide good services to us. In case the government wants to build, say, a school or hospital, it is our responsibility to provide land and labour required to put up the facility. [Female beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area]

The responsibilities of government within this contract are less clearly articulated. Generally, basic responsibilities are seen to involve provision of materials and inputs (e.g. for housing and agriculture) and services (health and education) and ensuring that services are of sufficient quality.

Government should give us iron sheets so that we can build houses. The government should equip the hospitals with medicines so that we can be treated. Government should facilitate the teachers so that they are motivated to work and teach our children properly. Really, the teacher is the poorest person in Uganda so the government should really care so much about teachers because they are the ones who build people's foundation in this country. [Female beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

When asked to explain why the government is responsible for these services, explanations centre on the payment of taxes and notions of democratic citizenship, but are also often couched within the metaphor of a familial relationship, with the state perceived as the parent and the citizens as its children.

Because we are her people and it is for her to take care of us because we pay taxes so she has to return to us by taking care of us. [Male beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

That is their responsibility – to take care of their citizens. That is why we elect them. We pay tax so they should provide such services. They also have other helpers like NGOs and Red Cross. [Male non-beneficiary, Kiboga, VFSG area]

Because we voted for them. [Female non-beneficiary, Kyanejojo, VFSG area]

Because we are citizens of this county and government is like our parent. [Male non-beneficiary, Kyenjojo, SCG area]

A few respondents, however, express concerns about the manner in which the government fulfils these responsibilities and whether they are delivered in an equitable manner within all communities.

As a citizen, my responsibility is to vote for our leaders. But they forget us after. We are called rubbish. [Male non-beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area]

The youth are also frustrated because they think that government does not care for them, it only cares for the old people. They say that the elderly are unproductive and don't pay taxes, so they contest the decision to give to the old instead of the youth, who would use the money for education and small businesses. [CDO, Nebbi, SCG area]

Beneficiaries praise the government because of SAGE, but non-beneficiaries talk against government, they feel left out and that the beneficiaries have been privileged. They say they are not going to vote for the present leaders because of that. [SAGE facilitator, Nebbi, VFSG area]

8 Social relations

In this section we analyse key aspects of social relations, both within households and across communities, as well as the changes experienced in these over the past eighteen months.

8.1 Household relationships

8.1.1 Ownership and control of assets

As found in the baseline research, there are large gendered inequalities in asset ownership. Across the districts, men are seen to have ownership of assets (land, livestock, buildings, bicycles), while women often own domestic resources such as utensils, and in some cases smaller animals like poultry. However, also similar to the findings at baseline, in some households men and women explain that purchase and sale of assets is often discussed between men and women in the household, even though men have the final say.

The midline research covered more pastoralist communities than the baseline, particularly in eastern Uganda. In these pastoralist communities both women and men perceive that ownership of assets by men also includes ‘ownership’ of women. This is justified by reference to the use of cattle to pay the bride-price. As explained below, in pastoralist areas this predominant patriarchal discourse is often used to present male dominance in decisions as an inherent situation that is ingrained within local cultures and thus unlikely to change.

In the house where both parties are still alive, ownership of particular properties differ. For example, a man owns things like land, herds of cattle, children, and even a woman herself, while a wife may own utensils – if she bought them – clothes, some food stock, to mention but a few ... Men own cattle, that is our tradition, because they use cows to pay bride-price, and this means that men also own women when they bring us to their house. [Female beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

Concurring with the baseline findings, women in most districts explain that they are nominally able to purchase land; although in Kyarusozi, in Kyenjojo, they say they cannot do so without permission of their husbands. However, and as again found at baseline, widows struggle to retain control and use of their land after divorce or death of the husband. This is because land is typically seized by men in their late-husband’s family unless the deceased had an adult son. Similar struggles to retain land are also experienced by male orphans, whose land is often sold off by their father’s brothers before they reach adulthood.

While women and men across the districts explain that male ownership and control of assets has not changed, a number of women across the districts do report purchase of small animals (chickens, goats, pigs) over the past eighteen months. In nearly all cases, these purchases were enabled by the SAGE cash transfer. As explained in section 4, in VFSG areas it is mainly ‘fairly poor’ women that have been able to purchase assets; but a larger number of very poor SCG recipients have been able to do so. There is an apparent contrast between the way that women spoke about the assets that they own at baseline compared to the midline. At baseline, women in most communities were perceived to own the smaller assets that they purchase (such as chickens), but explained that men controlled decisions on the purchase and sale of such assets. At midline, female beneficiaries who have purchased livestock with their cash transfers rarely spoke of men as active in that decision. Moreover, many women referred to sales of animal by-

products obtained, and in some cases of the asset itself, in order to make a profit, and they explained how they use this income:

When I got SAGE money I bought a hen, and now they are producing eggs which I sell at UGX 400 each, and I use that to buy food and even a dress. Before, I never had an animal. [Female beneficiary, Kyenjojo, SCG area]

In SCG areas, this apparent ownership and control over assets may be explained by the large number of widows among female SCG recipients, who were widely explained to have pre-existing control over household decisions (see below). Yet in an FGD in Katakwi, it was explained that married women's use of SAGE money to purchase assets can be seen as a shift in household relations:

The men had all the authority because they were the ones who were helping us so much. From the time we started getting the SAGE money, we, the women, are now respected and listened to and we are now allowed to participate in decision making. We now share the authority over property because the government supports both of us. When it comes to assets in the home the man may have his goats and the woman also has her own so everyone has a say over his or her property. [Female beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

While men and women across evaluation districts spoke of women's purchase of livestock, this was the only direct inference made by a respondent that this might in fact represent a change in gendered relations within households. An interesting question is thus whether this lack of recognition expressed by respondents towards any change in gender relations is because those relations haven't actually changed, i.e. because the overarching framework determining relations between men and women is still governed by a patriarchal system in which male 'ownership' of women (and thus the assets that women nominally purchase and appear to control) persists? Or whether it does 'in fact', i.e. in objective practice, represent a real material change in gendered relations, which is simply not yet reflected by a change in the predominant discourse?

8.1.2 Roles and responsibilities within households

Depictions of gendered roles and responsibilities within households are largely described in similar terms as at baseline. In general, men and male youth are viewed as responsible for cattle, and women and girls are responsible for domestic tasks; there are particular male and female farming tasks in many communities. However, within this general context there are variations across communities and households, and nuances of difference in daily practices that present a contrast to the social construction of these gender roles.

Research at midline included more in-depth analysis of the household roles and responsibilities of the elderly. The findings indicate that married elderly women and men tend to follow the same generalised roles as younger couples within their community contexts. Yet the role of elderly people varies, partly dependent on their age and health, but also on the extent to which they are integrated into a wider household in practical terms. A fair number elderly people report that their adult children work away from the village, or have died (often due to HIV), so they live either alone or with their grandchildren. And while elderly people are most often integrated into wider kinship networks, many explain that these networks are no longer a great source of support due to generalised increases in poverty over time. Healthy elderly women that are integrated into wider households tend to engage in weeding, cooking and child care, while some elderly men support household farming and decision making. Yet elderly men and women that live alone speak of their

struggles to collect water and firewood, and the general challenges of life, including responsibility for their care of grandchildren for those with deceased or absent adult children.

Across districts most women and men claim that there have not been any significant changes in household roles and responsibilities in recent years, and in most cases this is related to long-standing cultural attitudes and behaviours.

It is a husband who makes important decisions when it comes to cows and goats because he is in charge. Whereas women decide on crops produced like sorghum because she is in charge of planting. This has not changed. It has been like that from time immemorial. [Female beneficiary, Kyenjojo, VFSG area]

However, some beneficiaries, particularly in SCG areas, do cite positive changes in household roles in the past eighteen months, with SAGE often, but not always, perceived to be a significant contributing factor. Particularly in Nebbi, a number of females spoke of married men engaging in more domestic tasks over the past eighteen months, such as making tea, collecting wood and buying salt. This was in all cases presented as a male willingness to engage in small domestic tasks, rather than a duty *per se*, but in most cases was also explained to result from broader improvements in families' emotional situations, which are considered further in section 8.1.4 below.

Starting this year there is more gender balance. Men cook for us when their women are sick, the man picks the bicycle and fetches water ... The man can't mind of picking 10 litre of jerry can to fetch water when the woman is sick. [Female non-beneficiary, Nebbi, VFSG area]

A couple told me that he and his wife are building a house together with their SAGE money, they showed me the house. They told me that now if the wife is out collecting grass for the roof, that the husband will light the fire and make tea. Making tea is a female job, so he had not done this before. So the man is taking on some female responsibilities while the wife collects grass. They said that since they started collecting the SAGE money, they have started working together like that. [CDO, Nebbi District – speaking of a household in which both the husband and wife are SCG recipients]

In VFSG areas there are also a number of indications that women have taken on new household roles and greater responsibilities in the past eighteen months. Some women say that their household responsibilities have increased gradually over time, and relate this to a general 'male laziness' and 'alcoholism', or men 'abandoning their roles'. Yet these increased responsibilities are also sometimes related to women's receipt of SAGE, and in some cases greater female engagement in small businesses over the past eighteen months.

Women's increased contribution to household resources may be seen as a form of female socio-economic empowerment. However, when framed by a perceived neglect by men of their traditional duties, some women also point to the more negative outcome of an increase in women's already large workload.

The mentality that man should do everything is not there anymore. Women are taking responsibilities with this small money [SAGE], it is women that hire farm labourers, use the money to take the children to hospital; they don't wait for household to take action. It has given women more expenditures. [Male, religious leader, Nebbi, VFSG area]

In those days, women used not to do business or brew alcohol but now women are doing this. It has increased a lot compared to 18 months ago ... Now women are earning, many men have abandoned their roles and women have had to take charge of households.

[Female beneficiary in Katakwi, SCG area]

In SCG areas a large number of respondents feel that there has been change in the dependency of elderly SAGE beneficiaries on their households, who now represent less of a burden.

The dependency of the old people has reduced. They [SAGE beneficiaries] no longer bother their children or relatives for any assistance because of the SAGE money they get ... Close relatives do get some help from those old people that get their salary [SAGE], like receiving food, soap, and sharing the local drinks which they give to them. [Male non-beneficiary, Nakapiripirit, SCG area]

Due to SAGE most old people are now able to stand on their own without bothering others. They can now buy soap, salt, food, clothes, by themselves using the SAGE money. So it has reduced dependence very much. Even during times of scarcity they can now cope. Some of us [non-beneficiaries] benefit from relatives who get [SAGE], who give them small money like UGX 1,000 or share the drinks. Some of us even go borrowing from the beneficiaries. [Male non-beneficiary, Nakapiripirit, SCG area]

It has reduced so much dependency syndrome. They have what can help them. The elderly are helping the daughters-in-law and the grandchildren. [Male non-beneficiary, Apac, SCG area]

While the quotes above indicate the reduced dependence of the elderly on their wider households; they also highlight that this has sometimes shifted into an increased dependence on the elderly as a new source of resources and support within households. In some communities, this includes relatives bringing orphans and vulnerable children to the homes of SCG beneficiaries, because they are now seen to 'have resources'. This change was most often presented in a positive light by elderly SCG recipients themselves, who tended to explain that they appreciate the opportunity to assist their relatives, and the enhanced social status and respect this can bring.

My grandmother is a beneficiary, but when she gets money we do not feel jealous... It has created dependency, some people now love their grandparents because they are getting money, and you hear them say, "Grandmother let me give you a ride if you are going to give money". [Female non-beneficiary, Apac, SCG area]

I give my young relatives money if they weed my garden or collect water or firewood when I have money left from the SAGE. This money has helped much. I like to give them money for small jobs because it enables me to help them, I am not begging for help anymore. [Male beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

[We give to] Our grandchildren, because they are our future hope, even when we die they will always remember us for contributing towards their education, and when they are educated they will be able to help people in our village. [Female beneficiary Katakwi, SCG area]

It [SAGE] has increased dependency because a fertile place attracts every one, those who had run away have now returned and they now depend on the beneficiaries for their livelihood. [Female non-beneficiary, Apac, VFSG area]

8.1.3 Decision making within households

The baseline research found that there are variations in household decision-making structures, depending on the type of decision being made and the household situation. In female-headed households, women have decision-making responsibilities. Yet in households with an adult male present, it is he that most often makes the ‘important’ or ‘major’ decisions (such as over which school children attend, how household income is spent, the types of livestock to be reared by the family, and what constitutes good or bad behaviour by children). In these households, women tend to make decisions over daily needs such as feeding the family and purchase of minor household consumables like soap, sugar and salt. In some areas, such as Usuk, in Katakwi, women also make decisions on child healthcare.

That decision-making is dominated by men is largely justified, by both men and women, with reference to men being the nominal head of the household and male ownership of productive assets, which determines decision-making power over the use and sale of these assets. However, despite men having the decisive power over key decisions within households, across districts women also explained that they are often consulted regarding major decisions, albeit, as one woman in Kiboga put it, that “*the husband has the final say; even if he is a drunkard.*”

In the baseline data there were many examples of marital tensions over decision making, often due to consultations over decisions leading to disagreements, or men moving ahead with decisions despite their wife not being in agreement.

The findings of the midline research have many similarities with the baseline. In a large number of households (in both SCG and VFSG areas), men have overall control over decisions, and this situation has generally not changed over the past eighteen months. However, in the midline study, there are some geographical variations in the extent of male control and the reasons given for continuation of this norm. Particularly in Moroto and Nakapiripirit, both men and women often explain that male dominance in decision making is ‘inherent’, and relate this to a long-held culture and tradition:

Within our households it is the elders or the men who make important decisions. This has been the cultural norm, which we cannot forget or dispose, unless in cases of a household headed by a woman, where it is her who decides how the money is used or makes important decisions. But in most cases, even the money earned by a woman, it is the man who decides how the money is spent. This phenomenon has not yet changed in the last 18 months. [Female beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area]

Within our households it is mainly the men who make important decisions, and it cuts across all decisions in the community, it is the men to decide. This is because the Karamajong culture puts men at the mantle in everything. Nothing has significantly changed on this arrangement, though in a few households headed by widowed women, a lady may take the decision on how her income is used, but not any issue to do with assets like cattle or land. It is the men to control and decide how it should be handled. [Male beneficiary, Nakapiripirit, SCG area]

In Kyarusoji in Kyenjojo, in contrast, a large number of women state that male control over decisions has been a site of struggle and conflict in recent years, and that men have maintained control through dominance and sometimes violence. Kyarusoji sub-county was identified as an area with greater male dominance and marital tension in the baseline, yet the VFSG appears to

have reinforced or exacerbated this situation. We consider the case of Kyarusozi in more detail in section 8.1.4 below.

Up to today, in most homes men make decisions. If you as a wife refuse, he batters you and goes on to implement his decision. In some areas – but not Ncumbi – men care and support children in school, but in Ncumbi men are not mindful. We have had cases where men are conflicting with women over SAGE money. [Female beneficiary, Kyenjojo, VFSG area]

A number of women and men also explain that they have practiced joint decision making in their marriages for a long time, and this has not changed in the past eighteen months. This being acknowledged, particularly in SCG areas, ‘collective decision making’ by husband and wife was more frequently mentioned at midline as compared to baseline.

In my home, we sit down with my wife and deliberate on decisions to be made. We both have to agree or else you can have problems in the home. This has not changed in the last few years. The women have the biggest responsibility of how to spend the household income because they run the home. They know what is usually needed or what is useless. [Male beneficiary, Kiboga, VFSG area]

When it comes to money issues, me in my house I sit down with my wife and we decide on how to use money very effectively. [Male beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

Our relationship has not changed. My husband has never demanded for the money that I own. [Female beneficiary, Apac, SCG area]

Yet, while the overarching finding across districts is that control over decision making within households has not greatly changed; some respondents do give personal examples of positive change over the past eighteen months, and where these occur, they are mainly related to SAGE. Of those that spoke of positive change, a large number were in SCG areas, and particularly Katakwi, Moroto and Nebbi (see also section 3.1 above).

In some families, the women can come to the table now because they have their own money to input. Men acknowledge women’s contribution. In some families, the men and women sit together and decide who will pay for what. Because of this, women’s priorities are more included in the decision. Before, it was thought that women could not make a serious decision; that is the culture here. Although absolute authority remains with the man, women can now decide to save some of their money, or to buy some assets like a goat or chicken. Some women have used the money to obtain a small plot for farming, and tell their husband that it is theirs. The husband cannot argue with it. Women are now more respected too. [Female non-beneficiary, Nebbi, SCG area]

Equally, in SCG areas, some elderly people have gained decision making power within their wider households. This was most often related to the contribution they are able to make towards household resources as a result of SAGE.

SAGE has empowered some elderly men and women who now have the ability to make decisions on issues concerning their lives. In some houses they come to the table to discuss money with the family now. This is seen by the way they use their SAGE money to buy what they need, or do what they feel like with the money. But this does not cut across:

*in some households, beneficiaries still have to ask on how their cash is to be used.
[Female non-beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area]*

There are some less common but interesting findings relating to the process by which women gain power in household decision making. For example, in Pakwach in Nebbi, a VFSG area, a fairly large number of female beneficiaries explained that they give a portion of their SAGE money to their husbands to placate them, and thereby enable themselves to make decisions on how to use the remainder of the money. We present more on this case in section 8.1.4.

One FGD with male non-beneficiaries in Kyenjojo also pointed to wider influences over changes in household decision-making structures:

A woman has to also take part in decision making in a family. It has been like that because even the government has been emphasizing this point. So it is now a culture that women are also part of the family and therefore they should take part in decision making. [Male non-beneficiary, Kyenjojo, SCG area]

8.1.4 Tensions and cohesion within households

The baseline research found various sources of tensions in households. These included disagreements between spouses over decision making, particularly when a man sold assets without the consent of his wife, and/or used the income in ways that she perceived as irresponsible.

At the wider household level, across the districts surveyed at baseline, there were widely noted conflicts between male kin over inheritance rights. In many areas, widows and orphans (or their guardians) also reported as struggling to gain rights to land after the death of the husband or father, in cases where it had been acquired or sold by other men in the extended family.

Particularly in Kyarusenzi (Kyenjojo), many women and also men spoke of generalised poverty as a source of conflict within households, where the stress and anxieties created by poverty easily escalated into fights. As concluded by one participant to a FGD with male elders in Kyarusenzi: *“When there is poverty, love goes through the window”*.

Alcoholism was another major source of household conflicts, with women in many communities complaining that, when drunk, their husbands picked unnecessary quarrels that sometimes escalated into violence. In addition, they bemoaned the diversion of household resources to the purchase of alcohol (or sometimes gifts for girlfriends; this issue is also discussed in Kafuko et al, 2008).

Finally, polygamy was fairly widely reported as catalyst for household conflicts, particularly when the husband is seen to favour one wife and her children over others, for instance by unequal distribution of resources and productive assets.

The midline research found that while many sources of tensions remain the same, there have also been some fairly significant changes in emotional relationships within some families over the past eighteen months. In many areas, and particularly for SCG beneficiaries, changes in household emotional relationships have been largely positive; while in one VFSG area (Kyarusenzi sub-county in Kyenjojo) the changes have been largely negative.

A fairly large number of both male and female SAGE recipients (particularly Nebbi, Katakwi and Kaberamaido SCG areas, but also more broadly), mention enhanced love and peace within the household over the past eighteen months, and less conflict and violence. This change is largely attributed to the contribution of the SAGE cash transfer to household incomes and associated improvement in welfare and consequent reduced stress. It is also attributed to the greater degree of respect accorded to SAGE recipients. In contrast, non-beneficiaries explain that there has been no change in family relations in their households.

There has been a reduction in domestic violence. Old people who used to fight because of money, but now they get [SAGE] money every month, they no longer do it. [Male non-beneficiary, Nebbi, SCG area]

It [SAGE] has made men calm because they know that at the end of the day there will be food. There is respect between the women and men in the home. The children also listen to us and don't disturb. They respect us now. [Female beneficiary in Nebbi, VFSG area]

SAGE has brought changes. For example, it has brought love and happiness. It has reinforced families and made them closer. [Male beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

Actually, in our families, it has brought peace because the rest of the family members handle us with care because they also want to gain and it has improved on the way we share things in the family. [Male beneficiary, Kaberamaido, VFSG area]

SAGE has created harmony in homes where both the old man and woman are benefiting; they are now very close to one another. They can now go to bars together when they are all smart with new shoes and clothes. [Female non-beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

For those that get the [SAGE] money, some of the women argue less now, the stress is less now that there is some money ... And they get credit if they need medicines. Before they would hardly give you credit, they would say that you are old and can't even dig, but now they know that you have money coming so you can get credit. But us [non-beneficiaries], we don't get the money, so we are the same, we are just poor. [Male non-beneficiary, Nebbi, SCG area]

Across SCG areas (particularly in Katakwi, Kaberamaido and Nebbi) but also some VFSG areas, a number of male and female beneficiaries related positive change in their marital relations to their receipt of the cash transfer as a specific individual. They explained that their position as 'the recipient' has increased the respect they receive from their spouse. Greater respect for SAGE recipients was often explained in terms of an appreciation of their new or enhanced contribution to the household purse. But it was equally explained in terms of the desire of other family members to maintain good relations with them, so as to enhance access to the potential benefits and to avoid the 'flight' of money to other uses (such as girlfriends and beer). Some female beneficiaries also indicated that their receipt of SAGE has decreased their demands on their husband's resources, which has reduced associated stress and argument.

Before we started getting the money [SAGE] it was mainly my husband who would make the decisions and we used to have so many quarrels because we would always fight for whatever little money we got in the house. But now I get my own money he respects me and we make our decisions together ... We are able to buy for ourselves basic things like salt and soap, as opposed to those days when we used to ask [others] to provide for us.

So now we are more at peace and harmony because we stop disturbing them all the time for money. [Female beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

It [SAGE money] has strengthened love, unity and oneness, to avoid money from flowing out. [Male beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

To a small extent, the men and women relationships in the households have greatly improved even since SAGE was introduced. This is because the woman may be the one to benefit while the man may not, or vice versa. So each of them has to respect one another so as to benefit from the SAGE cash. [Male beneficiary, Nakapiripirit, SCG area]

Some SAGE recipients, in both SCG and VFSG areas, also explained that they have experienced greater respect from their children, grandchildren and other members of their immediate families over the past eighteen months. Again, explanations of change were most often related to SAGE.

This has created good relationship and sharing of love in the households and the village ... Because of money, my husband loves me more than before ... My grandchildren do not follow what I tell them if the money is not there ... There is good relationship in the families now, and even the grandchildren now listen to us because we can cater for them. [Female beneficiary, Apac, VFSG area]

For me, my daughters in-law can now come to me for soap, salt and cassava flour to feed my grandchildren. They now actually love me more, especially towards the end of the month when they know that am about to be paid ... For me, there is a time I went to ask my son for sugar and he said “I bought for you sugar just yesterday and now again you want sugar, do you think that I work in the bank?” But now even when I ask for anything, he gives me without complaining, because he knows that I can get money any time and also be able to buy basic needs. [Female beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

In contrast to these positive experiences in other areas, in the VFSG communities visited in Kyarusozi sub-county of Kyenjojo, there are quite negative trends in households' emotional relationships. Kyarusozi was singled out in the baseline as having a greater tendency for household tensions compared to other sub counties across the districts. At the time of the baseline research, such tensions were largely created by the anxieties and struggles caused by poverty. In the midline research, these tensions are now related by respondents to marital strife over control of the SAGE transfers³¹. In Kyarusozi villages, men widely complained that their wives, who are the named recipients of the cash transfer, have “taken control” of the money and “use it for themselves”. As a result they “feel superior” and “don't respect their husbands”. Wider community members reported that men have often tried to gain control of the money, and in some cases this struggle has included domestic violence or grabbing the SAGE money from the wife at the SAGE pay-point (in fact stories of men grabbing SAGE money from their wives at the pay-point were also told in a Nakapiripirit SCG community). Such experiences highlight the situation that, when the named beneficiary is female, the SAGE cash transfer can sometimes be experienced as disempowering for men and thus catalyse tensions between the sexes as men strive to re-impose their dominance and control.

Now the SAGE money is here but it is given to the women, so it is making some of us men unhappy. Because now the women are feeling superior and they say the money is theirs

³¹ The study location in Kyarusozi has large migrant population, which may influence the propensity for household tensions.

... Sometimes there are conflicts in the households because of disagreements about how to use the money ... Maybe we are happier because we can now afford the basic necessities of a home. But there are also conflicts in homes because the women are now big headed. [Male beneficiary, Kyenjojo, VFSG area]

I heard that some women are “growing wings” and not respecting their husbands because they don’t have to depend on him much now they get their own money from government [SAGE]. [Female beneficiary, Kyenjojo, VFSG area]

The men are complaining that women who were chosen to receive the money on behalf of the home are first solving their own problems, leaving men out altogether. But we try to counsel them and see that this problem is not blown out of proportion. We tell them the money is for solving family problems not individual problems. [Parish Councilor, Kyenjojo, VFSG area]

In some homes that get the money, the relationships of husbands and wives have got sour. Men would want to dominate on the use of the money where as wives want it to benefit all, so this has brought about some conflicts and misunderstandings in the homes. There is a case I know in our neighbourhood, the wife separated and went away with the card. [Teacher, Kyenjojo, VFSG area]

In contrast to experiences in the Kyarusenzi, respondents in Kisojo, an SCG area of Kyenjojo, report enhanced household relations, alongside a general appreciation that the SAGE cash transfer is intended for the named elderly beneficiary in order to reduce their dependence on the wider household.

In Pakwach sub-country of Nebbi, a fairly large number of female recipients of the VFSG explain that they give a portion of their cash transfer to their husbands in order to placate them and avoid conflicts, and thereby enable themselves to make their own decisions on the use of the remainder of the money.

We give part of the money to our husbands – you give so that there isn’t a fight or quarrel in the household; because he will say you started benefiting from this programme after he married you. [Female beneficiary, Nebbi, VFSG area]

It may be noted that in some communities there are reports of tensions within households being exacerbated by ‘misuse’ of the SAGE money, often related to men using the money to buy local brew at the expense of household needs, but (with the exception of Kyarusenzi sub-county) these examples are set against a broader picture of unchanged household relationships or improved harmony.

The relationship between men and women has not changed much. This money is too little to cause a visible change in any relationship. We have heard of some homes where the men have misused the money and conflicts arose. Some men are not happy that the money is given to the women. They say the women do not know how to plan for it like they do. [Female beneficiary, Kiboga, SCG area]

The relationship between men and women has more or less remained the same, nothing new has happened even since SAGE cash come. The relationship in a few households may have changed negatively because some men go drinking all the money without buying food at home, but those cases are very few. The SAGE cash has helped reduce tensions

in our families ever since we started earning the UGX 24,000. Relationships have greatly improved. [Male beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area]

8.2 Community and inter-household relationships

8.2.1 Cohesion and tensions within communities

At baseline, the most common sources of conflict between community members were related to land boundary disputes and land ownership rights between families, friends and neighbours. Such tensions appeared to be particularly fierce when land rights were reported to LC1s and taken to the courts. In pastoralist communities, disputes were also common where livestock trespassed on a neighbour's land. Beyond pastoralist communities, such tensions also occurred when smaller animals (pigs, hens and goats) trespassed and ate crops. In Kyarusozi (Kyenjojo), respondents also reported tensions brought about by jealousy, particularly where people have different standards of living. Finally, in both Kyarousozi and Chewente (Apac), respondents mentioned conflicts between immigrants and indigenous populations; the struggles of newly settled people, and the resentments that arose when they tried to gain ownership of productive assets.

Discussions of change in community tensions and cohesion at midline over the past eighteen months indicated a difference between SCG and VFSG areas.

VFSG areas

A large number of respondents in VFSG areas report an increase in tensions and conflicts between households over the past eighteen months, and related this specifically to the SAGE cash transfer. A strong catalyst for the tension has been the VFSG targeting system, which is widely perceived to have identified beneficiary households that are not necessarily poorer than others, to have a large number of targeting errors (such as adult orphans and divorced men who live alone), and to have been influenced by patronage and 'politics'. In addition, in both Apac and Nebbi many respondents explained that SAGE is intended to support the elderly, and expressed a general lack of understanding about why so many non-elderly people were selected in their communities³².

I hear that they say particular people were selected. They say the government does not know them. I have been confronted. They asked me why I am getting the money and they are not. They even hate the local councillors and local leaders. I told them, "I just saw my name there" ... People confronted me and told me I am under age, that money is for the elderly, they say I should go and inform the local councillor so that my name is crossed out of the list. [Male beneficiary, Apac, VFSG area]

SAGE has created tension because some of us were registered, but we were not considered at all. When we complain, they tell us to wait till next year and yet some of our families are really doing badly. And worst of all, some of the women who are been given the money have better homes, so it makes me sometimes to think that there was segregation in the selection of the beneficiaries, politics has come in. [Female non-beneficiary, Kaberamaido, VFSG area]

³² For more information on this see also Evaluation of the Uganda Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment (SAGE) Programme: Programme operations performance report (February 2014).

There is one in the community who they say is an orphan, but he is tall with a beard, is he an orphan? He is a man. He is wasting the money on snacks and phone credit. He doesn't have a family, he isn't married. He has older brothers, they have tried to talk to him, but he doesn't listen. He says he gets his salary now so he left school. He was in school but he doesn't think he needs to do now he gets his salary from government ... Due to SAGE, there have been some jealousies and quarrels between households, because of some benefitting and some are not. They say that some are the favourites of government, and they are eating meat while they themselves have nothing. (Village Health Team member, Nebbi, VFSG area]

Inter-household tensions are greatest and more widely experienced in Apac, Nebbi and Kaberamaido; while in Kiboga and Kyenjojo, the tensions have been smaller and to some degree have abated over time. With the exception of Apac, there are also reports of greater cohesion over the past eighteen months (related to SAGE) in each of the communities, which highlights the variation in experiences even within a single community. In Apac, the tension has largely been expressed through jealousy and gossip, with some exclusions of VFSG beneficiaries from neighbourly social spaces and reciprocal support systems.

There is jealousy and sharing has become limited because they say we get payment from government every month. There are few people who created hatred because of the money. If I have gone to listen to the radio at my neighbour they would say, "Use your money to buy your own radio". [Female beneficiary, Apac, VFSG area]

They tell us that we are getting free money. There was a certain lady who confronted me: "You guy you got your money; can you buy for me alcohol, buy for me bread?" It has created tension. They are angry and jealous because they are not benefitting. If you get money, they expect you to give them some. If you refuse they say you are posing. But their children come at our homes and eat. [Male beneficiary, Apac, VFSG area]

Households do not relate well. The non-beneficiaries are not feeling good towards the beneficiaries. It has caused jealousy. I feel bad because we used to go and dig together but now I have to go and dig alone, the beneficiaries no longer go to the garden to dig. They used to relate well before SAGE, but when SAGE came there is lack of cooperation. It has caused division because some people are benefitting and others are not. When you go to borrow something they will tell you, "Why don't you buy yours?" Whenever they see you they say, "There she is, she is now coming to beg" even though you have no intention of begging. It is not the men, they are sharing. It is the women we have a problem with. [Female non-beneficiary, Apac, VFSG area]

As the quotes above indicate, some female non-beneficiaries point specifically to female SAGE recipients as a source of the tension. While they note that men share their cash transfer (mainly with other men while socialising), they complain that female beneficiaries share less and are less active in group activities, and in some cases are 'haughty' and treat them as 'beggars'. In response, some female beneficiaries have been excluded from female spaces and reciprocal support relationships in these communities.

In Kaberamaido, tensions are expressed through similar forms of jealousy and gossip about beneficiaries not sharing. Yet here there have also been incidences of theft of beneficiaries' property reported in the days following SAGE payments. Some key informants also report that non-beneficiaries have 'cursed councillors' and believe that the beneficiaries provided bribes to

gain access to the programme. In Nebbi, a few respondents implied that the ‘jealousies and envies’ have created fears among some beneficiaries that witchcraft will be used against them.

The week before the SAGE money comes, the beneficiaries do not sleep well – you don’t sleep well if you know someone is jealous of you, it may bring problems. That is how they do it here. [CDO, Nebbi, VFSG area]

In Kiboga and Kyenjojo, many respondents also report great dissatisfaction with programme targeting and jealousy of selected recipients. But most respondents explain that this anger and frustration is directed towards the councillors and SAGE team, who they believe to have selected beneficiaries, rather than towards the beneficiaries themselves.

The people that registered (village leaders) are denying the fact that they took part in the selection. We really feel helpless. We still believe they were bribed because the explanation is not satisfactory. There is not much difference we see with the beneficiaries. They have not done extraordinary things with the money. We are probably the same because they say the money is little. They use it on basic needs and that is all. We are bitter towards mainly the leaders who have favoured them. [Female non-beneficiary, Kiboga, VFSG area]

The non-beneficiaries are not upset with us as recipients but with the SAGE system of targeting and enrolment. They complain that some of us are better off than them but we were selected and they were left out. There are some old people we have grown up knowing but they were not selected. And yet some old people recently moved to our village and they were selected. Generally, there is no problem between households of the beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. It is the SAGE team that the non-beneficiaries have a problem with. (Male beneficiary, Kyenjojo, VFSG area]

These tensions being acknowledged, a number of respondents in VFSG areas also mention the way in which SAGE has enhanced community cohesion. This is seen to be underpinned by greater respect for beneficiaries, who have been able to share some of the benefits of the cash transfer, and the processes by which non-beneficiaries work to tie themselves into reciprocal support relationships with beneficiaries and maintain good relations. Community cohesion is also supported by the impact of SAGE on the ability of beneficiaries to socialise more than was previously possible, particularly in relation to male recipients building their social capital, status and self-esteem by buying local brew or food for non-beneficiaries.

SCG areas

In many SCG areas there have been some frustrations over the SAGE targeting and non-beneficiaries are reported to be jealous. However, there are very few reports of tensions in SCG communities. The overarching finding is that SAGE seems to be contributing to existing systems of sharing and mutual support in SCG areas, and many respondents perceive this as enhancing cohesion between households.

Where there are reports of jealousies in SCG communities (in Apac, Nebbi, Katakwi and Kyenjojo) they are largely related to a distinction between male and female beneficiaries in terms of the extent to which they have shared the cash transfer beyond their immediate families.

The men share. We don't have a problem with the men, they have behaved well. It is the women we have an issue with. They don't share the benefits. [Female non-beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

As in VFSG areas, male sharing is often related to sharing brew with friends and neighbours, which is in some communities an important social event on the evening of SAGE payment days. Women's lack of sharing is sometimes explained as them “*separating themselves from those who need help, and keeping the money for themselves*”. [Female non-beneficiary, Apac, SCG area]

At the same time, female beneficiaries across SCG areas were also widely reported to share small household cooking inputs (salt, sugar, matches), to lend money to friends and neighbours, and to respond to requests for assistance. In some cases, the context for sharing is perceived to have developed over time.

Sometime back it changed negatively, because they were looked at as the only people who have been assisted. But as time went on, there are now more friends of the cash recipients than before. Households have behaved well towards each other; because they can now assist each other because they are able to earn something every month. There is no tension because of SAGE since other households also benefit from those who receive the cash from SAGE. In most cases, the people now help each other more than before in the community. This is because people know that at one time of the month, the beneficiaries get cash, which can help them also in one way or another. [Male non-beneficiary, Moroto, SCG area]

There is a very good relationship between the elders in the community and other community members because these old people are now able to help them with some money to buy for their children some sugar. The community leaders are now very close to the people and the old people are always around them ... Yes we do run to them. The level of dependence has increased. Most of us have no option but to run to them for assistance. Also, usually when I have a hen, I take to them to buy and they give me money which I use to buy basic needs. [Female non-beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

Many respondents claim that sharing and borrowing has generally increased in their communities because SCG beneficiaries borrow from others. This has been made more common and possible because it is known that they can reciprocate the support. The greater volume of sharing, borrowing, supporting and reciprocation has enhanced a sense of community togetherness and cohesion.

Particularly in Nebbi, some respondents report new networks of sharing and friendship specifically among female SCG beneficiaries.

Because beneficiaries come together on payment day, SAGE has created a new social gathering between villages. They come to town early and socialise. They didn't have this opportunity before. At the village level, beneficiaries have become closer. They visit each other and if one has a problem, they give small money or salt etc. They did not do this before because they didn't have the means. But now it is like an investment and a friendship between the beneficiaries – if they themselves are sick or have a problem, other beneficiaries will also reciprocate. And they counsel each other if there has been a death. [Opinion leader, Nebbi, SCG area]

One reason for the more positive contributions to cohesion in SCG areas, compared to the widely experienced tension in VFSG areas, is the belief that everyone in the community will one day benefit from the SAGE programme when they reach the eligible age. While a fairly large number of elderly people are perceived to have been excluded from the present list of beneficiaries, there seems to be greater confidence that these problems will be resolved in time, and that they are computer errors or mistakes rather than being caused by ‘politics’.

8.2.2 Community decision making

Community decision making was not explored in the baseline research. In this section we briefly explain the present situation and then explore indications of change over the past eighteen months.

Discussions of power in community decision making processes are presented by respondents in two quite distinct forms. In the eastern Ugandan areas of Moroto, Nakapiripirit and Katakwi, both men and women emphasise male clan leaders and elders’ control over all productive assets, such as land, cattle, water and boreholes. While individual households do have daily control and ownership of their land and animals, male clan leaders and elders provide oversight on decisions about the sale of assets and other forms of ownership transfer. Some men claim that this system helps to provide clarity and authority to decisions, and avoids social tensions that may be created if households later disagree on the asset transfer. More broadly, men and women depict elder male ownership of productive assets as a long-practiced cultural system, related to received opinions that ‘men are above women’ and the practice of men using cows to pay the bride-price.

Despite clan leaders and elders being central to community oversight of asset ownership, in most communities they have limited opportunities to engage with government or NGOs about service provision. Such engagement is the preserve of LC1s and other local government officials.

In the other five districts (Nebbi, Apac, Kyenjojo, Kiboga, Kabaramaido), the large majority of women and men perceive it to be the case that wealthy people and government own all important goods and services (land, businesses, hospitals, schools etc.), and therefore have decision-making power over their development and use. Both men and women explain that community decision-making power tends to rest with men, and particularly older or better-off men, or the mainly male government officials at the community and sub-county level. Across the study locations some respondents also refer to the decision-making power of members of committees (set up for schools, boreholes etc.) who have been elected to take responsibility for these community resources.

The rich people own most of the important goods and resources in this community, like land, businesses, clinics and animals. Our chairman is better off and he is responsible for this hospital we have here. He sold land to the organization that built it and he got some good money. The village leaders, like the councillors, parish chief and chairman, also make most decisions because they are respected heads of the community. The poor don’t contribute much to the decision making because they are not respected. However, there are some old people, though powerless, they contribute to the decision making, being respected elders of the community. [Female non-beneficiary, Kyenjojo, VFSG area]

In general, these structures of control over community decision making have not changed over the past eighteen months. However, and particularly in SCG areas, a large number of respondents did

report that the participation of the elderly in community meetings and decision making has increased, and that they are granted greater respect and opportunities for voice in these arenas.

In this regard, it is important to note a distinction, inferred across districts, between ‘elders’ (males who have the status of being a decision maker in the community) and the wider set of poor elderly men and women, whom poverty has placed in a position of low status. A strong finding of the research at midline is that elderly people, particularly those who receive the SAGE cash transfer, have gained a considerable amount of status and self-esteem over the past eighteen months. Various explanations were given for this, with great similarities across study sites in the eight districts.

One important reason given for the enhanced voice of SCG beneficiaries in community decision making is increased self-esteem. Across the evaluation districts, male and female SCG beneficiaries speak of their new capacity to buy soap and clothes, and thus their enhanced appearance and dignity. This change is contextualized by the situation found at baseline, when the elderly were widely reported to be dressed in tattered clothes. As one CDO in Nebbi noted,

It is such a change now. When we went for the registration, the elderly people were so tattered, for some old men you could even see their genitals through the holes in their dresses, and the smell was overpowering. [CDO, Nebbi]

There is a heavy focus on improved personal appearance and hygiene by both male and female SCG beneficiaries in the midline research. And many beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries note this as an important reason for their increased confidence to attend and speak in community meetings.

Before SAGE these old men and women used to go for meetings but they did not so much contribute during the meetings because their esteem was very low. But since they started getting money they have gained confidence they can express themselves because they now go for meetings when they are clean so their views are respected. [Female non-beneficiary, Katakwi, SCG area]

It [SAGE] has affected ability to influence decisions in that we can now decide and what we say can be heard by other people in the community. [Female beneficiary, Kaberamaido, VFSG area]

[W]e do respect them because they are elders. They used the money to buy clothes and soap. They are now respected because they are presentable. Some of them speak in the community meeting now because they are clean. Before, people would have jeered at them to sit down. They even eat meat. They even offer money in church; that brings respect and blessings. We respect those that give in church. [Female non-beneficiary, Nebbi, SCG area]

They can borrow and save. They can stand in village meetings and speak. Before they could not speak, people would tell them they are too dirty, or say, “You who does not even put salt on your food, who are you?” [CDO, Nebbi, SCG area]

The quotes above indicate that the enhanced ability of elderly beneficiaries to speak in community meetings has been enabled by the greater respect that they receive in these public arenas. Like self-esteem, the enhanced respect for the elderly was often related to their physical appearance. Yet this respect has also been enabled by SCG beneficiaries’ decreased dependence on others, and their new ability to support household finances, family and friends, and in some cases social

institutions such as churches. A common expression of the prior situation was that the elderly were seen to be ‘useless’, ‘like children’ and ‘beggars’.

Previously we were nowhere and even if you talked, people would not understand. But now that we receive this money, at least we are somehow recognized and respected in the community. [Female beneficiary, Kaberamaido, SCG area]

The elderly now even have a voice in the community where they are called for meetings, unlike before [when] they used to say they are “like children who cannot reason”. They were considered as useless, but now they can borrow, sit and talk with others, and make contributions in any problem in the community. Now they have their salaries [SAGE], they are respected more in the community, they can now have a say in any community meeting and are heard. [Village Health Team member, Moroto, SCG area]

The relationship has not changed much, but the elders or beneficiaries are now somehow listened to because they believe the government has respect for them that is why they are paid UGX 24,000 every month. [Male non-beneficiary, Nakapiripirit, SCG area]

However, while SCG recipients are widely reported to have enhanced voice in community decision-making arenas, and it is perceived that their views and priorities are now ‘heard’ and respected in these arenas, there are no explicitly noted outcomes of this enhanced voice in elderly people’s lives.

Change in access to community decision making has been far less marked in VFSG areas. This is probably because the VFSG recipients are largely younger poor people, and often women, who have more limited potential (than the elderly) for social standing in community meetings, regardless of any improvements in their appearance, self-esteem or ability to support others. And yet there are a few positive impacts on participation in community decision making in VFSG areas noted by respondents. These improvements are largely explained in terms of the perceived ability of VFSG recipients to contribute finances to community development projects.

Yes, it has affected in that these beneficiaries can now make important development issues since the community is aware that they can also contribute anything in case of any development project in the community. [Female non-beneficiary, Kaberamaido, VFSG area]

More broadly in VFSG areas, respondents explain that there have not been changes in who participates in community decision making or control over important resources.

9 Conclusions

The midline qualitative research has produced a wealth of data and findings across a broad array of indicators and research areas. Up to 12 months after start of operation, the SAGE pilot programme has contributed to a number of dimensions of change in many of the impact areas being assessed under this evaluation. In this conclusion, we highlight the key findings from this midline round of data collection and analysis, and then outline some potential areas for further research in the final phase of the qualitative evaluation.

9.1 Summary of key findings

Some of the most significant contributions to change have been related to non-material dimensions of poverty. In some community and household contexts the reported changes have been positive. Particularly among elderly SAGE beneficiaries (in both SCG and VFSG areas), there have been quite widely felt enhancements in beneficiaries' self-esteem and the respect they receive from others, as well as their participation in community meetings. Across most VFSG and SCG communities, many beneficiary households have also experienced improvement in their emotional situations, such as greater peace, love and mutual respect. This improvement is largely attributed to a link between the cash transfer, household incomes and reduced stress as a result of improved welfare; as well as greater respect for the SAGE beneficiary within the household and the desire of other family members to maintain good relations with them so as to enhance access to the potential benefits of the cash transfer. In SCG communities, there have also been quite widely-felt improvements in inter-household relationships (see below).

In some community and household contexts, programme impacts on non-material dimensions of wellbeing have been largely negative. Across the VFSG communities visited, the SAGE cash transfer has sometimes catalysed inter-household tensions over the past eighteen months, albeit to varying degrees. This tension has been underpinned by the widely held belief that the VFSG targeting has unfairly identified households that are not poorer than others. This sentiment has spread into social impacts such as jealousy, feelings of social exclusion and complaints that some beneficiaries are not using the cash transfer to support others in need. Additionally, in two VFSG sub-counties, marital relationships have reportedly worsened in some beneficiary households. This is largely due to women being identified as the SAGE beneficiary, which has exacerbated marital tensions over the control of resources and prompted a number of men to try to wrest back control through dominating and even violent behaviour towards women.

Changes in material dimensions of poverty have been less marked. The cash transfer has contributed to household capacities to fulfil basic needs, particularly in the week of SAGE payment. However, it does not seem to have greatly affected the overall distribution of material dimensions of poverty within evaluation areas. Across districts, the cash transfer has been used to purchase basic necessities such as food, clothes, bedding, soap, schooling materials and medicines. For some beneficiaries, the cash transfer has enabled them to cope with economic shocks, particularly in terms of purchasing food or seeds when drought or heavy rains have destroyed crops, but also unexpected healthcare needs. The influence of the cash transfer on coping mechanisms is partly enabled by its fairly widely reported impact on beneficiaries' access to credit in local shops and pharmacies. Some beneficiaries have been able to use a portion of the cash transfer to invest in their livelihoods, such as purchasing seeds and hiring farm labour, while a smaller number have invested in livestock assets, petty trading ventures and local savings groups. These uses of the cash transfer may demonstrate impacts on wellbeing over the longer term. Yet many beneficiaries

have experienced the cash transfer as a ‘hand-to-mouth’ form of support within a wider context of deepening poverty. The general downturn in poverty has been influenced by harsh climatic conditions, outbreaks of crop diseases and pests; rising prices, and poor terms of trade, as well as government policies and interventions that have sometimes had negative impacts on livelihoods in certain districts.

The SAGE cash transfer had mixed impacts on both the ability of beneficiary households to cope with shocks and on the way in which they cope with the risks they face. Poor individuals and households face a range of different risks that can push them into or further into poverty. The most prevalent risks are those related to the natural environment, reflecting the heavy reliance on natural resources; health-related shocks (e.g. illness or injury) and deaths; economic risks; and social risks (particularly affecting women and the elderly). Coping mechanisms tend to centre on the individual and household, with increased labour supply, livelihood diversification, borrowing, and conserving consumption being the common strategies used. People also draw on social networks of neighbours and extended family, although this appears to be a secondary strategy in response to most crises or shocks except in the case of a death in the household, where it is more common. Whilst some respondents reported no change in coping as a result of SAGE, others clearly explained positive impacts on the ability of beneficiary households to cope. The transfer is also reported to help reduce coping strategies that are likely to have longer term negative impacts on households and individuals, such as distress sales of assets or staple consumption items. In some cases, respondents report that SAGE beneficiaries are now able to help others cope with shocks. Overall, both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries across the locations report generally positive effects of the SAGE transfer regarding aiding households to cope with shocks.

There are indications that SAGE may be having positive economic spill-over impacts on the wider community beyond direct beneficiary households. Across the evaluation districts it is reported that local markets are more buoyant, especially in the week of SAGE payments. The cash transfer has also influenced changes in the desirability of some livelihood activities for some non-beneficiaries. For example, there has been a shift towards trade of items that SAGE beneficiaries tend to purchase, and a small number of non-beneficiaries (especially women) have responded to this increase in demand by setting up new businesses. A few of these cases have been enabled by taking out loans.

9.2 Contrasts between the VFSG and SCG

There are different experiences of both the cash transfer and its impacts between VFSG and SCG areas. The SCG tends to be perceived as a ‘personal benefit’ which is intended to reduce the dependence of the elderly and the burden of care for their wider families, while understanding of the purpose of the VFSG targeting is less clear. The VFSG is also more often perceived to be spread thinly among the needs of large households. An exception to this general trend are the VFSG beneficiaries that also experience the cash transfer as a more personal benefit, such as the elderly and people with disabilities that have few dependents, as well as some adult orphans and divorced men; although these latter are sometimes perceived to have been erroneously targeted or included in the programme due to the influence of patronage. There is also a difference between the VFSG and SCG in terms of perceptions of the fairness and outcomes of the targeting. The majority of SCG recipients are considered to be ‘very poor’ and the targeting of the elderly is widely appreciated. In contrast, VFSG recipients are perceived to be quite evenly distributed between the categories of ‘fairly poor’ and ‘very poor’, and there is a significant complaint across districts that

the VFSG targeting has included some ‘fairly poor’ and ‘better off’ households at the expense of the ‘very poor’ that are more in need.

Alongside contextual factors and variations between the lives and needs of the elderly compared to vulnerable households, these different experiences of the VFSG and SCG have contributed to variations in programme impact. **Where there are perceived changes in experiences of poverty over the past eighteen months, this is mostly among SCG recipients - some of whom are felt to have moved from the category of ‘very poor’ to ‘fairly poor’.** This is largely related by respondents to the way that the SCG has reduced elderly beneficiaries’ dependence on others as well as their need to ‘beg’. SAGE is perceived to have enhanced beneficiaries’ ability to fulfil their basic needs, their social status, and the respect they receive from family and community members, as well as their self-esteem. It is also seen to increase their ability to share, as well as their participation in community meetings. Some SCG beneficiaries (who are largely perceived as very poor) have also purchased animal assets with their cash transfers. In some cases, the situation has shifted into an increased dependence on elderly SAGE beneficiaries as a new source of resources and support within households. This is most often presented in a positive light by SCG recipients, who tend to appreciate the opportunity to assist their relatives and the enhanced status and respect that this can bring.

In VFSG areas, changes in experiences of poverty are less marked and perceived improvements in well-being are largely limited to SAGE beneficiaries within two sub-groups: 1) SAGE beneficiaries who experience the VFSG as a more ‘personal benefit’; and 2) VFSG beneficiaries who are ‘fairly poor’, who are able to use some of the cash transfer to purchase farm inputs or productive assets, or to start small businesses. Beyond these two groups, most VFSG beneficiaries have experienced the cash transfer more as a ‘hand-to-mouth’ form of support, which has helped to keep them afloat in contexts of deepening poverty and hardship.

There are also quite stark differences between SCG and VFSG areas in terms of experiences of change in inter-household relationships over the past eighteen months. **In VFSG communities, there has often been an increase in tensions and conflicts reported between households over the past eighteen months,** with the SAGE targeting identified as a strong catalyst for this tension. Tensions are greatest and most widely experienced in Apac, Nebbi and Kaberamaido; while in Kyenjojo and Kiboga the tensions have abated over time. In contrast, in SCG areas the overarching finding is that **the SCG has contributed to existing systems of sharing, borrowing, support and reciprocity, and many respondents perceive this to have enhanced cohesion between households.** One reason for the more positive contributions to cohesion in SCG areas, compared to the widely experienced tension in VFSG areas, is the belief that everyone in the community will one day benefit from the SCG once they reach eligible age. While a fairly large number of elderly people have been excluded from the present list of beneficiaries, there seems to be greater confidence that these problems will be resolved in time, that they are computer errors or mistakes rather than being caused by ‘politics’.

9.3 Gendered differences

The findings of the qualitative research point to some gendered differences in experiences of the cash transfer, as well as some domains of gendered social relations in which the cash transfer may have contributed to change for some women and men.

In both VFSG and SCG areas, there are some reported **differences in male and female use of the cash transfer, as well as gendered differences in its impacts.** Women tend to use the

cash transfer on uncooked foods, while men tend to purchase cooked foods; and more female SCG beneficiaries report purchase of animal assets than their male counterparts. This is because women are much less likely to own any assets in their own right in absence of the transfer, given the patriarchal norms determining ownership rights over land and other assets. Women also report that male beneficiaries (or men in beneficiary households) have a tendency to use the money on themselves rather than in the interests of their households. Male ‘misuse’ of the cash transfer is also a noted cause of tension in some households, which is often related to men buying local brew at the expense of household needs. Particularly in SCG areas, women note that SAGE has had greater impacts on the wellbeing of female beneficiaries compared to their male counterparts.

However, from the perspective of male beneficiaries their use of a portion of the cash transfer to share local brew and cooked snacks with other men in the community has enhanced their social capital and status, their ability to socialise and self-esteem. This positive outcome is widely acknowledged by male and female non-beneficiaries in their wider communities, alongside appreciation of the sharing itself. In this regard, an interesting finding of the midline research is the identification of ‘female beneficiaries not sharing the cash transfer’ as a source of inter-household tensions in VFSG areas. This has soured some relations between female beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, and has shaped forms of social exclusion from female spaces and relationships for some female beneficiaries in these communities.

In a fairly wide set of both VFSG and SCG households, the cash transfer is perceived to have promoted improved marital relationships, such as greater peace, love and respect. This is largely due to its effects in reducing the stresses of poverty, greater respect for the spouse who is the SAGE recipient due to their new status as a ‘breadwinner’ and the desire of other family members to maintain good relations with them. Particularly in SCG households in Katakwi, Moroto and Nebbi, these enhanced marital relationships have enabled greater female participation in household decision making to some degree, especially with regard to the use of SAGE. **The exception is households in Kyarusozi in Kyenjojo, and to some extent in Nakapiripirit, where the cash transfer has exacerbated marital tensions.** In these locations, the identification of women as the recipient of the cash transfer has been experienced as disempowering for men, which has prompted some men to try to reinforce their dominance. In Kyarusozi, which was also singled out in the baseline as a location with particularly pronounced reports of marital tension, decisions on the use of the cash transfer are largely made by men. In contrast, **in Pakwach some VFSG female beneficiaries have used gendered tactics to maintain control over the cash transfer:** they give a portion of the VFSG to their husbands and thereby enable themselves to make decisions on the use the remainder of the money.

There are some indications that female VFSG beneficiaries have taken on new household roles and greater responsibilities in the past eighteen months. This is often explained in terms of a gradual change over the longer term, but, in some instances, women’s receipt of the cash transfer has increased their responsibilities in the household. While women’s increased contribution to household resources may be seen as a form of female socio-economic empowerment, some women point to a more negative outcome in the increase in women’s already large workload.

Particularly in SCG areas, the cash transfer has enabled some women to reduce their dependence on insecure and dangerous bush-based livelihoods, such as selling firewood and burning charcoal. Such sources of livelihood have not only been challenged by new government restrictions on felling trees, but in Moroto and Nakapiripirit are also widely perceived to put women at risk of attack and rape by bandits. Some elderly women have chosen to reduce their work in the

bush in preference for the cash transfer as a source of income. A few women (including female non-beneficiaries) have responded to the new market demand influenced by SAGE, by shifting from bush-based livelihoods towards small businesses such as sale of prepared food and local brew.

A number of female SCG beneficiaries and ‘fairly poor’ female VFSG beneficiaries have also purchased small animal assets over the past eighteen months. In contrast to the baseline (when firm male control over asset purchase was widely noted), female SAGE beneficiaries who have purchased animal assets rarely spoke of men as active in that decision, and many referred to their sale of the animal by-products (and in some cases the asset itself) to make a profit, and explained how they have used this income. **This may suggest increased female control over such assets to some degree. Yet this shift was only explicitly inferred in one research location (a Katakwi SCG area),** where it is seen to have been influenced by increased respect for female beneficiaries, their greater engagement in household decision making, and an increase in female authority over assets that they have purchased.

9.4 Key issues to explore in the endline research

The qualitative research has highlighted a number of issues and themes which could be useful to explore in the endline round of qualitative research.

Social relations, psycho-social impacts, empowerment and disempowerment

Many respondents report using the transfer on necessities associated with personal presentation (e.g. soap and clothes) which enhances their dignity, and many men have used a portion of the transfer to share snacks and drinks with other men which builds their social capital, status and self-esteem. Enhanced self-esteem and respect from others seems to be an important and achievable impact of the SAGE cash transfer, particularly for elderly beneficiaries. Even further, improving these ‘psycho-social’ dimensions of beneficiaries’ lives seems to lead to improvements in material dimensions of wellbeing and reduced vulnerability by enhancing access to reciprocal social support and risk-pooling networks. These processes and pathways of change could be an important area for deeper analysis in the next round of the qualitative research.

Related to this, further analysis of the outcomes of elderly beneficiaries’ enhanced participation and voice in community meetings, and the extent to which this represents a level of individual or group empowerment, could be another useful area of focus for the endline study. This could be useful for the SAGE programme as it ponders possibilities for scale-up, as well as potentially extending the evidence base on the impact of cash transfers more broadly.

More in-depth analysis of the differences between communities in which there have been reported marital tensions over SAGE (such as the VFSG Kyarusozi sub-county, and SCG communities in Nakapiripirit), and the communities in which women’s experiences of their gendered social relations have been enhanced, could provide valuable insight and understanding of the impact of cash transfers on intra-household gender relations.

Extending analysis of female beneficiaries’ use of SAGE to purchase livestock assets, and exploration of the extent to which this represents a level of economic empowerment and/or a change to traditional gender hierarchies would further enhance understanding of the cash transfer’s relation to and impact on gender relationships. As would further research into the finding that, in some communities, female VFSG beneficiaries are taking on more responsibilities as a

result of the SAGE cash transfer, alongside exploration of the potential positive and negative implications of this.

Impacts in the wider community and local economy

The midline evaluation indicates that SAGE beneficiaries' have made investments in savings groups. Extending this analysis to the use of loans by non-beneficiaries could help to clarify ways in which SAGE may impact on the wider community. This could be coupled with more detailed analysis of the impact of SAGE on local markets (improved buoyancy) and the start-up of new businesses (among both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries). This may offer a more nuanced picture of the interaction of the SAGE cash transfer with the local economy.

Annex A Theory of Change

The Evaluation of the Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment (SAGE) originates from a theory of change that recognises the overall effectiveness of social cash transfers in tackling poverty and vulnerability, while promoting broader developmental impacts.

The main objective of SAGE is empowering recipient households by:

- reducing material deprivation;
- increasing economic security;
- increasing access to services; and
- reducing social exclusion .

The two programmes to be implemented (**Vulnerable Family Support Grant** and the **Senior Citizens Grant**) will deliver cash transfer to the most vulnerable households putting the main emphasis on adults with disabilities, the elderly, orphan hood, and widowhood.

Cash transfers directly reduce material deprivation as the payment of cash to poor and vulnerable directly improves their living standard and increases consumption levels. An increase in food consumption is expected to improve the overall food security and nutrition within the household. Moreover, the increase in welfare of the poor may reduce the gap between the poor and the wealthier, thereby having a positive impact on inequality level, and may even reduce the likelihood of households falling beneath the national poverty line.

Cash transfers are likely to produce other positive effects by allowing households to consume more productive consumption bundles, participate in or diversify their economic activities, and invest in physical, social, and human capital (i.e. education, health, nutrition) to reduce vulnerability and ensure future income streams.

Providing households with regular cash transfers may help obviate or remove barriers of access to social and other services such as education, health and financial services.

Increased material well-being and access to services may thus translate into increased subjective well-being. Households in receipt of cash transfers who are experiencing or feel like they are experiencing increases in the quality of their daily existence and the number and types of choices they are able to make may feel more empowered, have an increased sense of dignity and self-worth, and an increased sense of social belonging and solidarity.

The aim of the Evaluation is to assess SAGE against its main objectives by identifying and tracking specific indicators for each objective.

A.1 OBJECTIVE 1: Reducing material deprivation.

Consumption expenditure, poverty and wellbeing	<p>Receipt of cash transfers directly raises household consumption level. The cash transfer will be used to increase consumption over a range of different items (such as food, clothing, assets, water, housing, health care and transport). Some of the cash will also be devoted to non-consumption transaction - such as repaying debts, saving, or providing informal support to vulnerable relatives.</p> <p>The poor devote a larger share of their consumption to food in comparison to the wealthier. An increase in food expenditure is thus likely, however the budget share of food consumption may decrease as more resources are now available for other spending purposes.</p> <p>The overall increase in consumption levels reduces the poverty headcount as some of the households with a consumption level below the poverty line consume more and thus graduate out of poverty. Over the longer term, if the additional resources supplied by the cash transfer are productively invested or used to build assets or savings, the fall in poverty amongst SAGE recipients would be expected to be even more marked (investment in income generation and possible multiplier effects). For some households the increase in consumption will not be sufficient to increase their consumption level above the poverty line. However, we expect to see a reduction in the poverty gap and inequality as the gap between the poorer and the wealthier is now reduced.</p>
Quantitative Indicators	<p>Mean household consumption expenditure per adult equivalent</p> <p>Proportion of households below national poverty line</p> <p>Poverty gap</p> <p>Chronic poverty as measured by proportion households below the national poverty line at time of both baseline and second follow-up survey (2 years after baseline)</p> <p>Value of transfer as proportion of household monthly expenditure</p> <p>Proportion of household expenditure on shoes and clothing (excluding school ware)</p>
Food security and nutrition	<p>As a large share of the consumption of the poor is devoted to food, we expect the receipt of cash to raise food spending in the household. Cash transfers allow additional food to be purchased in households that face food deficits or chronic hunger, as well as more variety of food and possibly better quality food. More and better food consumption implies increased food security and higher nutritional intake for the members of the household.</p> <p>Therefore, provided there are no significant supply-side constraints in local food markets, a regular transfer of cash should substantially reduce food insecurity and increase the nutritional status of the members of the household, including children.</p>
Indicators	<p>% children<5 severely and moderately stunted (height for age)</p> <p>% children<5 severely and moderately wasted (weight for height)</p> <p>% children<5 severely and moderately underweight (weight for age)</p> <p>Dietary diversity index:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> For household For persons over 65 years <p>Mean per adult equivalent consumption value of food</p> <p>Number of meals consumed in the day before the survey:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Per child Per adult Per older person (over 65 years)

Qualitative research questions	<p>How is poverty defined?</p> <p>What different well-being categories exist within different communities?</p> <p>What are the main characteristics of each of these groups? (e.g. social characteristics, assets, coping strategies, power and influence, etc.)</p> <p>How are households in the community distributed amongst these categories? How does this distribution change over time?</p> <p>What is the distribution of poverty and wellbeing within households?</p> <p>What are the causes of poverty? How have these changed over time?</p> <p>How has the SAGE cash transfer affected poverty levels amongst different groups of people?</p>
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A.2 OBJECTIVE 2: Increase Economic Security

Labour participation	<p>A concern in policy debates surrounding safety nets is whether the additional income provided constitutes, in the short run, an incentive to reduce work effort in income-generating activities. Conversely, if the program is successful in encouraging households to engage in production and investment, in the long run the number of adults working within treated households may actually increase. However, as household's take time to move into productive and investment activities, it is unlikely that we will see a positive impact on labour supply in the short term. Moreover, given that the target recipients are the most vulnerable households, identified as those mostly comprising elderly, orphans and disables, the expected impact on labour participation is likely to be very small on the direct recipients. A positive impact is likely to be more apparent in those households where the most vulnerable members live with other working-age adults.</p>
Indicators	<p>Labour participation rate: % of working-age adults engaged in economically productive activities</p> <p>Mean number of hours per week spent working for (able-bodied) working-age adults</p>
Child work	<p>Cash transfers targeted to the most vulnerable households are expected to reduce the time children spend in economically productive activities and/or domestic duties. If child work was needed to meet ends, extra-resources are likely to alleviate poverty for recipient households and therefore reduce the need for children to engage in productive activities. More assets and better housing conditions also reduce the amount of time to be devoted to household duties.</p>
Indicators	<p>Child Labour participation rate: % of children (5-17) engaged in economically productive activities</p> <p>Mean number of hours per week spent working (in economically productive activities) for children (5-17)(3)</p> <p>% children performing domestic duties</p> <p>Mean number of hours per week spent on domestic duties for children (5-17)(3)</p>
Investment in productive assets and income generating activities	<p>Cash transfers are expected to have a positive impact on assets accumulation and investment activities. Cash transfers might both protect households from drawing down on their assets at times of hardship, as well as facilitating investment in productive assets (including livestock) or activities, thus enabling households to have a more sustainable impact on their well-being. Receipt of extra resources might even allow households to start or invest more in income generating activities with positive effects on income diversification and overall living standards.</p>
Indicators	<p>Value of productive assets purchased in last 12 months</p> <p>Ownership of key assets</p> <p>Mean number of cash income sources per household</p>
Vulnerability to shocks and ability to cope with shocks	<p>The cash transfer may enable households to better cope with unexpected events and risks in the short term. It is expected that households' capacity to mitigate risk through access to a wider range of non-destructive coping mechanisms (formal and informal credit, more assets, more productive income sources, etc.) will decrease their vulnerability to poverty in the longer term.</p>

Indicators	% households reporting change in subjective welfare assessment and why Distribution of coping strategies (rationing, borrowing, selling assets, withdrawing children from school, etc.)
Qualitative research questions	<p>What livelihood activities do different individuals and households typically engage in? How and why have these changed in recent years? How and why do people move between different livelihood activities? What are the preferred sources of livelihood and why? What are the constraints and challenges to participating in these forms of livelihoods? What role does formal or informal employment play in livelihoods? How does participation and forms of livelihood activities vary <i>within</i> households (particularly with regard to child participation in livelihood activities)? How has the SAGE cash transfer affected livelihood choices and options? How has the SAGE cash transfer affected formal and informal employment opportunities?</p> <p>What are the key risks that different individuals, households and/or social groups face? How are these categorised (e.g. long term trends, seasonal changes, shocks)? Have risks changed over time? How and why? What determines different levels of vulnerability to these risks? What effects do these risks have if they occur? What strategies are adopted to reduce, mitigate and/or cope with vulnerability to and the effects of these? How does the SAGE cash transfer affect the ability to reduce, mitigate and cope with different stresses and shocks?</p>

A.3 OBJECTIVE 3: Increasing access to services

Uptake of health services and improvements in health seeking behaviours	<p>Cash transfers are expected to increase the proportion of consumption expenditure allocated to accessing health services. Health is relevant not only for wellbeing but as an investment in human capital. We therefore expect an increase in the level of consumption devoted to health as well as more health seeking behaviours.</p> <p>Improved access to health services and increased well-being more generally in terms of nutritional status, poverty status, and reduced labour for children and old people and increased productive capacity through investment in productive assets (which may increase efficiency etc.) may lead to less incidence of illness or injury.</p> <p>It should be noted that the effect on access to treatment, health expenditure and ultimately health status is highly dependent on the state of the supply of health services in SAGE areas.</p>
Indicators	<p>Mean spending on health care</p> <p>% individuals ill/injured in past 30 days</p> <p>% cases where healthcare was sought</p>
Uptake of education services and improved attendance at school	<p>Cash transfers are expected to increase the proportion of consumption expenditure allocated to meeting the various expenses associated with educating children (and other household members) in recipient households. These costs can include school fees or 'funds', transport, boarding fees, uniforms, books and stationery. By reducing the financial barriers to education services the cash transfer is expected to ensure higher school retention rates and lower absenteeism. Increased attendance and class retention may result in better class completion rates.</p> <p>As with health services, the effect on access to education and education status outcomes depends to a great deal on the availability and quality of schools in the areas where the programme operates.</p>

Indicators	<p>% primary school-aged children currently enrolled school</p> <p>% primary school-aged children not enrolled school due to cost and/or child labour requirement</p> <p>% primary school-aged children currently attending school</p> <p>% primary school-aged children not currently attending school due to cost and/or child labour requirement</p> <p>Primary school class progression rate</p>
Access to financial services and other services	<p>By providing a reliable source of income the cash transfer may increase households' demand for and access to financial services. Recipients may be more likely to be seen as credit worthy by formal and informal financial providers. Also, the cash transfer might allow households to accumulate savings, thereby increasing the likelihood that the household will access formal or informal financial products.</p> <p>As with the social services referred to above, this effect is likely to be more apparent where formal financial products are available and appropriate.</p> <p>Receipt of the SAGE cash transfer may either increase or decrease the likelihood of households receiving other benefits from other social support programmes. Distributors of other social support programmes may view SAGE recipients either more deserving of support due to their receipt of the SAGE cash transfer because they have already been identified as needing support. Similarly they may view them as less deserving given that they are already receiving some kind of support.</p>
Indicators	<p>% households reporting being able to borrow from a formal financial institution if desired</p> <p>% households reporting borrowing from formal financial institution</p> <p>% households reporting being able to save in formal financial institution</p> <p>% households reporting saving in a formal financial institution</p> <p>% households reporting any saving</p> <p>Distribution of other interventions being received by households</p>

A.4 OBJECTIVE 4: Reducing social exclusion

Inter- and intra-household relations	<p>By alleviating household budget constraints cash transfers may have an indirect positive effect on inter- and intra-household relations. By reducing households vulnerability to poverty and other shocks, increasing access to services, and increasing income generating activities receipt of cash transfers should allow households to enjoy better living standards. Improved living standards may both reduce the burden of poor households on other households in the community, and better enable households to support the needy both within and between households.</p>
Impact on attitudes and notions of empowerment	<p>The cash transfer may improve the sense of empowerment felt by households and household members by increasing wellbeing, access to services and the number and types of choices available to households. Where the woman is the recipient of the transfer and/or is in charge of deciding how to spend the transfer and manage the household budget there may also be a positive impact on women's empowerment in particular. Improving nutrition, material assets and reducing child work are likely to benefit girls especially, as they are often the most deprived members of poor households. We therefore expect better gender balance in terms of health, education, labour participation and empowerment within the household as well as in the community.</p>

Indicators	<p>% households receiving cash support from other households</p> <p>% households giving cash support to other households</p> <p>% households receiving in-kind support from other households</p> <p>% households giving in-kind support to other households</p> <p>% women making major household budget decisions</p> <p>% women deciding how cash transfer is spent</p> <p>Girl primary enrolment rate</p> <p>Distribution of reasons why school age girls not currently enrolled in education</p> <p>Distribution of agree/disagree statements on various social and gender roles within the household and community(7)</p> <p>% households who feel they have control over changes in their own household</p> <p>% of households who feel they have control over changes in their community</p> <p>% households voting in national elections</p> <p>% households voting in local elections</p> <p>% households attending village/community meetings</p>
Qualitative research questions	<p>What influence do social norms based on gender, age ethnicity, etc. have on individuals' and households' capacities and entitlements?</p> <p>How does social identity affect control over resources and decision making?</p> <p>What patterns of differentiation and exclusion exist with respect to opportunities, markets, information, and services?</p> <p>What factors affect levels of social cohesion within the community?</p> <p>What are the forms and sources of disputes and tension between and within households?</p> <p>How has the SAGE cash transfer affected, or been affected by, informal institutions, social relations and cohesion?</p> <p>What are the key organisations and individuals inside and outside a community that influence peoples' lives?</p> <p>What are their relationships, importance and effectiveness to different groups within communities (e.g. in terms of decision making, accessibility, and services) and outside the community (in terms of participation, accessibility, and services)?</p> <p>On whom do people rely for different kinds of assistance (e.g. cash, goods, finding employment, entering university, etc.)</p> <p>What are perceptions of the social contract (i.e. relationships between and obligations / entitlements of governments and citizens), particularly around social protection and poverty reduction?</p> <p>How has the SAGE cash transfer affected, or been affected by, formal institutions and perceptions of the social contract?</p>

Annex B Matrix of key qualitative research areas and questions

Key research areas	Key research questions
Dimensions and definitions of poverty	<p>How is poverty defined?</p> <p>What different well-being categories exist within different communities?</p> <p>What are the main characteristics of each of these groups? (e.g. social characteristics, assets, coping strategies, power and influence, etc.)</p> <p>How are households in the community distributed amongst these categories? How does this distribution change over time?</p> <p>What is the distribution of poverty and wellbeing <i>within</i> households?</p> <p>What are the causes of poverty? How have these changed over time?</p> <p>How has the SAGE cash transfer affected poverty levels amongst different groups of people?</p>
Risk and vulnerability	<p>What are the key risks that different individuals, households and/or social groups face?</p> <p>How are these categorised (e.g. long term trends, seasonal changes, shocks)?</p> <p>Have risks changed over time? How and why?</p> <p>What determines different levels of vulnerability to these risks?</p> <p>What effects do these risks have if they occur?</p> <p>What strategies are adopted to reduce, mitigate and/or cope with vulnerability to and the effects of these?</p> <p>How does the SAGE cash transfer affect the ability to reduce, mitigate and cope with different stresses and shocks?</p>

Key research areas	Key research questions
Livelihoods	<p>What livelihood activities do different individuals and households typically engage in?</p> <p>How and why have these changed in recent years?</p> <p>How and why do people move between different livelihood activities?</p> <p>What are the preferred sources of livelihood and why? What are the constraints and challenges to participating in these forms of livelihoods? What role does formal or informal employment play in livelihoods?</p> <p>How does participation and forms of livelihood activities vary <i>within</i> households (particularly with regard to child participation in livelihood activities)?</p> <p>How and why has the SAGE cash transfer affected livelihood choices and options?</p> <p>How and why has the SAGE cash transfer affected formal and informal employment opportunities?</p>
Informal institutions, social relations and cohesion	<p>What influence do social norms based on gender, age ethnicity, etc. have on individuals' and households' capacities and entitlements?</p> <p>How does social identity affect control over resources and decision making?</p> <p>What patterns of differentiation and exclusion exist with respect to opportunities, markets, information and services?</p> <p>What factors affect levels of social cohesion within the community?</p> <p>What are the forms and sources of disputes and tension between and within households?</p> <p>How has the SAGE cash transfer affected, or been affected by, informal institutions, social relations and cohesion?</p>
Formal institutions and social contract	<p>What are the key organisations and individuals inside and outside a community that influence people's lives?</p> <p>What are their relationships, importance and effectiveness to different groups within communities (e.g. in terms of decision making, accessibility, and services) and outside the community (in terms of participation, accessibility, and services)?</p> <p>On whom do people rely for different kinds of assistance (e.g. cash, goods, finding employment, entering university, etc.)</p> <p>What are perceptions of the social contract (i.e. relationships between and obligations / entitlements of governments and citizens), particularly around social protection and poverty reduction?</p> <p>How has the SAGE cash transfer affected, or been affected by, formal institutions and perceptions of the social contract?</p>

Annex C In-depth questions for analysis of social relations

Level of relationship	Key research questions
Intra-household relations	<p>How does the SAGE transfer and payments system affect the role and responsibilities of different categories of individuals (elderly, people with disabilities, women) within different types of household?</p> <p>How does the SAGE transfer and payments system affect intergenerational and gender relations within different types of household?</p> <p>How does the SAGE transfer and payments system affect decision making and control of resources within different types of household?</p> <p>How does the SAGE transfer and payments system affect conflict over scarce resources, or created conflict over how to use or spend cash/resources within different types of household?</p>
Inter-household relations	<p>How and in what way does the SAGE transfer and payments system affect relationships between community members and local agents (e.g. local government)?</p> <p>How and in what way are social relations between different types of households affected by SAGE targeting processes?</p> <p>How and in what way are social relations between different types of households affected by information and understanding of the SAGE goals and processes?</p> <p>How is social capital affected at each stage of the SAGE implementation?</p> <p>How are changes in social relations viewed by different community members? How do changes affect the well-being and poverty of different types of individuals and/or households?</p> <p>How and in what way does SAGE affect participation in informal support mechanisms that enable households to cope with both covariate and idiosyncratic risk?</p>
State-citizen relations and the social contract	<p>How has the SAGE transfer and payments system affected relationships between citizens (SAGE recipients and non-recipients) and the key state organisations and individuals inside and outside a community that influence their lives?</p> <p>How has the SAGE transfer and payments system affected perceptions of the social contract between citizens and the state?</p> <p>How has the SAGE transfer and payments system been affected by perceptions of the social contract between citizens and the state?</p>

Annex D Research locations for the qualitative research

District	Sub county	Targeting method	Included in baseline
Apac	Abongomolo	SCG	✓
	Chawente	VFSC	✓
Katakwi	Usuk	SCG	✓
	Kapujan	SCG	✓
Kiboga	Bukomero	VFSG	✓
	Kapeke	SCG	✓
Kyenjojo	Kyarusozi	VFSG	✓
	Kisojo	SCG	✓
Nebbi	Pakwach	VFSG	
	Nebbi Town Council	SCG	
Moroto	South Division	SCG	
	Nadunget	SCG	
Kaberamaido	Alwa	SCG	
	Kaberamaido town council	VFSG	
Nakapirpit	Kakomongole	SCG	
	Nabilatuk	SCG	

Annex E Livelihood strategies across locations (comparison of baseline & midline)

District and sub-county	Baseline 2012	Follow up evaluation 2013
Apac		
Abongomole	Crop farming (cassava, <i>sim sim</i> , sunflower, beans, maize, millet, ground nuts, soya beans) Fishing Livestock Casual labour (brick making and charcoal burning) Brewing (mainly by women) Trading	Crop farming (rice, maize, beans, pigeon peas, millet, cassava, <i>sim sim</i> , potatoes. Mangos) Animal husbandry Small businesses/Casual labour (men and women brick making and charcoal burning) Retail (shops) Brewing (mainly by women) Petty trade
Chewente	Subsistence farmers (<i>sim sim</i> , maize, soya beans, cassava, ground nuts, millet. A few grow rice and cotton) Fishing (mainly energetic men) Cattle keeping Bee keeping (a minority) Trade Casual labour (charcoal burning , brick making)	Farming (ground nuts, <i>sim sim</i> , maize, groundnuts and millet), grow sunflower, sorghum and cotton for sale fishing (men) Animal husbandry (cows, goats, sheep and pigs) bee keeping petty trade (cassava, beans, pancakes) Casual labour (brick laying – male youth) Small businesses: Charcoal burning and selling fire wood brewing beer
Katakwi		
Kapujan	Crop farming (<i>sim sim</i> , cassava, potatoes, millet, ground nuts) Brewing Trading Casual labour (male youth – digging, charcoal burning) Cattle rearing	Subsistence farming (groundnuts, cassava, potatoes, sorghum) Brewing and selling local alcohol (women) Trading: selling orange seedlings, (women: salt, soap) Casual labour: women digging gardens (male youth: brick laying) Cattle rearing. (and chickens, goats, pigs) Gathering firewood and grasses for sale (mainly women) Fishing (youth) Making mats, making ropes (elderly men) Small retail shops and services (male youth: Boda boda)
Usuk	Subsistence farming (Ground nuts, millet, <i>sim sim</i> , cassava, sorghum, <i>chorogoro</i> ; cassava, potatoes)	Subsistence farming

District and sub-county	Baseline 2012	Follow up evaluation 2013
	<p>Casual labour (digging peoples garden, paid 2000 UGX a day; brick making by male youth, done mainly in the dry season)</p> <p>Animal keeping (goats, chicken,)</p> <p>Brewing 'Ajon' mainly by women</p> <p>Foraging for grass mainly by women</p> <p>Elderly make ropes for a living; Thatching huts by women</p> <p>Petty trade</p>	<p>Casual labour (women & men- digging gardens, men - tree planting, brick laying)</p> <p>Animal keeping goats, cattle, pigs</p> <p>fishing,</p> <p>Brewing and selling local alcohol (women)</p> <p>Gathering firewood and grasses for sale (mainly women)</p> <p>Rope making, papayrus mats (elderly men)</p> <p>Small businesses & trade (Men: oranges seedlings);(youth – firewood, brick making); (women: sell thatch grass)</p>
Kiboga		
Bukomero	<p>Crop farming (bananas, cassava, beans, sweet potatoes, coffee)</p> <p>Small scale animal rearing (cows, pigs, goats, chicken)</p> <p>Casual labour (brick making, maize)</p> <p>Trading</p> <p>Coffee growing mainly by the better off</p>	<p>Animal husbandry (cattle and goats, chicken).</p> <p>Farming (cassava, maize)</p> <p>Casual labour/small businesses (women burning charcoal for sale)</p> <p>Trading (food)</p> <p>Carpentry</p>
Kapeke	<p>Pastoralism</p> <p>Crop farming (coffee, cassava, sweet potatoes, maize, beans, petty trade)</p> <p>Casual labour (men charcoal burning, brick making, riding <i>boda boda</i>)</p> <p>Trading</p> <p>Teachers</p>	<p>Farming (tomatoes, beans, maize, bananas, sweet potatoes, cassava, coffee).</p> <p>Animal husbandry (goats, cows, pigs and hens).</p> <p>Casual labour (men and women digging gardens)</p> <p>Trade: (Women: tomatoes, stalls on the roadside, yellow bananas, mangoes, pineapples, cabbages, tobacco, beans)</p> <p>Teachers, nurses, doctors</p> <p>Small businesses & services: (Men: taxi drivers); (Women: Gather firewood and grass thatch groceries, bars, roadside vegetable stalls); (male youth: Burn & sell charcoal)</p>
Kyenjojo		
Kyarusozi	<p>Subsistence agriculture (beans, maize, ground nut, tea, coffee, banana, cassava, sweet potatoes)</p> <p>Animal rearing</p> <p>Casual labour mainly by youth (tea picking, digging, <i>boda boda</i>)</p> <p>Petty trade</p> <p>Brewing <i>Waragi</i> (mainly done be men)</p>	<p>Crop farming</p> <p>Animal husbandry (goats, chicken, a few cows, goats and pigs)</p> <p>Trading (beans, maize. Animals, coffee tea, general merchandise)</p> <p>Brewing <i>Waragi</i> (mainly done be men)</p> <p>Bee keeping</p> <p>Casual labour (Youth: tea picking, women digging)</p>

District and sub-county	Baseline 2012	Follow up evaluation 2013
	Bee keeping	<i>Boda boda</i> (youth)
Kisijo	Farming (maize, Irish potatoes, banana, coffee, tea, sugar cane, maize, groundnuts, millet) Livestock rearing (pigs, goats, cow, poultry, sheep, chicken) Casual labour (tea picking, fetching water) Remittances from youth. They go to Kampala to become hawkers and housemaids Petty trade Some formal sector workers	Crop farming (beans, sweet potatoes, groundnuts, cassava, Irish potatoes, banana); (elder people: tea) Animal husbandry (hens, goats, pigs, sheep, cattle) Casual labour (Young men: brick laying), women digging Youths go to Kampala to look for jobs. Teachers Brewing Waragi (women) Small businesses & services: (women sell fresh food on the road side; providing services like hotels/ communication services)
Kaberamaido		
Alma		Agriculture (cassava, maize, cotton, sun flower, beans, millet, <i>sim sim</i> , and sweet potatoes); selling of agricultural food stocks like groundnuts, millet, maize, and cassava. Buying and selling of food stuffs (beans, millet, silver fish, dry cassava) - women and young girls. Animal husbandry. cattle and goats pigs Brick making for sale (mainly youth) Retail shops Trading Brewing
Kaberamaido Town Council (urban)		Farming (cassava, potatoes, sorghum, maize, <i>sim sim</i> , beans). Sell: cassava and <i>sim sim</i> . Casual labour (Male youth: off-loading trucks, loading bricks and sand, porters in the construction sites, burning charcoal, bricklaying); (women: cleaners; gardening work in local schools & hospitals) Trade: maize, cassava, <i>sim sim</i> , beans, millet, sorghum, clothes, meat, chicken. (Women: small fish (Omena), cooking oil, beans, tomatoes, onions) Retail shops and services (Women: selling pancakes, bread, saloons); (Men: shoe mending, shining, butchery work); (male youth: Boda boda) Animal husbandry (goats, pigs, cattle, sheep, chicken, turkeys).

District and sub-county	Baseline 2012	Follow up evaluation 2013
		Rent out pieces of land Civil servants and teachers, medical officials.
Nakapiripirit		
Kakomongole		Subsistence farming, sorghum, maize, and of recent IRC came and distributed <i>sim sim</i> , groundnut seeds Gathering wild fruits and vegetables Animal rearing; (men: cattle); (women & men: goat, sheep) donkeys Small business: (men: digging out murrum which is used for repairing roads, making crafts e.g, granaries for sale; gold mining (women & youth) local brewing (women) and buying/reselling alcohol (men) Casual labour (male youth: sand mining, quarrying; (men: mining, to build houses in town, digging murrum, used to repair roads. Stone crushing and labouring in gardens) Collecting firewood for sale; burning and selling charcoal, selling grass for huts and thatch; collecting water (women)
Nabilatuk		Small businesses: collecting and selling firewood, cut grass, (women & girls), quarrying; charcoal burning; Gold mining (women & youth) Casual labour: fetching water, weed, grass for thatching Animal farming: goats, sheep, cattle (mostly men). Farming: sorghum, maize, sunflower, <i>sim sim</i> Brewing the local drink (women) Petty trade: (men: tobacco)
Moroto		
Nadungnet		Crop farming (sorghum, maize, <i>sim sim</i> , groundnuts) Animal husbandry (cows, goats, sheep, chicken) Small businesses (women: collect firewood & grass to sell, baking, pancakes, roasting meat; burn charcoal, sell tobacco) (men: buying from brewers in town and reselling in villages) Brew local drinks (women) Casual labour (Men and women: digging gardens, cleaning homes, collect water, quarrying) Civil servants, work for NGO

District and sub-county	Baseline 2012	Follow up evaluation 2013
South Division (urban)		<p>Local brewing (women)</p> <p>Casual labour (men and women: quarrying); (women and children: fetching water); (men: Cutting trees for fencing)</p> <p>Small business (women: selling tomatoes, onion, greens salt, sugar; baking pancakes, etc). crafts making (Bungles); (Men and women: Charcoal retailing); (men: resell beers, sell meat);</p> <p>Slaughtering of cows and goats (men)</p> <p>Rental houses and shops</p>
Nebbi		
Nebbi Town Council (urban)		<p>Crop farming (cassava, potatoes, maize, Cassava, maize, potatoes, beans....Sorghum</p> <p>Civil servants</p> <p>Small businesses: (women: firewood, tomatoes, charcoal, households goods, food, avocados, sweet cassava, potatoes, vegetables; mandazi, pancakes, poultry)</p> <p>Brewing (women)</p> <p>Casual labour: build houses (youth)</p> <p>Animal husbandry (chicken, goats, cattle)</p>
Pakwach		<p>Fishing</p> <p>Small businesses (mainly women: selling muziri, mandazi, small fish, greens, beans, tea, edibles, salt, sugar, soap.), children engage in petty trade</p> <p>Crop framing (cotton, <i>sim sim</i>, sorghum, cassava, groundnuts)</p> <p>Brewing (women)</p> <p>Casual labour (fetching water, digging, breaking stones,</p> <p>Civil servants</p> <p>Builders</p> <p>Animal husbandry (goats, cows and sheep, chicken)</p> <p>Casual labour: digging (men: building, charcoal, brick laying)</p>

Annex F Risks: shocks, seasonal variations and trends by district and sub county

District and sub-county	Environmental / natural	Social-relational	Economic / structural	Community / household
Apac				
Abongomole SCG	<p>Changing weather patterns: Heavy rains destroying crops; hailstones affecting quality and taste of crops Sunshine destroying groundnuts, beans and maize in the months of March to June Drought which has spoiled crops Bush fires during the dry seasons Death of livestock and draught animals Swamps flooding and submerging all the crops Weeds affecting crops (referred to as Okao Levi) Seeds not germinating</p>		<p>Theft of property and livestock Fire destroying property and homes Low prices of food crops The market for those food crops is not available Being required to pay fees at short notice No transport to the health centres</p>	<p>Death, especially when unexpected, of breadwinners or those capable of working Illness and disease reducing ability to work in the fields / cultivate land and crops Accidents and injuries reduce ability to work in the fields and/or earn an income Hunger which causes weakness and worsens health</p>
Chewente VFSG	<p>Changing weather patterns Sunny weather destroying crops Heavy rain destroying crops</p>	<p>Witchcraft / wizardry causing poisoning, illness or injury and meaning a wizard can decide to poison you or disfigure your leg and you will not be able to go to the garden Domestic violence, leading to separation and having to cover school fees Responsibility / “burden” of supporting grandchildren (e.g. of younger daughters who get pregnant)</p>	<p>Theft of livestock Theft of money / robbery Strikes at schools causing more problems Using up savings to cope with death or loss of crops Lack of casual labour / income for school fees Lack of money to bribe authorities to investigate theft Being far from the health centre and without transport</p>	<p>Sudden death, meaning households are unprepared Death leading to children not studying Diseases that attack suddenly, and yet you lack the money for medication Illness when you don't have money to pay others to cultivate land People located around fishing communities have a higher risk of getting diseases like HIV “because they are involved in alcohol taking and selling their bodies (prostitution)”.</p>

District and sub-county	Environmental / natural	Social-relational	Economic / structural	Community / household
		<p>Responsibility to pay a fine – “pidu luk” – as part of bride price if your son gets a girl pregnant</p> <p>Husbands abandoning wives for other women and not continuing responsibility for their children</p> <p>Lack of support for elderly or weak when their caregiver is ill or dies</p>	<p>Land grabbing by better off / rich people when adults pass away, leading to children facing increased risk of poverty</p>	
Katakwi				
Kapujan SCG	<p>Severe climatic changes, uncertain rain seasons and patterns, which lead to floods and drought, all which lead to crop loss and failure</p> <p>Famine – it mainly affects people near the lake because they are affected by floods</p> <p>Floods destroy crops like cassava, potatoes and causes famine. It mainly affects people near the water bodies. The roads become also impassable as a result of floods.</p> <p>Lack of water – most times the boreholes get spoilt. As a result we suffer looking for water. There only 2 boreholes in the area. This affects all groups of people.</p> <p>Drought (in the month of June), leading to hunger. It mainly affects people in upper and higher areas</p>		<p>Stealing of fish nets</p> <p>Distance from health services. By the time someone reaches the health facility you find that they are dead</p> <p>Lack of ready market and price fluctuations, especially low prices for mats, fish, and at times cassava</p>	<p>Diseases – malaria, cough, flu, hepatitis, arthritis, kidney problems, cancer, liver, diabetes, HIV/AIDS</p> <p>Mosquitoes are so many here given the fact that we are surrounded by water so most of the time we are suffering with malaria.</p>

District and sub-county	Environmental / natural	Social-relational	Economic / structural	Community / household
	Crop pests and diseases – the pests mostly affect groundnuts and sorghum which are the main crops that we survive on and yet we cannot afford to spray the crops. Animal diseases like foot and mouth disease, liver disease etc,			
Usuk SCG	Floods, affecting crops like cassava and potato Long droughts destroying crops Hailstorms Bush burning which affects cutting grass for sale Crop pests which crops like sorghum which is a major food crop	There is a problem of insecurity from the Karamojong “who keep chasing us from our homes, though of recent there has been stability”. ... “These raids are why most people are poor. All the animals that we would have used to sell to educate our children are all gone”.	Getting treatment is hard because when you go to the health centre, they will say we don’t have drugs so you go and buy from the clinic and this does not only affect us the old people but everyone in our community Lack of ox ploughs and ox with which to increase production Few people who are employed with the government or NGO “so we have nowhere to go and hire out our labour”	Diseases, the main one being HIV/AIDS but also malaria – they reduce ability to work in fields Hunger – Because most of us are old and we do not have oxen to plough and plant on a large scale so we end up planting very few crops which cannot support us throughout the year Not enough money to take and cater for our children at school
Kiboga				
Bukomero VFSG	Land is exhausted and no longer fertile so production is low – that’s why farmers are facing problems. Only poor quality seeds available which produce low yields. Inability to save seeds from one season to the next, which increases costs for buying seeds next year. Poor livestock breeds produce less meat / milk		Availability of land is reducing: as community populations increase in number, they have to share the land which is not enough. Limited land means they can only produce for their own consumption Cattle herders do not have land to graze their animals leading to them tying the cattle by the roadside which is not appropriate. The poor don’t have sufficient land to grow their own crops so	The elderly without land are too old to be hired by the better off Sickness and illness reduce ability to work and cultivate own land

District and sub-county	Environmental / natural	Social-relational	Economic / structural	Community / household
	<p>Seasons have changed “so we can never tell which is the time to plant or when not to plant”</p> <p>Drought, which not only affects individual farmers but the opportunities for casual labour working on others’ farms</p> <p>Animal diseases affecting and causing death of livestock (e.g. swine flu in pigs; coccidiosis in poultry)</p> <p>Coffee trees affected by coffee wilt disease</p>		<p>they end up struggling to feed their families by digging in other people’s gardens. When there is a drought, opportunities for labouring decline.</p> <p>Business people lack a market for goods because most people in are poor. The majority of customers are passers-by who are also seasonal.</p> <p>Prices have gone up because of the drought. The price of manufactured products like sugar have gone up</p> <p>Theft of livestock</p>	
Kapeke SCG	<p>Dry seasons and drought are a significant problem and mean crops never mature and there is a lack of water for crops and livestock</p> <p>Cattle disease which has become more resistant to drugs and expensive to treat</p> <p>Wild pigs and monkeys which have become a problem for those who cultivate land and destroy crops</p> <p>Poor quality seeds lead to low yields</p>		<p>There is no market and items are too expensive</p> <p>Cattle and livestock thieves have also increased within the last year</p> <p>For those with no cows, they go to stay in other people’s homes as slaves</p> <p>At the same time, there is no ready market for selling food products and prices for animal products, milk and ghee are low</p> <p>Thieves steal food when it matures: “It is usually the very poor or the youth that do not want to work that do all this.”</p> <p>Small plots of land are not big enough to plant a variety of food for families, so households plant only one kind of crop.</p>	<p>Sickness, old age and weakness mean people are unable to farm/cultivate land. They need money to hire younger and able people to do it for them.</p> <p>Illness and weakness prevent rearing goats or cows because they can knock or pull people over and they get hurt.</p>
Kyenjojo				

District and sub-county	Environmental / natural	Social-relational	Economic / structural	Community / household
Kyarusozi VFSG	<p>Land exhaustion leads to poor crop yields.</p> <p>Drought affects yields and crop production, and affect food availability in later years</p> <p>Vermin (monkeys) from Kibego forest destroy gardens and crops when left unattended.</p> <p>Brick makers get their business spoilt by rain</p> <p>The draught that has left some of us poor and hungry. We then have no choice but to go pick tea which doesn't yield much</p>	<p>Some men coerce their wives to give them money for drinking alcohol and gambling.</p> <p>Some women have been battered because of disagreement in sharing SAGE money</p> <p>Women left by their husbands face problems covering expenses for children – paying for fees, and health care</p> <p>There are some rich people that take advantage of the poor, paying less than the going rate for work in their gardens</p>	<p>Prices are for produce in the market are too low.</p> <p>Insufficient land to cultivate, forcing some to depend on "Lejaleja" (odd jobs), which are not readily available</p> <p>Thieves steal property, especially animals. "When taken to police they pay and are released and eventually come back to threaten people"</p> <p>Traders have a challenge of poor roads, especially when it rains, so trucks can't pick up farmers' produce which affects the trader and also the farmer.</p> <p>Business men and women buy farm produce at very low prices, but go to the towns and sell them at higher prices</p>	<p>Illness and injuries mean farming is not possible</p>
Kisijo SCG	<p>Drought affects crops and grass production. Lack of grass leads to livestock deaths</p> <p>Livestock disease and lack of treatment cause livestock deaths</p> <p>Seasonal heavy rain destroys crops</p> <p>Pests (e.g. monkeys) steal or destroy our food, forcing crops to be picked before it matures.</p> <p>Low quality seeds</p> <p>Crop pests reduce productivity (e.g. of coffee)</p>		<p>Not have enough land to cultivate means insufficient produce and food</p> <p>Theft of livestock</p> <p>Seed costs are high – sometimes livestock are sold to buy seeds but then productivity is low</p> <p>The markets are far and the roads are not so good</p> <p>No ready market for food products, leading to low prices</p>	<p>Old age and weakness forces people to employ others, but requires money to pay them</p> <p>Sickness leads to increased expense on treatment</p>
Kaberamaido				

District and sub-county	Environmental / natural	Social-relational	Economic / structural	Community / household
Alma SCG	<p>Serious risk is drought, leading to lack of food and meals</p> <p>Heavy rains and hailstorms lead to flooding and destroys crops and produce</p> <p>Drought, leading to crop failure (and lack of income e.g. to send children to school)</p> <p>Shortage of food and famine due to bad weather in the preceding season – this can affect while community</p> <p>People living in the swamp area are affected by heavy rains washing away crops</p>	<p>Political disputes for instance during the Lord Resistance Army insurgency</p>	<p>Theft of property and livestock is also another common problem in this community</p> <p>Theft / robbery: “on the day of receiving this money (SAGE) you can even be waylaid”.</p> <p>Lack of response by authorities to crimes</p>	<p>Diseases (e.g. Nagana disease spread by tse-tse fly; malaria)</p> <p>Malaria affects pregnant women and mothers, leading to orphans</p> <p>“Just look at us all we are old and sickly” and this does not allow us to fully participate in agriculture</p> <p>Lack of f you go to the hospital when ill, you do not even get treatment but instead you are told to go and buy medicine from the clinic</p> <p>Death of family members</p> <p>Children and family members being sick, which means they need caring for and this prevents working</p>
Kaberamaido Town Council (urban) VFSG	<p>Big risk of drought that affects millet, which is a staple food so when this happens sometimes it can lead to famine</p> <p>Major problem is seasonal weather changes: during the rainy season there is erosion of crops from the garden and also floods that cause difficulties when selling crops; then during dry season, the crops are always burnt from and crops dry up prematurely</p> <p>Animals also destroy gardens (mainly goats, pigs and herds of cattle)</p>	<p>Boys get girls pregnant when they are still young. This disorganises things when you try to chase for the problem to be solved.</p> <p>Alcoholism has reduced productivity especially among our youth whom we expect to help us produce – they have instead turned into a burden.</p>	<p>Big problem of theft (e.g. of livestock): “this is very common with the youth who have nothing to do and think it is part of a living”</p> <p>“Theft has increased now because of this money that the government is trying to help us with. Sometimes they just attack you on the way as you are moving back home. This mostly affects the old people in this village because every day when we receive the money at least the next morning you hear a case the some old man or woman has been attacked and the money was taken”.</p> <p>Prices are not stable: “You find that today the price is high and it surprises you; the next day it is</p>	<p>Serious risk of accidents which prevent future working, especially for the young boys who work in the trucks for transporting construction materials – “they are very prone to accidents”</p> <p>Diseases like malaria and HIV/AIDS has made people weak and unproductive</p> <p>Deaths in the community not only affect the immediate household: “the rule in this village is whenever someone dies in the community everybody is expected to attend the funeral otherwise your clan members can punish you heavily”.</p>

District and sub-county	Environmental / natural	Social-relational	Economic / structural	Community / household
			<p>very low and not as you expected it to be”</p> <p>Low price of agricultural products: “When the prices are low one has to sell much so that he can get reasonable money”</p> <p>Poor roads and reckless drivers. “Accident is the most common problem we have in our community. Here being town, there are so many cars with reckless drivers who over speed and end up knocking people and even animals.”</p>	
Nakapiripirit				
Kakomongole SCG	<p>Climate changes means rains aren't reliable.</p> <p>Prolonged drought means most crops planted haven't done well in the last 2 years</p> <p>Drought affects livestock, in that there will be no pasture for animals to graze, which leads to death of animals Crops are destroyed by pests and diseases.</p> <p>Heavy rains destroy crops during rainy season.</p> <p>Sometimes there are hailstones which destroy the crops, this leads to poor harvests, exposing people to famine</p> <p>Wild animals sometimes attack cows and goats/sheep</p> <p>Poor soils have also been a problem: “most of the crops don't do well in our soil, so</p>	<p>Insecurity when trying to look for firewood and burning charcoal for sell</p> <p>Insecurity and raiding of animals. Sometimes raiders kill young boys who are grazing the animals in the bushes</p>	<p>Lack of oxen for ploughing exposes them to famine, as there are no alternative ways of cultivating food crops</p>	<p>Diseases expose people to risks: people get weak and are unable to do agriculture for survival, possibly leading to high poverty levels</p>

District and sub-county	Environmental / natural	Social-relational	Economic / structural	Community / household
	there is always poor harvest, which results to famine”.			
Nabilatuk SCG	<p>Poor weather affects crop farming which is the main source of livelihood in the region</p> <p>Lack of enough and proper rainfall – main crops are sorghum, maize and sun flower, without enough rain, there comes poor harvest</p> <p>Floods at times also destroy crop fields and sweep away the crops planted leaving no harvests</p> <p>Pests and diseases also destroy crops and livestock but pesticides and drugs for animals are too expensive</p>	<p>Insecurity sometimes armed thugs (warriors) come and destabilise the area making it impossible to carry out day to day livelihood activities. They steal food, animals and even kill people</p> <p>Enemies kill and loot animals (cows) which promotes revenge attacks and these people end up dying, and it also causes social unrest</p>	<p>Poverty reduces ability to afford to pay for any services needed in life.</p> <p>Firewood – since this is common in this community there are very many women selling firewood, hence there is a lot in the market and end up not being sold for 2-3 days</p>	<p>Diseases are a big risk, like malaria, trachoma, which affects the working population, making them unproductive</p> <p>Old age increases vulnerability to risks as older people cannot move to look for work</p>
Moroto				
Nadungnet SCG	<p>Drought and too much sunshine destroys crops and harvest. If the crops are destroyed most old men and women end up dying of hunger</p> <p>Going out in the bushes to cut grass for sale exposes people to snake bites which can lead to death</p> <p>Pests and diseases also sometimes destroy the crops but people are too poor to afford insecticides or chemicals to spray the crops.</p> <p>Lack of water – water is very far from the community and it</p>	<p>Insecurity when trying to earn a living, like when collecting firewood or charcoal burning in the bushes, enemies (warriors) who are hiding in the bushes, and they end up either beating, raping or killing women.</p> <p>Insecurity from warriors who sometimes raid villages and steal animals</p> <p>Insecurity, there is a lot of raids from different clans</p>		<p>There is a big rise of diseases. Many diseases like malaria diarrhoea, cholera mean people fall sick and end up not doing anything to earn a living, i.e. makes us vulnerable to death.</p>

District and sub-county	Environmental / natural	Social-relational	Economic / structural	Community / household
	involves time to get to the source			
South Division (urban) SCG	<p>Weather patterns also affect our livelihoods. There is a risk for those engaged in brewing of the brew going bad, because of excessive heat, which spoils the work</p> <p>Drought affects those who try to do farming (subsistence), they face the risk of their crops drying and end up with no harvest, which exposes them to famine or starvation, which makes them vulnerable to death as a result</p>	<p>Insecurity affects us in that some of our properties or utensils we use for the business are stolen</p> <p>Insecurity is also another problems, especially when people try to go and cultivate their fields out there sometimes they meet enemies who end up killing them</p> <p>Insecurity attacking traders; however this has reduced improved greatly due to disarmament process. There is now free movement of traders due to improved security</p>	<p>There is also a risk of thefts of utensils used in brewing business; some youths steal drums, big sauce pans, and this affects us a lot.</p> <p>Debtors are also our biggest risk, take our products and don't pay</p> <p>Little pay – At times you are given a lot of work that may take the whole day in the end you are paid little money</p> <p>Goods bought on credit leading to business fall</p>	<p>Diseases like malaria, HIV AIDS affects our day to day activities when it attacks, so that one cannot carry out the income generating activities – malaria weakens us very much</p> <p>There is also a risk of injuries when crushing stones for sale, because it involves using hammers to break the stones: "sometimes you crush your figure or the whole hand, as a result, one cannot be able to do work, meaning you stay without money and it affects the entire family"</p>
Nebbi				
Nebbi Town Council (urban) SCG	<p>Heavy rainfall with hailstorms destroying crops in the garden</p> <p>Drought destroying crops</p> <p>Rains flooding homes and even the toilets. Homes were washed away</p> <p>Poor seed quality</p>		<p>House fires destroying property</p> <p>When people rent but don't have money they are thrown out of the houses</p> <p>Theft</p> <p>No good prices for produce, for instance "take cassava to the market here, a bowl is only 300/= and 400/=, this means we need to have approximately two acres of cultivatable land"</p> <p>School fees for the children outgoing mainly to the primary school</p>	<p>Death (people die abruptly)</p> <p>People fall sick and cannot go to work anymore</p> <p>Different sicknesses affecting the poor as a result of poor diet while for the rich main sicknesses are diabetes and pressure</p> <p>Malaria affecting the elderly and children</p> <p>No water, so we drink from streams and this is bad</p> <p>Disability means people can no longer do work or look after themselves</p> <p>Vehicle can knock you and fall down with you</p>

District and sub-county	Environmental / natural	Social-relational	Economic / structural	Community / household
Pakwach VFSG	Weather conditions which affect crops like too much sunshine which dries up the crops and then famine Poor germination of crops Too much rain while fishing		Sometimes the child is chased away from the school because of school fees and not putting on uniform We have grass huts so they get burnt and everything including food gets burnt Lack of money to cultivate the land house falling down or leaking Land grabbing from widows Lack of jobs even when educated Some beneficiaries are very old, sick and end up entrusting their village LCIs with their cards, who return the cards to some beneficiaries with no money claiming “there was no money” yet they withdraw this money and keep it to themselves	Sickness (e.g. malaria, vomiting blood (strange disease), stroke Death Falling sick and no medicines in hospitals Lack of food when you fall sick Transportation problem in case you fall sick deep in the night Death, and sudden deaths, complicates life and facilitating burial is a very difficult if you don't have the money