

Taking Better Care?

Review of a decade of work with orphans and vulnerable children in Rakai, Uganda

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Save the Children works with children and their communities to provide practical assistance and, by influencing policy and public opinion, bring about positive change for children.

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Note

In this report ‘orphans’ are defined as children who have lost one or both parents.

The ages attributed to respondents quoted in the text are their ages at the time the review was carried out.

Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AIDSES	AIDS Education and Support
APSWO	Assistant Probation Social Welfare Officer
ARV	Anti-retroviral
CAO	Chief Administrative Officer
CBO	Community-based organisation
CDA	Community development assistant
CDO	Community development officer
CHAI	Community HIV/AIDS Initiative
CHH	Child-headed household
CHW	Community health worker
CSCP	Child Social Care Project
CVA	Child volunteer advocate
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DDP	District Development Plan
DFID	Department for International Development
EC	European Commission
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GoU	Government of Uganda
HASP	Household Agriculture Sector Programme
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
ICR	International Care and Relief
IEC	Information, education, communication
IGA	Income generating activity
INGO	International non-governmental organisation
LC	Local council
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
MoGLSD	Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development
MDM	Medecins du Monde
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OCBO	Orphans Community Based Organisation
PMA	Programme for Modernisation of Agriculture
PSWO	Probation and Social Welfare Officer
PLWA	People living with AIDS
PMTCT	Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission
RACA	Rakai AIDS Counsellors Association
RACOBAP	Rakai Community Based Project
SDSSIP	Social Development Sector Strategic Investment Plan
STI	Sexually transmitted infection
TBA	Traditional birth attendant
UAC	Uganda AIDS Commission
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
ZEFAD	Zewulia Family Alliance for Development

Executive summary

As more and more children in East and Central Africa are losing parents and becoming more vulnerable to the combined effects of HIV/AIDS and chronic poverty, the question of child care has never been more pertinent. Child care models now need to incorporate a maximum of state support combined with more traditional means of inter- and intra-family support mechanisms. The external role of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) as a catalyst and support for both state and civil society activity is assumed but rarely critically analysed. Identifying these roles and their interdependence is a crucial task in ensuring that vulnerable children receive the care and support to which they are entitled as of right.

In this study, we use Rakai District in Uganda as a microcosm from which we can generate more general lessons about how to support orphans and vulnerable children in a long-term, sustainable way. This is a critical issue for the many countries facing rising numbers of orphans and vulnerable children (not least due to HIV and AIDS) and with minimal resources to meet their many needs.

We have approached the issue of care for orphans and vulnerable children in two ways. First we by examined in a self-critical way the legacy of the Child Social Care Project (CSCP) which Save the Children UK implemented in Rakai between 1991 and 1996. CSCP was hailed as a success in creating a more proactive government probation and welfare service and in taking a preventive approach to children's rights. How much of that success is left after seven years without support? The answer points to lessons for Save the Children UK as an organisation, but also shows what ongoing support mechanisms, if any, existed within the communities.

Second, we examined trends in Rakai since the CSCP ended. What support has been provided by government, donors and NGOs, and what learning issues do the different projects raise?

Our research methods included semi-structured interviews carried out between April and July 2003 with project staff, staff from the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MoGLSD), local government officials, children who had been involved in the original project, child volunteer advocates (CVAs) from the project, probation and social welfare officers (PSWOs) and donor representatives. We also searched secondary sources, and held focus group discussions with community members in a number of different parts of Rakai. Finally, the draft report was discussed at meetings in Rakai and in Kampala and additional information from those incorporated into the final report.

We found that many of the CSCP activities had achieved a lasting impact, mostly, but not always, of a positive nature:

- Some CVAs continued to be active, despite being unsupported, and there is evidence that they retain some confidence of the communities they live in.
- In former project areas, there was a greater confidence in the PSWO too, which suggests that some of the capacity that was built has remained. Continuity of staffing since the project ended was a contributory factor.
- The long-term impact of mediation in property dispute cases involving children and widows was generally positive, but ongoing poverty has eroded some of the benefits of this intervention.

- PSWO handling of cases involving children has declined. This could be a sign of successful handling of cases at community level, or that PSWOs are less active or empowered since project resources were withdrawn. We believe that both factors have played a role.
- Deinstitutionalisation was not well received by the children whom we interviewed. This sample was small and biased, however, reflecting only one home for which records were available. Children's negative feelings were primarily associated with loss of educational opportunities.

For Save the Children UK itself, the following main lessons were drawn:

- As an innovative project with many positive outcomes, CSCP should not have been ended so abruptly. Greater attention should have been paid to developing mechanisms to sustain the activities within Rakai after Save the Children UK exited.
- Replication should also have been pursued more energetically with the MoGLSD, other districts and development partners. A workable system of support for orphans and vulnerable children was established in the early 1990s, and we are still struggling with district-level child care models one decade on. Save the Children UK could have developed its experience instead of shifting into other experiments.
- In general, this experience reflects the dangers of the NGO pilot project approach. It raises the dilemma of how long an NGO remains responsible for supporting communities, especially in sectors like this, which are not financially self-sustaining and where government (which is the primary duty-bearer) has limited capacity.

Based on the experience of Rakai District as a whole in the last decade, the following main findings are described in this study:

- There has been considerable investment in Rakai by government and donors over the past decade. However, issues of capacity, good governance or poor co-ordination, and of lack of equal partnerships between different groups have been frequently cited as barriers to effectiveness and quality of support for vulnerable children and families.
- The distribution of resources within the district and between different departments has not favoured the poor and marginalised. Certain sub-counties, such as Kyalulungira, which are remote, continue to be neglected. The Community Services Department, which could serve as a focus for marginalised groups, is also severely under-resourced.
- Communities express a huge lack of confidence in the police, the courts and the local council system. Part of this can be attributed to lack of awareness, but much of it relates to alleged corruption.
- Sharing and learning across different organisations is weak as there are few effective co-ordination structures, resulting in much institutional knowledge being lost.
- Certain activities, such as information, education and communication, tend to get the lion's share of the resources within aid budgets. This may relate less to effectiveness of the intervention than to the rewards that it brings for local officers.

Our recommendations include the following:

- It is unrealistic to expect community development assistants to carry out in full specialist child care and protection work within communities, in addition to their many other roles (community mobilisation, supporting community-based organisations, etc) as laid out in the Social Development Sector Strategic Investment Plan. We recommend that PSWOs are funded down to county level. They can then provide support to CVAs and other volunteers operating within their own communities.

- We suggest ways in which the activities of community volunteers can be sustained and be more effective, for example, by having them cover a smaller area; by improving supervision; by non-financial rewards, such as certificates for good performance; and by joint training and accreditation with government.
- We recommend revitalisation of the programme of inspecting homes and supporting resettlement of children where appropriate.
- We support a review of the offence of defilement, which is causing much concern at community level.
- Government ministries, donors, districts and NGOs need to work out new strategies for planning, working together and formulating contractual arrangements to increase coverage and quality of services.
- Priority should be given to children on their own and their elderly carers.
- All this requires long-term commitment from government and donors. Poverty alleviation targets will not be met without attention to this 'lost generation'.
- Donors should support efforts to establish good and best practice in community-based work and to cost different models. Currently, it is hard to say which approaches are most cost effective. NGOs should be active in such costing efforts.
- NGOs should rethink their responsibilities towards pilot projects. If something is working, it should be maintained and replicated, either directly or by involving other stakeholders.

We conclude that:

- The Rakai Child Social Care Project was a success and provides a workable model for community-based care and protection.
- The model is sustainable, but only if all parties – government, donors, NGOs and communities – make a serious and long-term commitment.
- Such commitment must not be simply a political and financial one. It also requires improved governance, greater transparency and more effective sharing of experiences (both successes and failures).
- Re-establishing the model in Rakai and nationally should be a priority within the implementation of the new policy and plan for orphans and vulnerable children in 2004. Many of the problems (particularly the number of child-headed households) which led to the development of the project in 1991 are now even more severe than they were a decade ago.

THE DISTRICTS OF UGANDA



1 Introduction

Background to the Rakai Child Social Care Project

Uganda was one of the first countries to be hit by the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and to be open about its problems. Within Uganda, HIV/AIDS was, especially in the late 1980s and early 1990s, associated with the district of Rakai. Rakai District (population 471,000) is situated on the shores of Lake Victoria on Uganda's southern border with Tanzania. In 1979, Rakai was invaded by the Tanzanian army and between 1981–85 suffered from the effects of the war, both of which contributed to the spread of HIV/AIDS. It had experienced little development prior to 1992. The population is predominantly a mix of Baganda agriculturists and pastoralist Banyankole. The local economy is mainly driven by agriculture and 80 per cent of the population are subsistence farmers. Along the lakeshore, fishing is the main livelihood.

The enumeration and needs assessment of orphans in Uganda (Dunn et al. 1991), conducted by Save the Children UK, the Ministry of Relief and Social Rehabilitation and Makerere University revealed that the large proportion of children under 18 orphaned by AIDS in the country had created a critical situation in at least one district. (In Africa, orphans are defined as children who have lost one or both parents.) In Rakai, where 26,000 children, or 12.8 per cent of children under 18 years of age in the district were orphaned, the most AIDS affected sub-county (Kyebe in Kakuuto county) reported that one in five children were without one or both parents. Many children were in the care of guardians who were too old or too young to provide adequate food, clothing, shelter, care and protection. The Dunn study indicated that the needs of these children, and the vulnerable families and communities of which they were a part, were overwhelming traditional family and social care-taking systems.

Between 1991 and 1996, as a result of the Dunn study, Save the Children UK, with funding from Comic Relief, implemented the Rakai Child Social Care Project (CSCP) to address the needs of vulnerable children in Rakai (see Appendix 1 for more details of the project). Implementing partners were the Department of Probation and Social Welfare in the then Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, as well as the Rakai District Administration itself. The project was linked to other policy developments of the time, such as Uganda ratifying the 1989 United Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and the development of a strong de-institutionalisation policy by the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MoGLSD).

In 1995, as the CSCP was drawing to a close, a final report was commissioned to evaluate the project's effectiveness. The results were broadly very positive. Certain specific benefits were noted:

- a shift away from institutional care for orphans in the district
- actions to protect widows' and children's property rights
- support and counselling for marital and family conflicts
- a system for identifying and assisting families in distress
- actions to research and tackle child abuse.

The report also noted that the CSCP was generating interest in other districts, NGOs and ministries, which might lead to the adoption of this model on a wider scale.

The report (*Rakai District Child Social Care Project: Project review 1995/6*, Wamai and Barton 1997) concluded that ‘the CSCP has been instrumental in bringing about a fundamental change in the nature of probation and social work in Rakai’. It noted that Rakai was the only district with a ‘district wide community-based probation and welfare service’ in the whole country, and that it had shifted from a reactive, casework strategy for individual clients to a community-based and proactive service. Recommendations were made about how the project design could be improved, and how the lessons could be disseminated.

It is not the intention of this study to re-evaluate the original CSCP project. However, we should note some wider impacts which were not reflected in the 1996 review:

- By training and example, a number of NGO projects in Rakai have been influenced to adopt or adapt the CSCP experience
- Some other districts did try to replicate some parts of the project, although not usually in a long-lasting or systematic way.
- The Rakai project has been much cited in Save the Children UK publications and policy papers.
- In the wider international network, the Rakai experience is cited in support of community-based approaches to orphans and vulnerable children.

The study rationale

While many interesting questions were addressed by the end-of-project evaluation, some can only be looked at after an interval. These focus particularly on the longer-term impacts of the project on children and communities, and the longevity of any benefits.

In 2003, Save the Children (UK), Uganda launched an institutional memory project to learn lessons from its 44 years of work in Uganda, and the Rakai project was chosen as one case study for retrospection. There was interest within Save the Children UK to see if the benefits documented at the end of the project had lasted. It was also a highly relevant case study for the national orphans and vulnerable children policy which was being developed in 2003, to be implemented starting in 2004 (in compliance with Uganda’s commitments under the UN Declaration of Commitment on AIDS, article 65: www.unaids.org).

By looking at support structures for orphans and vulnerable children in the district since the project ended in 1996, we aim to draw lessons for Save the Children, the Uganda government and other organisations providing support for these marginalised groups. We have used Rakai District as a microcosm from which to generate lessons about successful models as well as common problems and factors which can inhibit success.

Study aim, objectives and questions

This study was carried out between March and September 2003. It aims to inform policy-makers at national and international levels about models of community-based care for children who have lost one or both parents (orphans) and vulnerable children – in particular, models which are sustainable and capable of delivering long-term benefits for children. The objective of the study was to contribute to the debate and understanding of best practices of child protection and support in

communities affected by HIV/AIDS through a detailed analysis of the Child Social Care Project, its partners and other agencies in Rakai. To do this, we focused on two main questions:

- What have been the long-term impacts of the project, both for the beneficiary children and for the staff, volunteers and communities with whom we worked?
- What can we learn from this and other models since implemented in Rakai on effective interventions to protect and support children who have lost one or both parents and other vulnerable children?



The Rakai Child Social Care Project helped to raise awareness and mobilise the community to take care of orphans and other vulnerable children. Camilla Jessel/Save the Children

2 Methods

Methods and Tools

The research, undertaken between April and July 2003, involved semi-structured interviews held with:

- children resettled from institutions
- children whose property rights had been protected in the original project
- community volunteers
- local government officials and Probation and Social Welfare Officers (PSWO)
- officials at the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development
- donor and agency representatives, including Save the Children UK current and former staff.

Focus group discussions (FGDs) were also held with community members (men, women, boys and girls) in three sub-counties with distinct ethnic differences which had experienced different levels of involvement with both the Child Social Care Project (CSCP) and the Department of Community Services. Participants in the FGDs were randomly chosen from their respective communities, and purposive sampling was used to select people who had been involved with the CSCP as children and who were available. Secondary sources such as project documents and other studies that have been carried out in Rakai were also consulted.

Study limitations

Tracing the children who had been involved in the original CSCP project was difficult, given the time lapse and poor records. In the case of children resettled into communities from children's homes, we were only able to gain records from one home, which limits the generalisation of some results. It is likely that the institution in question was one of the better homes, judging from the fact that records were kept. There was no documentation on the other homes.

One of the challenges to the study, leading to a degree of limitation, was the difficulty experienced in obtaining information about the work of other agencies in the district. While most agencies were very open about their work, and even willing to share evaluation reports containing mixed findings, some NGOs have yet to adopt the beneficial principles of openness, transparency and the sharing of lessons learned.

Avoiding the raising of false expectations became a challenge for researchers when returning to villages and meeting men, women and children with whom the CSCP had been in contact six years previously. The most frequent asked question was "Are you coming back?", and although the interviewers were clear in their response, there remained a sense that however much the institutional memory project was explained, our visit was seen as a preliminary to the development of a new project.

3 Findings (1): the long-term impact of the CSCP

As this is not an evaluation of the original Rakai Child Social Care Project (CSCP), we do not give a full history of the project here, but refer readers to Appendix 1, which summarises the development of the CSCP.

This chapter focuses on the findings of this study in respect of some of the main project components, that is:

- tracing and resettlement of children from residential institutions
- resolution of property disputes affecting widows and children
- material support to families with severe needs
- community training in child rights and awareness raising
- capacity building for the district Probation and Social Welfare Officer (PSWO)
- training and support to child volunteer advocates (CVAs).

Children resettled from residential institutions

When Save the Children UK, along with the Uganda government and local partners started the CSCP in 1991, there were more than 300 children in institutions in the district. Concerns were raised in relation to the institutionalisation of the children and the standard of the care received in the residential homes. One project identified poor, in some cases very poor, standards in the homes in relation to sleeping facilities, management, staffing, healthcare, education, finance and record-keeping, and it recommended that the government intervene (Ssekiwanuka 1992). The District Probation and Welfare Department visited all the residential institutions and instructed the managers to return the children to their family homes. During the course of the CSCP, children were resettled from four institutions, in particular:

- Kibaale Children's Home in Kooki County, which was managed by the Full Gospel Church and caring for over 100 children
- The Hope Learning Centre near Kyotera town in Kakuuto County, with more than 50 children
- Kasoga School in Kakuuto Sub-County for orphans, catering for 700 children, with 50 of them boarding
- Daughters of Charity Sabina home built near Kyotera Town in Kakuuto County, accommodating more than 100 children.

A report from the District Administrator described conditions at the Daughters of Charity home as 'appalling'. Kibaale Children's Home was the only home where the process of resettlement was documented. Agreement was reached with Kibaale Children's Home that this process would take time and would evolve as resettlement arrangements could be made. During 1992 and 1993 more than 74 children from Kibaale were resettled. The children who were traced during our follow-up study were those children who were over the age of six during their stay at the residential home, those who would be more likely to remember their stay there, and those resettled within Rakai. The study interviewed 11 children in June 2003 (see Appendix 2 for a list of the children).

The study on the children from Kibaale Children's Home focused on four areas (see Appendix 3 for some more detailed case studies):

- home circumstances before going to the children's home
- memories of the children's home
- memories of the resettlement process
- recollection of their lives since they were resettled.

Home circumstances before moving to the children's home

Of the 11 respondents, nine had lost one or both parents and were living with relatives or friends before joining the children's home. Their families were characterised by a small income base – mainly from cultivation – poor housing and poor access to medical services. A combination of these factors made family homes, for many of the children, an unfavourable environment in which to stay.

“Though I was doing well at school, I did not have a stable source for my school fees and it was at this point that our neighbour told us about a home (Kibaale Children's Home) where we could receive support as orphans.”
(male, 22)

“At home, I did not have money for school fees or clothing, and the conditions at home were generally poor. My mother usually had to borrow money or sell something so as to support us.” (male, 25)

“The living conditions at home were very hard and so when I heard about the home, I received a recommendation letter from the local council and walked all the way to the home, where I was registered.” (male, 29)

Poor living conditions in their parental or guardian's home and lack of educational opportunities were cited as the main reasons for which children were taken to the residential institution. Eight of the interviewed children were referred by somebody who had visited or who was working at the children's home and three were invited by the founder pastor.

“The pastor came to the village looking for children to take to the home. He asked my father if he could take me.”
(male, 22)

Memories of the children's home

The Kibaale Children's Home, in its earlier years under the founder's management, was a sad place, according to the children we spoke to, where children suffered both mental and physical abuse.

“The first location of the home was in Byenkende and here we slept in houses made of mud. On Saturdays we would go to the hill and collect grass on which we slept.” (male, 25)

“The first year at the home was very hard because we would work in the garden for the whole day because we had to work for our food.” (female, 27)

“The sleeping arrangements were bad. Since the home had just started we slept in the same dormitory as the girls, who at times were harassed by the boys.” (male, 23)

“The conditions at the home were unbearable during the time when Pastor Mutebi was running it, so I decided to escape home.” (female, 22)

“I had some sad moments at the children’s home, mainly because I was not in touch with the people at home and so I would speak to one of the cooks who was from my village for consolation.” (male, 22)

After the pastor left the home, missionaries from Canada arrived and conditions at the home improved. The children’s memories of those later times were significantly more positive, and life at the children’s home presented them with positive opportunities. They were able to attend school, received material support including clothes, shoes and bedding and felt that they were able to express themselves as children through play. They also were given the opportunity to watch television at the weekends.

“Generally the situation at the home only started improving when we stopped digging and received material support from the whites.” (female, 27)

Memories of the resettlement process

For all of the children interviewed (who had an average age of 12 at the time of resettlement), the resettlement process was a bad experience.

“I was not given a clear reason why I was being taken back home, I was just informed on that day about this plan.” (male, 18)

“No one sat me down to tell me why I was being taken back home. I heard from my friends that they were going to take back all the children who were not from Kibaale.” (female, 23)

“I was told that they were taking me back home because of the outbreak of measles in the home. The measles outbreak was caused by the overcrowding in the dormitories and about 50 children fell sick.” (male, 25)

The resettlement process was not planned with the children and all the respondents expressed resentment of it. There was no preparation made, either at the children’s home nor at the relative’s home where they were resettled. The general policy of resettlement had been based partly on poor condition but partly on a policy decision in favour of community options. The Department of Probation and Welfare continued to use the home for emergency placements for abandoned children.

Recollection of their lives since they were resettled

The children who were interviewed could not remember any follow up, either by the Probation and Social Welfare or by the staff from the residential institution, after they had been resettled back at home. The Department of Probation and Social Welfare had an agreement with those who were managing the residential children’s homes to provide fuel for follow-up visits. In reality, however, money for fuel was only available sporadically, and the relationship between those who managed the homes and the Department was not conducive to good working arrangements which would facilitate support to the resettled children.

Of the children interviewed, eight had been unable to continue with their education, although three had been able to continue with their studies with the sponsorship of international non-governmental organisations (INGOs). However, for those few children who had their school fees paid – either through the residential children’s home or by other NGOs, the sponsorship eventually stopped.

Three of the 11 respondents said that they were mistreated in the homes where they were resettled.

“Even though living conditions at home were not good, I did not mind because I was used to the hard life in the children’s home.” (male, 25)

“When I came back home, my mother was no longer living there and so this exposed me to mistreatment from my stepmother. My stepmother made sure that I had a lot of work to do or sent me to school without food. I eventually stopped going to school because I had a lot of work at home.” (male, 22)

“I got everything that I needed at the home but I left with no skills to make a living so I failed to continue with my education thereafter. It was hard for me to adjust to this new life where I had to buy my own clothes and look for money to take care of my other needs.” (male, 22)

After the resettlement of the children who were living full time at the Sabina, Kasoga and Hope children’s homes, those three changed their institutional status to boarding and day primary schools. In Rakai in 2003, while there were no residential children’s homes, one family fostering home does exist for abandoned children and other children in distress.

Summary

Several important points emerge from these interviews.

It is clear, at least from this small sample, that the main motivation for entering the children’s homes was economic, and that it was mainly supply-driven, through Pastor Mutebi soliciting for children. In most cases, there were family members who could care for the children, albeit often in difficult circumstances.

It should be recognised that the children’s experiences of resettlement were at best ambivalent. The institution, whatever its problems, was seen as providing educational opportunities, which are highly valued.

Finally, the resettlement process itself cannot be said to have met the international legal framework to ensure the protection of children. The Kibaale children were not prepared for leaving and did not participate in the process for leaving the care of the residential home. Families or guardians in the homes to which they were resettled were often unaware of the children’s impending arrival and there was little or no contact thereafter between the residential home and children’s new home in the community. Concern for those children who remained in the residential homes took priority over the need for follow-up support of the resettled children.

These findings are relevant in the light of the recent growth in residential care for children in Uganda. A recent report on residential care (*Country Report on Children in Residential Care*, Government of Uganda MoGLSD 2003) estimated that there were 4,788 children in 88 residential children’s

homes in 2003, compared to 2,882 in 75 children's institutions in 1998. The report suggests the need for a revitalised programme to:

- prevent children entering residential care where community alternatives exist
- maintain standards in residential children's homes
- manage the process of returning children to their communities in an acceptable manner
- follow-up and support children who have been resettled
- increase awareness of children's rights and of the government policy of institutionalisation as a last resort.

Whether or not this happens will depend on the recently appointed Inspector of Homes and the districts having commitment to this government policy and also on financial resources.

Long-term impact of property dispute resolution

The infringement of rights related to property inheritance has become an issue for women's and child rights practitioners throughout Africa, particularly since the beginning of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The right to inheritance of the family and the husband's property for widows and children has been enshrined in Ugandan law for some years. It was confirmed in 1995 under a constitutional amendment and detailed further in the Children's Statute in 1996. However, under customary law and practice and the tribal influence of the Buganda (and a number of other ethnic groups), issues of inheritance and disposal of property (including the 'disposal' of widows and orphans themselves, who are seen as part of the estate) are decided by family and clan members at the last funeral rites, which take place up to a year after burial. On a father's death his estate devolves to his eldest son or his eldest son's male descendent. A female descendent does not inherit, although she may claim her legitimate share as a family member.

The Rakai CSCP project developed a preventive approach to the issue of inheritance. It focused on three areas of intervention:

- community sensitisation with local council (LCs) and community decision-makers on child rights and the laws of succession
- training of volunteers including NGO and community-based organisation (CBO) staff at parish level in child rights, including child protection
- the promotion of will making.

Since the CSCP in Rakai District began in April 1991, more than 900 property disputes have been referred to county social workers and LC officials. The study followed up a random selection of cases of property disputes dealt with by the Probation and Social Welfare office in two counties and involving different ethnic groups.

The two county social work offices in Kyotera and Kabula were chosen for this part of the study on account of their different ethnic populations – cultivators and pastoralists, respectively.

Consideration was also given to the history of the two county offices: while the Kyotera office had an experienced, qualified county social worker who had remained in post since 1991, the Kabula office had experienced several staff changes. Twenty-two cases were studied in detail (see Appendix 4 for their details and Appendix 5 for some case studies).

The questionnaire focused on three areas:

- home circumstances before the property dispute
- process of property dispute
- home circumstances after property dispute.

Home circumstances before the property dispute

Twenty of the respondents interviewed said that prior to the dispute they had supportive families who provided them with all the basics such as clothing, food and shelter. Although these families could generally be regarded as poor, the presence of one or both parents had created stability in the home and provided for the children within the resources available. None of the families studied had had any external support from relatives, CBOs or NGOs prior to the dispute. All depended on cultivation and livestock as sources of income.

Before the property dispute, the respondents said that they had been attending school and were receiving most of the material support they needed for their studies. Problems started when either one of their parents became ill or their father took another wife.

Process of property dispute

Causes

Of the 22 respondents, disputes were the result of the death of the father (16 cases) or both parents (four cases). There was one case where the dispute was caused by the entry of a new wife and another case where a father had developed an alcohol problem. The disputes involved family property of land, the family home, other buildings, household items, animals and money.

All the respondents remembered their earlier childhoods being marked by emotional problems, feelings of helplessness and being unable to influence the turn of events. Most had not only suffered the death of a parent but were subsequently subjected to their relatives fighting over the property.

“The property dispute started when my Dad tried to take away land from my mother and give it to another woman.” (male, 16)

“My father’s relatives claimed that my mother was a witch and so they wanted her to leave home. They destroyed our house as a means of chasing her away.” (male, 14)

The respondents described the effect of the dispute on their studies and in some cases children had to drop out of school because of lack of school fees. They also mentioned a decline in the general well-being at home illustrated by poor adult care and support, a shortage of essential commodities (such as salt, sugar, soap and food), and the fabric of their house deteriorating around them. On a personal level, the children remembered that their responses involved crying, talking to friends or relatives, positive self-talk, and talking to their community leaders, LCs and the county PSWO.

In the 12 cases where the dispute was as a result of a death in the family, nine arose because parents had failed to write a will. The interviewees explained that there was a great reluctance on the part of their parents to write a will, as it was seen as being akin to ‘signing one’s own death sentence’.

“My father died and left us without any source of income and support. I was not doing well at school and we had to share the I roomed house with my mother, sisters and brothers.” (male, 18)

“After the death of my father, we had to go and stay with an uncle who mistreated me. He did not allow me to go to school and instead sent me to look after the goats.” (male, 17)

“Though I was getting all I needed from my parents, I was saddened by the frequent quarrels between my parents.” (female, 16)

“After the death of my father the living conditions become poor and we all had to work as porters in exchange for food.” (male, 14)

How the dispute was handled

In three cases, the disputes were first handled by the clan heads. Ten cases were taken straight to the LCs, while nine were taken to the PSWO. All the cases ended up at the county PSWO office. Of all the avenues followed, 20 respondents felt that the PSWOs were more effective at dealing with the disputes as they regarded the LCs and the clan leaders as more likely to be corrupted.

“I felt so bad when my uncle chased us away from the home, because it was the only place that I was used to living in. My mother had also planted beans expecting to buy a school uniform from the proceeds.” (female, 16)

“The County Probation and Welfare Officer was very helpful in guiding us through any legal proceedings. My uncle also feared her so much which worked for our own good.” (male, 24)

Home circumstances after the property dispute

In most of the cases, disputed property was either shared by the individuals involved in the dispute or given to the established rightful owner. For most of the families, their standard of living was improved by the settlement of the dispute. They were able to get back property such as land, houses, businesses and household items, all of which served as major sources of income. These families could also afford medical services, following a resolving of the dispute and to educate at least some of those children who were still at school. Although there was little co-operation between the family members involved in the dispute, the settlement reduced conflict in these families once ownership of the property was defined.

“There has been a great change at home since the property dispute was settled. It is the money from the property that has enabled me to educate my brothers and sisters.” (male, 24)

“After the warning from the Probation and Welfare Officer not to sell any more land, Dad changed a lot. He spent most of the nights in and was at peace with everyone at home.” (female, 22)

While the property rights of the children and their families may have been protected, the poverty that continues to affect most Ugandan households reduces the material improvements that might otherwise have been made. Most of these families remain unable to access health services regularly, to improve their housing, support children beyond the primary level of education, and employ modern methods of farming as a means to improving yields.

Property dispute case study: Abu

My name is Abu and I live in Kyotera Town. My mother died in 1989 and my father in 1992. I was then left in the hands of my uncle who was given the responsibility to look after us and take care of the property that my father had left. My father left property that included a minibus, poultry farm, a shop, a pick-up truck and houses for rent. These brought in money which was used to support our education and pay for our needs at home.

The property dispute started when my uncle started selling off some of the property that my father left us. He also neglected our needs. He took possession of all the property and at one point put a padlock on my room saying he no longer wanted me to stay in the house. I cannot express the pain and sadness I felt in my heart because we were mistreated beyond any acceptable measure.

It was because of this extreme oppression from my uncle that I decided to go and report to the LCs. However, my uncle did not appear before the LC court because he had bribed them. The LCs also refused to give back to me some documents related to the property that I had kept with them. Since our uncle is a Moslem leader we then decided to go to the Moslem leaders, whom we hoped would put pressure on our uncle to give us back our property. As much as they sided with us, they were not able to persuade him. It was at this point we decided to go to the probation officer at the county headquarters.

The probation officer called us for meetings and instructed my uncle to give back our property. We also had to go the court in Masaka so as to obtain letters of administration. The probation officer was so helpful in guiding us through the legal proceedings and pressuring my uncle to give back our property. We received much more help from the probation officer, which is why I no longer believe in the LC system of solving problems. I feel that I wasted time talking taking this case to them.

After the dispute ended I came back to the house that belonged to my father and became the caretaker of all the property and with the responsibility of looking after my siblings. It is the income from the property that saw me through secondary school and supported all those under me. It has not been easy taking charge of all the property but we now have full control over our property. I have been able to acquire for myself a plot of land in Kyotera town, buy ten cows and obtain a managerial job with a petrol station.

I plan to go back to school and re-sit my S.6 exams. I also want to expand my business. If the property dispute had not taken place, I would have completed my studies and I would be better off financially. In all this, I regret my fathers failing to write a will because it would have saved us from all these conflicts.

Summary

It appears from these interviews that the focus of the Rakai CSCP on resolving property disputes affecting children and widows has been beneficial in the longer term. Although young adults interviewed had faced many problems as children, not all of which were resolved by the intervention, the property dispute intervention had, overall, reduced family tensions and improved the material circumstances of the family.

It is also significant that Probation and Social Welfare staff appear now to enjoy more confidence, and are seen as less corruptible than the LCs, which is perhaps a tribute to the capacity building of the CSCP, as well as to the individual staff concerned. This leads into a discussion of the work of the PSWOs in the next section.

The work of the Probation and Social Welfare staff in Rakai

Prior to the CSCP, Rakai had one PSWO, based in the district headquarters. As part of the project, three assistant PSWOs at county level were added, along with one probation assistant in Kyebe sub-county on the lakeshore, whose remit it was to meet the needs of the fishing community. One of the main goals of the CSCP, and one of its recorded achievements by 1996, was to strengthen the PSWO as a proactive defender of children's rights throughout the district. To what extent have these gains been maintained since the end of Save the Children UK support?

There are many ways of trying to answer that question. We focused here on the following questions, as indicators of effectiveness:

- continuity of PSWO staffing over the years
- workloads of the Probation and Social Welfare staff
- confidence expressed in them by members of the community (see community responses below, which throw light on this issue).

Continuity of PSWO staffing

Since 1996, the project manager has been promoted to Principal Probation Welfare Officer and Co-ordinator of Community Services. The Kooki County Probation Officer was promoted to acting Senior Probation and Welfare Officer, based at district headquarters. His replacement at Kooki County was one of the Community Development Assistants. A similar change took place in Kakuuto County and in Kabula County where the Assistant PSWO was sponsored by the project to attend social work studies at Nsamizi College. The Kyotera County Probation Officer remained in her post. Staff members in various posts remained the same between 1997 and 2002, with the addition of the original Assistant Probation Officer in Kabula County, who in 2003 returned to Rakai from a social work degree course at Makerere University.

In 1997 Community Development Assistants (CDAs) were trained by the MoGLSD in child rights and protection, which enabled the Department to review their role at the sub-county level. Following decentralisation and the withdrawal of project funding, the District Administration was unable to afford to replace the PSWOs at county level and the Department of Community Services

was forced to reorganise in order to respond to the increasing demands of child protection and welfare. CDAs were recruited for vacancies at sub-county level and in two towns in Rakai District, and also replaced the Probation and Social Welfare Officers in Kooki and Kabula Counties. Since the CSCP closed in 1997, only one PSWO remains at county level. One acting Senior PSWO and the Principal Probation Welfare Officer remain at district headquarters.

Nationally, the MoGLSD has adopted plans under the Social Development Sector Strategic Investment Plan (SDSSIP) sector review to employ two community development workers at sub-county level. One of their many responsibilities will be social protection. However, it remains to be seen how effective they can be in defending the rights of vulnerable children, because of the following:

- they will have very widespread responsibilities (see Table 1), many of them perceived to be a higher priority than the welfare of children
- although the Programme for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) is funding their salaries for the first five years, it is not clear where funding will come for salaries thereafter.
- their training in children's issues will be minimal.

Summary

One of this study's positive findings is that all the local people who worked on the CSCP are still active within Rakai, and so the expertise that they gained has not been lost.

In 1991, all the staff recruited for the project were from outside Rakai District with the exception of the PSWO based at Kasaali, Kyotera County. The staff were attracted to Rakai by both the challenge of addressing the impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic and also the promise of additional monies through the topping-up of salaries. The staff, some of whom have since gained higher qualifications, have continued to work in the district and have ensured that elements of the project have been sustained. Four of the original staff members from 1991 are still in their posts; the Community Services Co-ordinator, Acting Senior Probation and Social Welfare officer, and two county probation officers. The strength of the staff group has ameliorated the worst of the post-project years when all the district departments, including Community Services, were cut off by both central government and the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) on account of alleged financial misappropriation on the part of the District Administration.

A worrying development is the national policy decision to switch from increasing qualified social work staff at sub-district level, to a generic development worker who is expected to be mobilising for health one day, supporting the promotion of new agricultural techniques the next, and handling child abuse cases on the third. The risk is that the community development assistants (CDAs), if indeed they materialise in all sub-counties, will respond to whichever programmes control the greatest resources, which is unlikely to be programmes supporting vulnerable children.

Fortunately, in Rakai, there is some recognition of this problem, and the Department of Community Services intends to nominate one CDA to take responsibility for child care and protection on a county level, in recognition of the specialist nature of child protection issues and the legal requirements involved, including that of defending the rights of individual children in court.

Table 1 Duties of a Community Development Assistant

Community mobilisation and empowerment

Cross-cutting function that mandates the community development worker (CDW) to mobilise communities to participate in the development programmes of all the sectors (including health, water education, agriculture, and roads).

Facilitation of participatory planning

The MoGLSD has identified the CDWs as key facilitators of the planning process at sub-county level. CDWs assist communities from village to parish to sub-counties to assess and analyse socio-economic situation, identify and prioritise their needs and develop investment/action plans based on informed decisions.

Facilitation of community justice, law and order

Play an important part in conciliation negotiation, mediation and arbitration of civil disputes at lower government level

Keep records of such civil disputes and create a body of information at sub-county level about justice related issued such as abuses reported civil cases, etc.

Act as a probation officer and/or report to the probation officer at district level

Management of community-based information

Includes collection, processing and dissemination of community information managing the sub-county data bank. Maintaining registers etc.

Promotion of culture

Organise and support initiatives in the areas of culture and recreation

Support the community to adopt progressive cultural practices in different spheres of life

Social protection

Ensure vulnerable groups get access to social services and other development opportunities

Gender mainstreaming

Mainstreaming gender issues and concerns in all sector activities undertaken at community level

Labour and employment

Follow up on labour related issues including child labour, occupational health and safety, and labour intensive public works

NGOs/CBOS private sector interface

Support and guide CBOs/NGOs to be responsive to the community's priority needs ensure compliance with government development programmes and policies

Ref: Planning Guidelines for Community Development Workers Conditional Grant 2002 MOGLSD

Casework of the PSWO staff

The researchers undertook an analysis of the caseloads of the PWSO in Kabula and Kyotera offices. The records in Kabula were found to be unreliable. In Kyotera, the number of reported cases of

rights disputes handled by the Kyotera PSWO declined from 184 in 1995 to 107 in 2002. The largest categories were property disputes involving children and failure of fathers to pay maintenance (see Table 2).

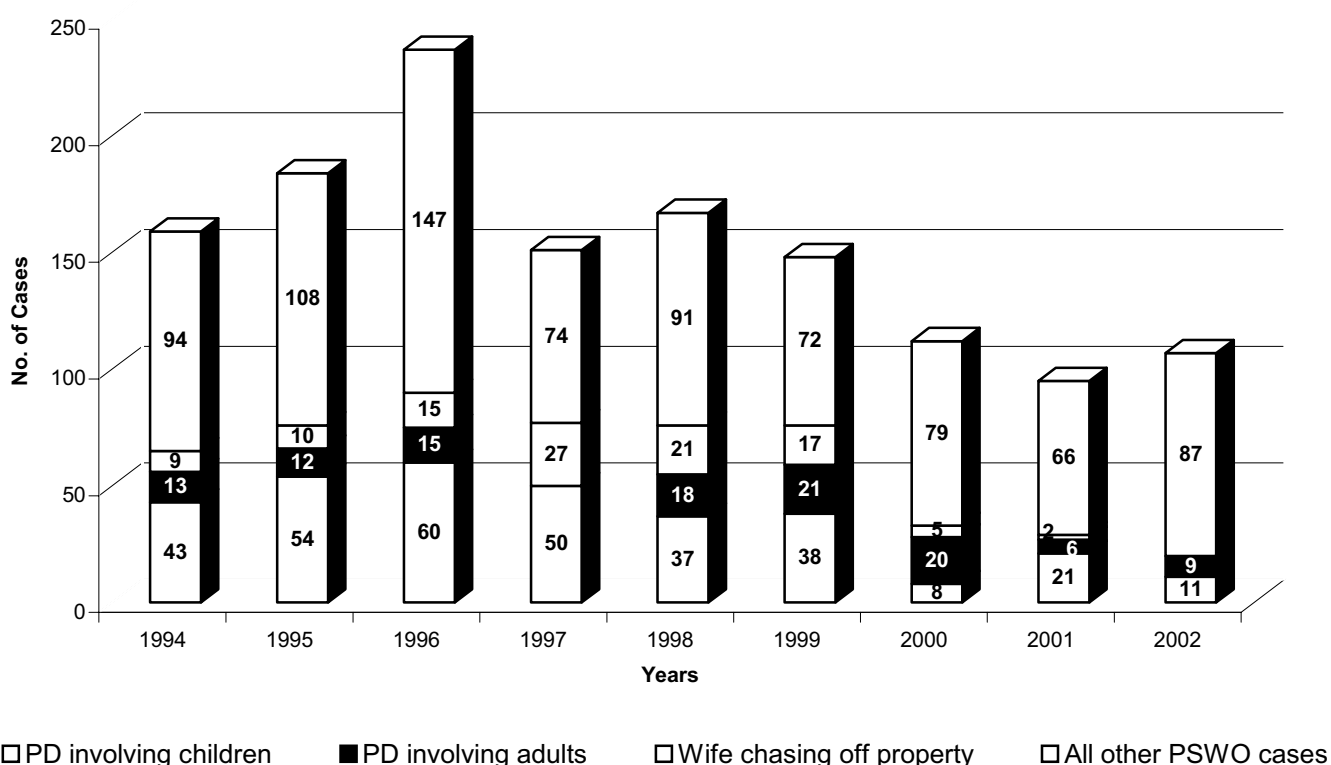
Table 2: Cases handled by the Kyotera Probation and Social Welfare Office between 1994 and 2002

No	Cases	Years								
		1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
1	Father failing to maintain	34	44	73	33	39	34	26	32	43
2	Mother failing to maintain	3	5	11	9	9	7	5	5	8
3	Fostering	6		2			1			1
4	Paternity						1			
5	Child custody	12	16	13	5	5		11	2	4
6	Mistreatment (wife)	5				8		1		1
7	Domestic violence (wife)	5	8	9	4	7	6	2		2
8	Rape	1								
9	Child assault (beating)	3		4		1	1	2		
10	Grandmother assault (beating)		1							
11	Child abduction (relatives)	2	4	3	1			7	1	
12	Child abandonment	1	1	1	1	6	1			3
13	Defilement* (forced)	1		1			1	1		1
14	Defilement (loved)									
15	Teenage pregnancy	1	5	1	3	5	2	4	5	3
16	Elopement (under 18)	1		1		1	2	1		
17	Child out of parental control	2	4		2					
18	Property disputes involving children	43	54	60	50	37	38	8	21	11
19	Property disputes (adults)	13	12	15		18	21	20	6	9
20	Wife chasing (off property)**	9	10	15	27	21	17	5	2	
21	Destitute (material support)	6	7	1	3		1	2		1
22	Disability					2				
23	Marital problems	11	13	15	13	5	14	17	21	9
24	Education (seeking funds)			4		3				2
	Total	159	184	237	151	167	148	112	95	107

* Defilement is a capital offence, defined as having sex with a girl under the age of 18, whether consensual or not.

** Wife chasing off property is a local term, which refers to property grabbing by a dead husband's family, often leaving the widow and children with nothing.

Graph 1: Probation and Social Welfare Office caseload in Kyotera Country involving property disputes (PDs)



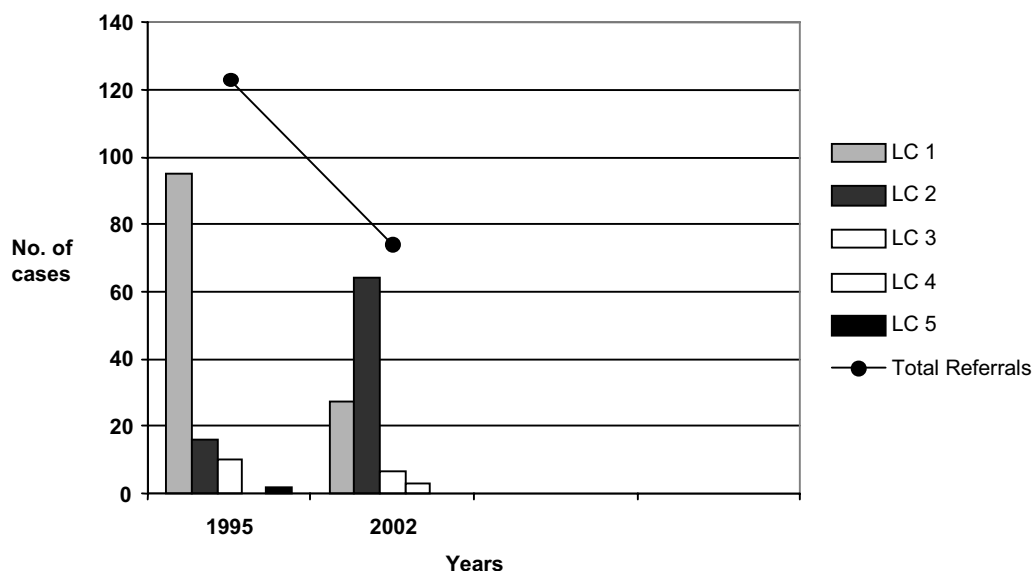
The actual number of reported property disputes involving children peaks with the end of the project (1996) and has declined ever since. The overall caseload of the PSWO has also followed this trend. However, the proportion of the PWSO caseload involving child property disputes remained fairly stable, at around 27 per cent from 1994 through 1999, as shown in Graph 1.

This decline in overall caseload can clearly be interpreted in a number of ways. Positively, it could be related to the extensive sensitisation of the community on child rights and the training by the Probation and Social Welfare Department of LCs and vice-chairs responsible for children’s affairs. Cases which would have come to the PSWO are either being prevented altogether or are being handled by the communities themselves or LCs. Alternatively, it could be a sign of lack of awareness or confidence, or of the difficulty of reaching the PSWO. For example, the policy that was implemented in 1997 requiring LCs to write referral letters could be deterring people, or it could be known that the PSWO lacks the resources to handle cases effectively. According to the former project manager, the lack of resources for fuel has severely reduced the ability of the PSWOs to handle cases.

“They are unable to move out to deal with cases: they are desk officers again.”(Rakai key informant)

The proportion of PSWO cases referred by LCs remained relatively constant between 1995 and 2002. The LCs referred about 66 per cent of the overall PSWO caseload.

Graph 2: Referrals from the local councils to Probation and Social Welfare Office for two years 1995 and 2002 in Kyotera County



LCs continued to refer cases between 1995 and 2002. After community sensitisation and training on the Children’s Statute in 1998, the number of referrals increased from LC2 level and a decreased from LC1.

Women were far more likely than men to report cases of property disputes, mainly because of the patrilineal system of descent. Those disputes characteristically involved land, the family home, the husband’s property and businesses.

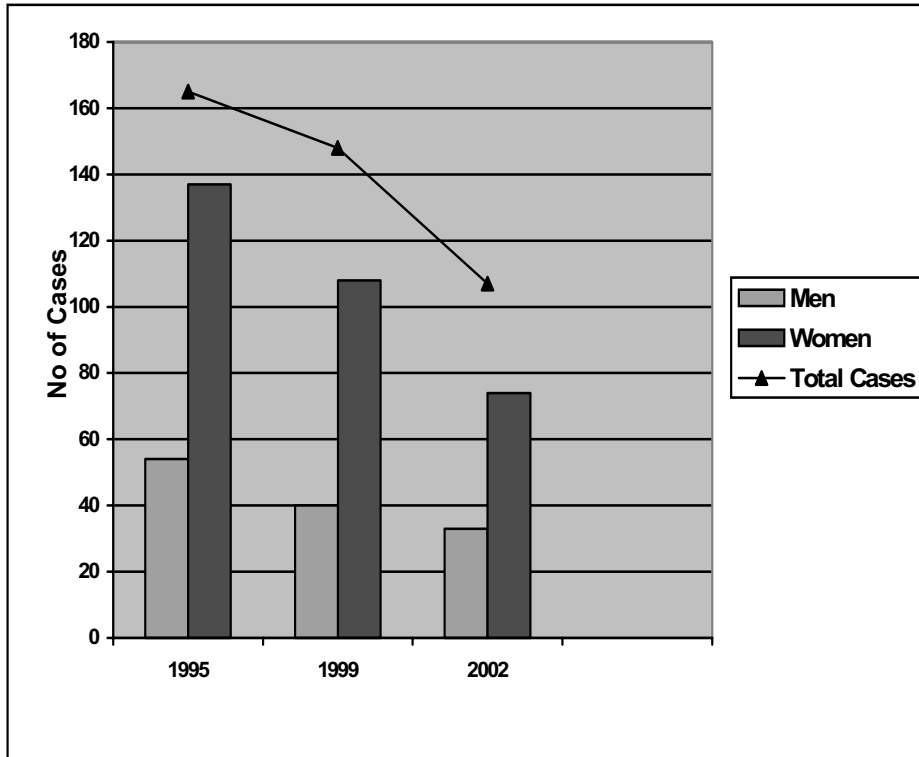
One category which is surprisingly low in Kyotera is ‘defilement’, defined in Uganda as having sex with a girl under the age of 18, whether consensual or not. This is a capital offence. Cases are presumably being handled by communities and LCs, rather than being referred to the police, which they should be, given that defilement is a capital offence. Key informants suggested that orphans are more likely to be both victims and perpetrators of defilement, which is perhaps symptomatic of their relative lack of both protection and socialisation.

“In court the majority of those defiled girls are orphans, as are the defendants.” (Probation Welfare Officer Masaka, District)

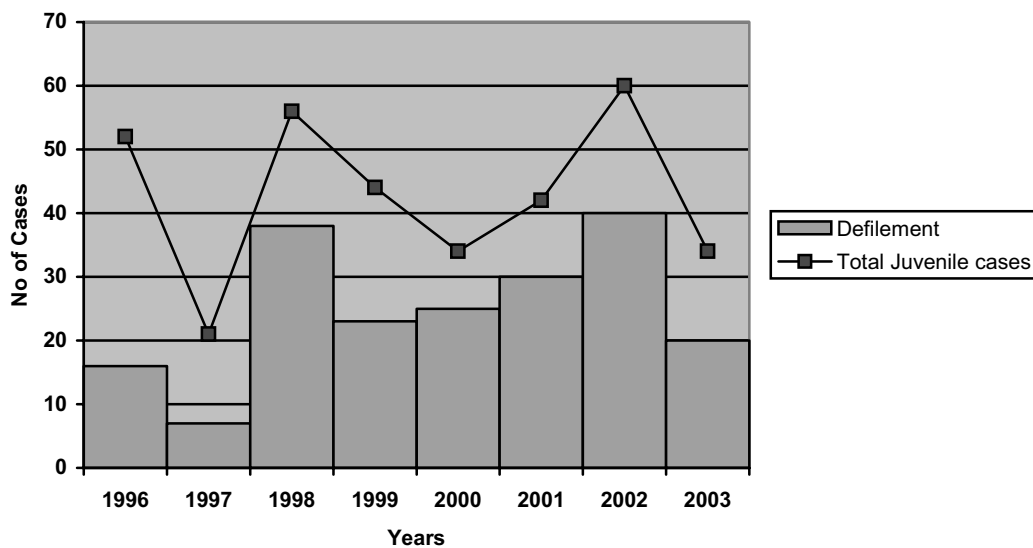
The offence of defilement, in that it only applies to boys and fails to distinguish between consensual sex and rape, can be regarded as child abuse in itself. It accounts for a large proportion of all juvenile cases in conflict with the law in areas where there are reliable statistics (see, for example, Graph 4, with data from neighbouring Masaka district).

“Sending a schoolboy to Luzira for seven years is like sending them to their grave.” (Probation Welfare Officer)

Graph 3: Referrals by gender for the years 1995 to 2002 in Kyotera County



Graph 4: Number of defilement cases of the Probation and Social Welfare Office 1996–2003 Masaka District



Note: cases to June 2003

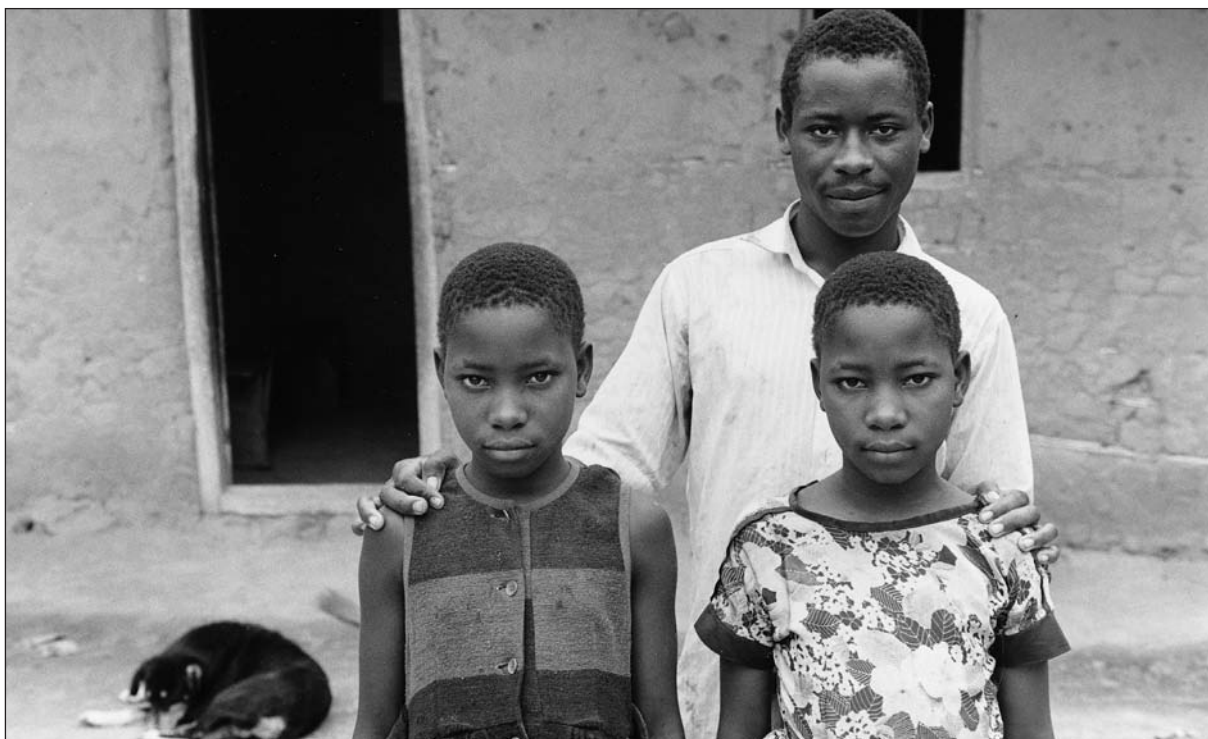
Summary

In general, PSWO casework has declined over the period since 1996, and this is likely to be linked to a number of factors, including:

- increased awareness by communities and LCs of ways of handling cases
- barriers to accessing the PSWO – less facilitation for PSWOs, and the requirement for referral letters
- decline in activities by CVAs, who were previously referring cases (see below)
- limited ability of PSWOs to handle cases, now that funds from transport are lacking.

Handling of cases by communities and LCs can be positive or not, depending on the way in which cases are handled. In principle, the Children's Statute supports LCs and communities in resolving minor disputes. Communities expressed frustration, however, where cases are referred to LCs and/or the police, but the accused bribes his or her way out of any charges.

Defilement continues to be controversial. On one hand, there is anxiety about young girls being abused by older men. On the other, many young men are being made to suffer unfairly (or their sexual activities used to extort money from their families). Changes to the law in relation to the offence of defilement would not only address this inequity, but would also free up the PSWO staff to deal with 'real' cases of child abuse.



Children like Kayima Paul, Babirye Mary and Nakato Mary, orphans living alone in Rakai District, received support from a child volunteer advocate trained by Save the Children UK during the time of the Rakai CSCP.
Rob Cousins/Save the Children

Role of child volunteer advocates

Twenty-nine child volunteer advocates (CVAs) (24 men and five women) were trained by Save the Children UK in 1993 from the four counties of Rakai District: Kyotera, Kooki, Kakuto and Kabula. The primary role of the CVAs was to assist the Probation and Social Welfare staff in identifying and reporting children in need of care and protection. CVAs were also expected to advocate for the rights of children in the community through sensitisation and to collaborate with LCs in settling individual cases of property disputes for women and children. In addition, they were expected to report on child abuse. The CVAs also worked with the LCs, police and NGOs in making referrals where necessary.

As part of this study, four CVAs were interviewed to find out how they had fared in the interim period and how they saw their own effectiveness in their role as paralegal volunteers. The CVAs reported that they continue to carry out their commitments although they are less involved in this role than they were during and immediately after the project period. They now depend on visiting individual homes as a method of sensitising people about the rights of children. They stated that they continue to work on cases involving children and those involving family disputes. They attributed the slump in their work to their lack of ability to buy stationery as well as the lack of financial assistance to enable them to travel to different areas. They also said that their inability to materially support vulnerable children had worked against them. They are no longer able to meet the expectations of their service users. They themselves have received no financial or material support from any source, as of the end of the project.

The CVAs said that the children in their areas have, however, learned to trust them because they treat the children well, unlike the police and the LCs.

“Many children also come to us with stories of abuse and mistreatment, a sign that they trust us.” (Focus group discussion with CVAs)

The group said that they worked most frequently with cases involving property disputes, as well as maintenance cases, domestic violence and interestingly, men preventing their wives or partners from working, child abuse, sexual abuse and defilement, and pregnancies in under-18-year-olds. The group went on to say that most of these cases involving conflict are settled among the parties concerned. Where they remain unsettled, they are handled by the LCs or referred to either the probation officer or the police.

The group felt that there was a real future for paralegals at community level but emphasised that their work needs the backing of strong and effective sensitisation strategies. They also felt strongly that they should be better resourced in terms of funds for such minimum requirements as transport, education materials and equipment. Further still, they stated that it is important that paralegals have clear networking mechanisms involving the police, probation office and the courts.

Key district informants suggested that the CVAs have retained a good status in their communities and that they form a pool of skilled people to assist with other government initiatives, such as the functional adult literacy programme.

Summary

Despite getting no support since the end of the project, the CVAs appear to continue to play a role, albeit a much-diminished one, in raising children's issues and helping to resolve family conflicts. Personal commitment appears to be the main factor motivating those individuals who are active. This suggests that with some minimum support and supervision, community volunteers could be an effective resource for OVC work nationally.

Community awareness and responses to child protection issues

This section reviews the background of child rights and protection work in Rakai, including community definitions of child abuse and neglect. The section reports on the results of focus group discussions with men, women and children from the three sub-counties of Kyalulungira, Kabula and Kyotera concerning the role of the community, civil society and government in the prevention of child rights abuses. These three sub-counties were chosen for the study on account of their distinct ethnic differences, their location and different levels of involvement with both the Rakai Child Social Care project and the Department of Community Services.

By comparing areas where the project had been active (Kasaali) with areas where there was no NGO involvement (Kyalulungira) and with areas where other NGOs have been active (Kinuuka), we aimed to get some indication of how the CSCP had affected community attitudes.

Introduction

Community sensitisation on child rights and protection was a main activity of the CSCP. Between 1991 and 1996, 1,716 LC meetings at various levels, and 239 community meetings were held with the heads of clans, elders in the community, guardians and children who had lost one or both parents. These meetings in the main addressed issues related to the rights of children and widows, children's property rights, general child welfare and the role of the PSWO department. The meetings supported the co-ordination with other collaborative agencies such as the LCs, clans and NGOs/CBOs. Meetings were also held with community-based organisations (CBOs) involved in child care.

Since the project finished in 1997, the number of community sensitisation meetings has been cut back due to lack of finance. This also had an adverse effect on the provision of community development assistant (CDA) and PSWO allowances and fuel for transport, on which they depended. County PSWOs and CDAs have since found it difficult to travel within the district or beyond unless their work has been combined with that of another department, travelling to the same destination.

Since the implementation strategy of the Children's Statute in 1998 when LCs and key community leaders were trained at county level and subsequently at sub-county level, few community decision-makers have been trained aside from NGO staff. Fifteen out of 26 sub-counties were trained before funding was withdrawn.

Table 3: Description of the communities involved in the focus group discussions

Kasaali Sub county Kyotera County	Kyalulangira Sub county Kooki County	Kinuuka Sub county Kabula County
Population 22,771	Population 30,769	Population 7,212
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Near Kyotera town and Main road to Tanzania - Mixed community, mainly Baganda cultivators - Has CVAs working in the area - PSWO at county level <p>Good access to government services NGOs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - World Vision – Concern - Orphan community-based organisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Remote - Mainly migrants (Bakiga, Bahima, and Banyarwanda) - No CVAs working in the area - CDA at Save the Children headquarters <p>Poor access to education and health Services NGOs: Medecins du Monde Health of the Nations LWF RACA</p>	<p>Near Lyontonde Mainly cattle-keepers /pastoralists No CVAs working in the area CDA at county headquarters</p> <p>Reasonable access to education and health services NGOs : Lutheran World Federation Kitovu Mobile</p>

Findings

Current problems

Respondents in the three communities said that people are now depending less on their extended families for survival and development, and are taking care of their needs with their own resources. The high poverty levels in most households dictate unfavourable living conditions for the children. As a result, many of these children leave home looking for work and are in turn vulnerable to being exploited or physically abused.

“When a child becomes 12, he may go looking for work to look after cows because this is what he has seen the father doing and so they both remain casual labourers. The lack of development in this area has also affected the children because they can’t receive any support from their families.” (FGD Men, Kyalulangira sub-county)

“What makes me sad is watching my friends go to school while I have to work.” (Boys FGD, Kasali)

In all three communities, traditional values of caring for children have been eroded by poverty, HIV/AIDS, and the breakdown of the communal responsibility of raising children. There were three categories of children in particular who were affected by HIV/AIDS: those who care for parents and/or relatives who have AIDS; those who have lost their parents because of AIDS; and

those who are born with HIV. Children in these circumstances spend a lot of time at home looking after sick relatives.

Children in these families are also often unprepared to face the death of their parents, as parents either do not disclose their HIV status to their children or are in fact unaware themselves of their status, having not been tested.

“How can we prepare for our children when we do not know our HIV status.” (FGD Women, Kyalulangira)

The people of Kyalulangira are particularly disadvantaged. They live in an isolated part of Rakai and have little access to health services. Voluntary counselling and testing services are not yet available, so for chronically sick women and men, discussions with their children about the cause of their illness and the possible consequences to the family are unlikely to happen. Children are often ill-prepared to deal with the grief brought on by the death of their parents and the aftermath. They often lack the practical knowledge of how to run a home on their own. As well as struggling to live on their own, children are often subject to human rights abuses with no guardian to support them.

In all three sub-counties, but particularly in Kyalulangira, the focus groups were also concerned about the rights of the children to access education, health and shelter.

“Children do not live happy and free lives because they can't go to school. Generally there is no way that the government has supported them and enabled them to be proud of being Ugandan.” (FGD men, Kyalulangira sub-county)

“The children of this community have only a primary school 1 to 3 grades. The nearest school beyond primary three is too far to walk.” (FGD women, Kyalulangira County)

“No matter what you provide for the child, without education you are wasting your time.” (FGD men, Kyalulangira)

“Many pregnant women abort because of malaria. Out of ten women, five will abort or lose their babies at birth.” (FGD men, Kyalulangira sub-county)

“Many children die in this place because of malaria. I think that we are producing children for nothing. I do not see why we should go on producing children who are, after all, going to be killed by malaria.” (FGD men, Kyalulangira sub-county)

“There may be people who have AIDS but we can't tell because we don't have testing facilities in the area. For most cases we assume it is malaria.” (FGD Kyalulangira)

“There is no hospital in this place, the nearest health unit is 15kms away. Many times we have to carry sick people up to this point and then look for a car to take him/her to Rakai Hospital.” (FGD men, Kyalulangira)

Responses to child abuse issues

The actions of the three communities to address child rights and tackle protection abuses depended on their level of awareness on the rights of children, the severity of the abuse experienced by

children and the level of commitment to address it by the related authorities. Cases of stealing, fighting, defilement, and teenage pregnancies (consensual sex cases) are normally settled by the families involved. This is seen by many as the most appropriate method, because parents of the abused child may be able to get material compensation, and also avoid the costs of a court proceeding. Knowledge of how the courts work, the LCs responsibilities (particularly the vice-chairs of local councils 1, 2 and 3) are other factors in determining the way child abuse cases are handled at community level.

In Kasaali sub-county there is a greater awareness of child rights. The focus groups there reported that, depending on the severity of the case, a greater number of parents (compared to other communities) insist on having child abuse cases dealt with by the CVAs, LCs, police or probation office.

In Kinuuka sub-county, reporting of child abuse cases is shunned and those who do report are ridiculed, as emphasised by the following statement from respondents.

“In our community it is only that parent with a big head who will go and report a defilement or teenage pregnancy case to the police. We call that big headedness because he/she can’t sit down and try to solve the problem by discussing with the one who has defiled.” (FGD men, Kinuuka sub-county)

In Kinuuka sub-county, the police and court system is also avoided because of the high costs that are involved in terms of court fees, police charges (unofficial) and transport costs.

“Many of us cannot take a case to the police if we know that it will end up in court because we fear the courts and all the procedures associated with them.” (FGD men, Kinuuka sub-county)

“In addition to the court charges, (LC 1, LC 2 and LC 3 courts charge 2,500, 3,000 and 5,000 respectively) one should also be ready to pay between 5,000 and 10,000 [from 2.5 to 5 US dollars] at the police station for his/her case to be attended to.” (FGD women, Kinuuka sub-county)

In Kyalulangira there has been little sensitisation about the rights of the child, which partly explains the low response of the community to the needs of vulnerable children.

“There is no-one sensitising people in this area on the rights of children. You are the first people to come here to talk about the general condition of children in the area.” (FGD women, Kyalulangira sub-county)

Satisfaction with official systems for responding to child abuse

In all three sub-counties, there were complaints about the probity of the police and courts.

“You may take somebody to court expecting that he will be imprisoned but he may even get home before you do because he has bribed the judge. Nobody with money can be imprisoned because he can bribe his way out.” (FGD men, Kasaali sub-county)

“In most cases the person that has abused your child can go free if he has the money to bribe the police. If not, the police will ask for money to deal with your case.” (FGD men, Kinuuka sub-county)

“The other problem is that we people in the village have no understanding of the law so the police can take advantage of us and extort money from us.” (FGD women, Kyalulungira sub-county)

Respondents expressed considerable dissatisfaction with the present system for dealing with child abuse and neglect cases, in particular with the role of the LCs, police and magistrates courts. The children of Kinuuka sub-county felt there were no individuals working with children in their area whom they could trust. However, the level of awareness of child rights at community level in Kasaali and a strong Probation and Social Welfare Officer provided a balance to an otherwise corrupt system. Children in the Kasaali Save the Children focus group said they trusted the CVAs that work in their area.

Summary

The way that a community responds to children who have lost one or more parents and to other vulnerable children depend to a great deal on the socio-economic situation, the availability of external support and its awareness of child rights and protection. Children need to feel that the communities they live in are safe, and that individual rights abuses will be dealt with competently. However, child rights depend not only on the way individual cases of abuse are dealt with under the justice system, but also on the way communities govern themselves and on the quality of government services in health, education and other community services.

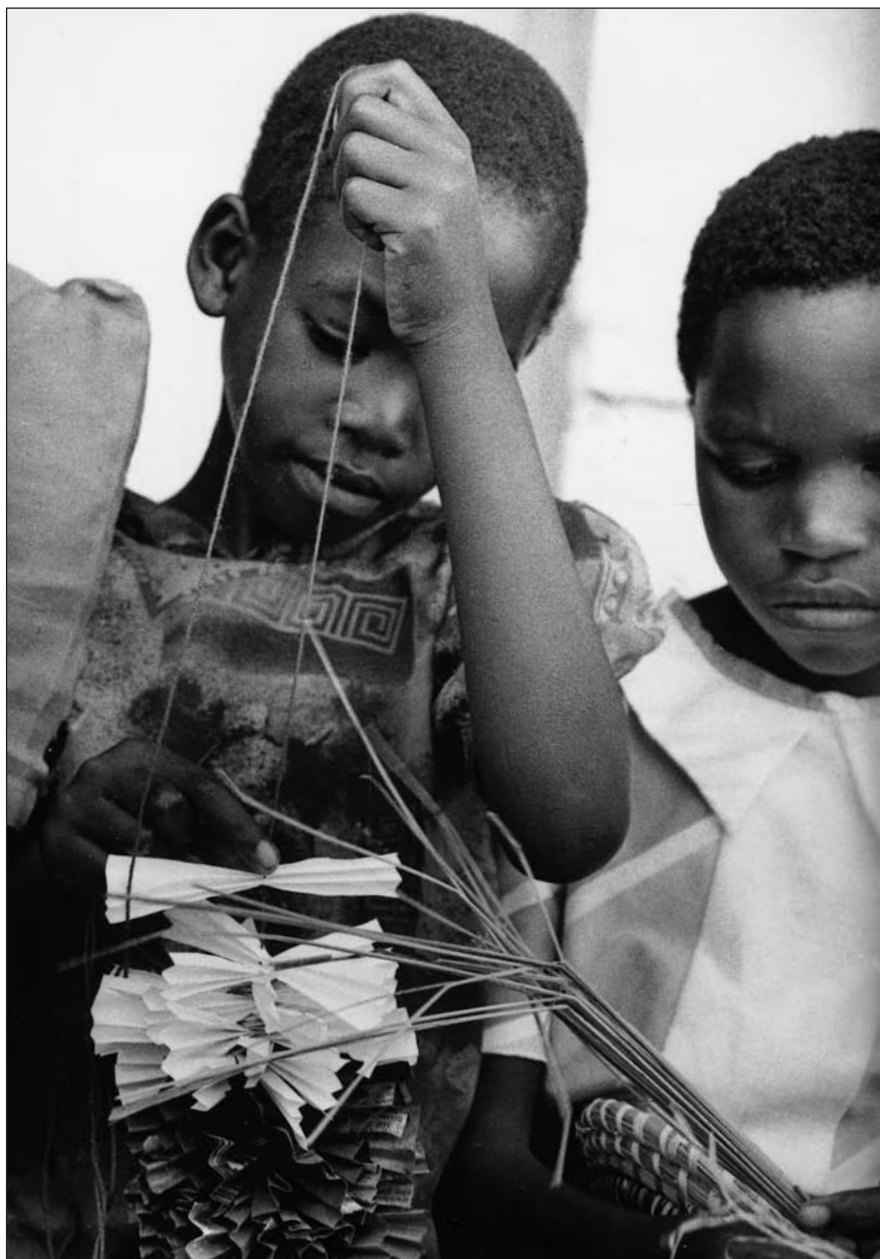
Based on our findings, it seems that the presence of a strong and effective probation office has influenced the way child abuse and family dispute cases are handled. Over time, the Kyotera County Probation Social Welfare Officer has established trust, as someone who can respond effectively to child abuse cases. Awareness in this particular county and satisfaction with the system appear to be higher. All three sites, however, expressed concerns about transparency and fairness of police and court responses.

Other project components

The study explored whether other project components such as the material support to households and the support to the district staff in community development skills had lasted beyond the Rakai CSCP. The CSCP did not involve itself in the development of approaches or practical interventions that might have improved household food security or the livelihoods of vulnerable families. A few child-headed and vulnerable households were supported in conjunction with other agencies such as World Vision, in terms of providing advice on crop and animal husbandry: 394 families, including 70 child-headed households, received material support from the project, including hoes and *pangas*. No agricultural inputs such as seeds or cuttings were given by either World Vision or Save the Children UK. CSCP initially had a district-wide remit, which restricted its capacity to respond effectively in this area. Referrals were made, however, to agencies working at the sub-county level which had the capacity to provide support for livelihoods. In discussions with communities, it was felt that these inputs were too limited to be of lasting benefit.

In terms of general capacity-building of district skills, the picture may be more positive, although it is hard to prove any impact for such activities. For example, in Kyalulungira in June 1996 the CSCP carried out a participatory rapid appraisal (PRA) training over five weeks for district staff including

community development and production staff for the future development of Parish and Sub-County Plans of Action in the district. This resulted in this team continuing to be available and used to carry out research work using PRA methodologies within Rakai. It has furthermore contributed to the planning processes of the district, according to the district production extension officer.



Income generation activities are an important part of any strategy to support orphans and other vulnerable children in the community.
Camilla Jessel/Save the Children

4 Findings (2): General issues for orphans and vulnerable children programming

In this section, we use material from documents and interviews with other donors and local officials, as well as the focus group discussions (FGDs) described in the previous chapter, to draw out some general issues relating to support for orphans and other vulnerable children. These lead on to the conclusions and recommendations in Chapter 5. In Appendix 6, many of the current donor-supported programmes that are addressing orphans and vulnerable children issues in Rakai are summarised. Here we discuss some of the themes and issues arising from these programmes.

Poor governance and political interference

Rakai District continues to be seen as having particular problems in relation to the relationship between the local politicians, District Administration and the non-governmental organisation (NGO) sector. Respondents compared Rakai District with the adjoining Masaka District, which is seen as a district in which working relationships are more positive and enabling. Rakai District suffers from a distinct problem, related to the political manoeuvring and lack of transparency on the part of its politicians and personnel.

Particularly when it comes to distributing resources or productive assets, local councils tend to be swayed by personal or political factors. For example, in relation to the government's Household Agricultural Support Programme (HASP), Kyalulungira sub-county was initially intended as one of the target sub-counties but was dropped after political considerations came into play. The private and NGO sectors are regarded by key informants as more transparent.

In another example, income-generating activities (IGAs) financed under the first phase of the DANIDA District Development Fund, was supervised by the District Administration through the District Planning Unit and to a lesser extent, the Department of Community Services. A review in 2000 found that from a sample of eight groups which had received US\$2,000 to \$4,000 from the fund for income generating activities (IGAs), only one group was still in existence. Some members of the sample groups were unaware that the grant had been made to their group in the first place. DANIDA stopped the funding of IGAs for community groups in the second phase of its programme of assistance, on account of the abuse of funds uncovered within the scheme

Volunteers: the experience of other organisations

Rakai AIDS Counselling Association (RACA) volunteers look after families in two or three villages and carry out sensitisation/mobilisation on HIV/AIDS and child rights in a wider geographic area. RACA has experienced volunteer burnout, as do all the NGOs; more than 40 per cent of RACA trained volunteers are no longer working as volunteers.

World Vision paid volunteers' allowances and supplied bicycles. Both were found by the organisation to be unsustainable. A general anathema also exists within NGOs to paying volunteers, although gifts in kind such as second-hand clothing are given. Allowances are said to attract the wrong kind of people into voluntary work, ie, those attracted simply for the allowances. NGOs in Rakai have tried to minimise the differences between them in relation to conditions under which volunteers work. Certificates related to years of service and training are popular.

General perceptions by different agencies using volunteers were that it was preferable to have more rather than fewer unpaid volunteers on the ground, and a good gender balance or one in favour of women volunteers. More rigorous selection procedures were suggested as a method of discouraging people wanting to be trained for reasons that would benefit neither the organisation or the service user. Communities need to be involved in the selection of volunteers and have an understanding of how they themselves can support the work of the volunteers. Bicycles were seen as being too expensive and as creating a constant demand for spares, etc. Volunteers in all the programmes and projects in Rakai were seen as indispensable, and as providing the best example of community concern and care.

Do NGOs ‘create’ more child-headed households?

It has been suggested that there are more child-headed households in parishes where NGOs are working than in parishes with no NGOs. However, in an enumeration study of child-headed households (CHHs) in two sub-counties, Kakuuto (where World Vision were working intensively) and another sub-county (where there is no or little NGO support), there were more child-headed households reported in the sub-county with no NGO support (Luzze et al. 2002).

Sub-county	Population	CHHs reported	CHHs assisted
Kirumba	24,628	81	4
Kakuuto	26,249	47	32
Nabigasa	18,269	64	24
Lwankoni	13,979	42	30

It is not possible to draw any firm conclusions from the figures. However, it is likely that in parishes where NGOs work there are more CHHs, partly because NGOs work in areas where demand is highest and partly because CHH households are more able to survive on account of the support from NGOs.

“NGOs targeting CHHs like World Vision are partly, though indirectly, responsible for the emergence of some CHHs.” (Luzze 2002)

For example, where NGOs work successfully with families whose parent or parents are very ill or at the terminal stages, then when the parents die the children are more likely to be able to assert their rights and stay on in the property. In addition, relatives may regard the children as managing with community and NGO support, and support their decision to stay on in the family home.

Use of orphan registers

Few NGOs use the CBO orphan registers (see Appendix 6), preferring to use their own systems at the parish level for targeting vulnerable children. World Vision has its own village and parish development committees to target the most vulnerable in order to establish which families or CHHs they will support. Another reason NGOs give for not using the registers is that the population is always changing. According to World Vision, 10 per cent of the population moves every three months and the registers are not updated often enough. In addition, definitions of vulnerability vary between parish committees. At the outset, it was proposed that copies of registers would be kept at

the sub-county headquarters for reference. However, the register has only ever been available at the CBO office.

The CBO orphan registers (see Appendix 6) were used to great effect in 1998 when the District Education Department was able to co-ordinate a female bursary scheme for vulnerable and orphan girls in secondary and tertiary education. Information had come to light in relation to the scheme being abused by District Administration staff and their relatives. The DANIDA adviser checked the names of the beneficiaries against the orphan register and where there were irregularities, girls were taken off the scheme. The management of the scheme was thereafter transferred from the District to the CBO. DANIDA has now, unfortunately, withdrawn support for any new bursaries.

Orphan registration schemes are fraught with difficulties. In both Malawi and Uganda, national orphan registration schemes were abandoned for the following reasons:

- maintaining registrations were regarded as too costly
- the register raised false expectations of assistance
- it could not be accurately maintained once community members learned that they were not in any case, automatically going to receive material and financial assistance (Hunter 1999).

Similar problems have surfaced with the registration of orphans in Rakai. A review of the scheme did not take place until 2000, eight years after it was initiated. In 2003 the register is still being maintained by CBO and remains unavailable at county or sub-county level. There is general agreement that the registers are only of use for information and planning purposes by the district administration and NGOs/CBOs, rather than for targeting individual household support.

Income-generation activities and vulnerable children

It is not easy to assess the degree to which income generation activities (IGAs) benefit children, and there is a risk that they aggravate their problems, especially when, like cow rearing, they are time consuming and may worsen problems school attendance. The type of activity (non-time-intensive) must be chosen carefully, and preference given to activities where outputs and income are controlled by children, rather than by their guardians.

Improving skills training, income generation and micro credit activities

Vocational skills training, income-generating activities and micro-credit schemes are popular, and when effective, offer important support mechanisms to vulnerable households, including those households headed by children. All of these schemes, however, require specialised skills and delivery systems. They require skills training, vocational guidance (eg, in relation to the choice of educational opportunities, school or market skills), capacity to profile market demand at community level, standardised training that meets national and international standards, provision of tools and business training. They also require continued support to former trainees, and retraining or skills-updating as necessary.

Vocational training and IGAs are linked and complement each other. Vocational training needs to respond to market demand. Interviewees suggested that vocational and IGAs training in Rakai do not consistently meet the needs of the market or the trainee. Training in Rakai tends to be supply-

driven, ie, based on instructors available, rather than on the demand within the market. The following points were also made:

- Only one NGO was carrying out monitoring and evaluation of the trainers and the content of the curriculum.
- Emphasis was placed on numbers of trainees successfully completing the training but little follow-up was made on how many of those trainees were able to go on to use their skills successfully, two or three years later.
- The demand for vocational training was greater than the supply and the demand in general for both education and for vocational skills training was high among young people.
- Lastly, in some sub-counties the provision of primary school education was grossly inadequate and in the same sub-counties there may also be a dearth of NGOs able to provide vocational training. Children and young people in such circumstances are often doubly disadvantaged. On the other hand, urban and peri-urban children from Kalisizo, Kyotera and Lyontonde are likely to be able to access both education and vocational training simply because of where they live rather than on account of greatest need.

Mechanisms for involving communities

A participatory approach to planning support for orphans and other vulnerable children is clearly desirable, but hard to maintain on a large scale. The Community HIV/AIDS Initiative (CHAI), now working in 30 districts, is one of the more potentially successful community development initiatives supporting HIV/AIDS affected families and vulnerable children. The design of the CHAI sub-component of the Uganda AIDS Control Programme (UACP) is to assist different communities and social groups to organise and understand the HIV/AIDS problem. The aim of the project is to enhance community competence to develop and manage projects through:

- assisting communities to mobilise and organise to react to problems arising out of the HIV/AIDS epidemic
 - assisting communities to plan interventions that are relevant to their needs
 - aiding communities to implement and manage their HIV/AIDS plans.
- (*AIDS/HIV Integrated Model District Programme 2003 Project Description*, Uganda AIDS Commission, 2003).

The CHAI programme has revived the District Administration's support to community-led organisations in their work with families affected by HIV/AIDS and vulnerable children.

"Since CHAI came the District AIDS Committee has taken on a new life." (NGO worker)

Further in its favour, CHAI has implemented a relatively strong monitoring and evaluation process. This has been necessary in order to avoid any repetition of corrupt practices within the districts. Despite that, problems of capacity at all levels remain to be solved, as well as bottlenecks within the programme, and inability to meet demand.

Partnerships at district level

Maintaining good partnerships between larger donors, such as DANIDA, district administrations and NGOs/CBOs has not been easy. There is a tendency for districts and bilateral donors to regard

NGOs as mere sub-contractors. On the NGO side, especially international NGOs, there is a tendency to compete with, rather than complement, official structures. Improved co-ordination and mutual respect should be built through regular meetings.

Many key informants, from both the NGO sector and the district side, pointed to planning problems: the fact that there is no joint planning process and very little pooling of information. Consequently, all actors operate alone, without a common framework, which is clearly sub-optimal.

“Government has stopped leading the planning process.” (District key informant)

“What is the district plan for orphans and vulnerable children? It is ad hoc at present. We need to plan together.” (NGO key informant)

“The problem is not resources, which are there, but planning, which is not open” (District key informant)

“We need to plan and act together – government and NGOs.” (NGO key informant)

The Rakai CSCP, while in operation, was in a unique position to influence the workings of the District Administration in relation to child rights and meeting the needs of the most vulnerable children in the district. The Save the Children UK adviser was involved and able to observe the workings of the District Technical Planning Committee at first hand. This committee was made up of Department Heads, with the Chief Administrative Officer in the Chair.

Relationships between the NGOs and the District Administration appear to be improving at present because of the reconstituted Rakai Joint Advisory Committee (RAJAC). The District is now meeting formally with the RAJAC on a quarterly basis, while NGOs meet separately.



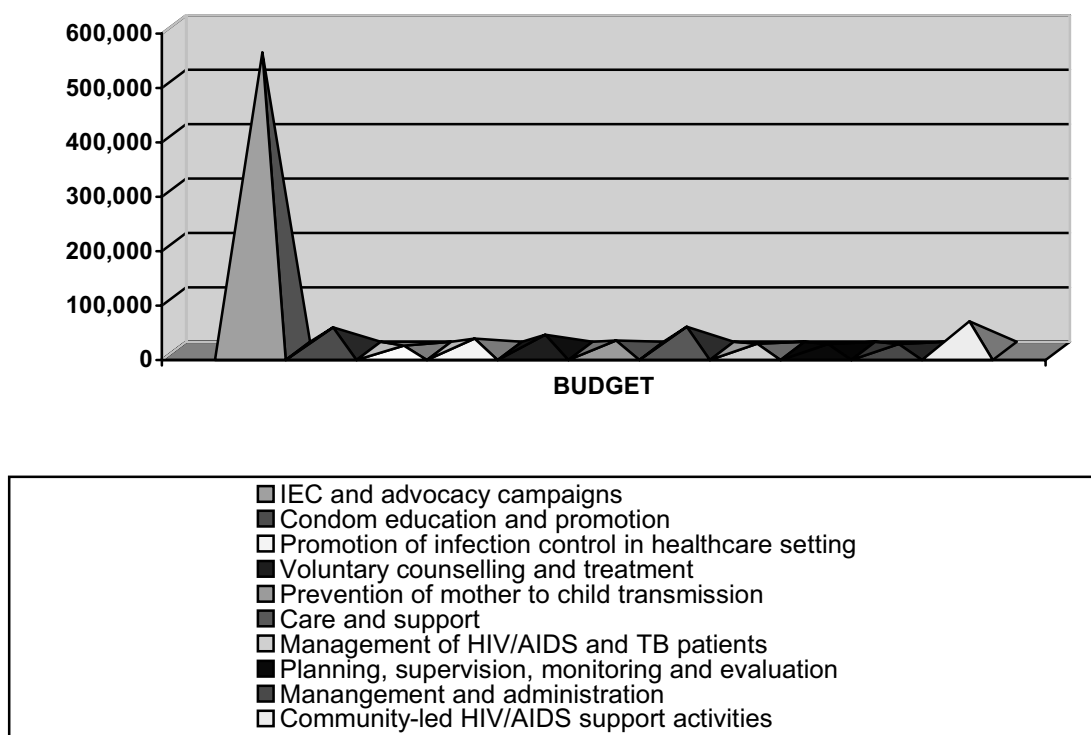
Bukavala Twesitule orphan group. As part of a local initiative, girls are learning sewing and tailoring. Bob Cousins/Save the Children UK

Increasing resources for care and mitigation

Graph 5 shows the allocation of funds within the district's AIDS plan. What is striking is that IEC has been allocated the lions share. This is not unusual in Uganda, but should be re-examined. It is hard to establish the effectiveness of many of these programmes. Their main function may be income support to officers, in terms of training and travel allowances. At this point in the epidemic in Uganda, many areas have reached saturation with general HIV/AIDS awareness messages, but are crying out for concrete assistance for those who are infected and affected.

Meanwhile, the provision of services in the district which saw the first cases of AIDS in Uganda is woefully inadequate. According to the Principal Probation and Welfare Officer, access to anti-retroviral drugs (ARVs) is zero, as is access to services to prevent mother-to-child transmission. This is shocking, given the level of need.

Graph 5: Draft Rakai District integrated HIV/AIDS work plan and budget 2003/4



Extending support to more marginalised areas

Our study clearly shows that some of the most needy areas are receiving the least assistance. While HIV prevention activities remain vitally important, additional resources to combat the effects of the epidemic on children, households and communities is essential. Kyalulangira sub-county, for example, with a population of 30,769, is one of the most remote and isolated sub-counties in Rakai

District. but with the second highest population (see Appendix 9). This sub-county has been marginalised by successive district administrations, NGOs and donors. NGOs are reluctant to work so far from the tarmac, and access is difficult, with the road into the Kyalulangira only improved up to the sub-county headquarters, which lie on the edge of the sub-county. In this context, it is not clear why donors such as UNICEF chose not to include Kyalulangira as, using their own, it ought to have been included. Similarly, CHAI projects are, in the main, concentrated in parishes near the main roads.

The need for better understanding of fostering

In the event of children and babies being abandoned, they are fostered informally through the Probation and Welfare Department in the community in which they have been found. There is one fostering home in Kyotera where three children are currently being looked after. When informal foster placements are made, formalising the placement through court proceedings has been encouraged.

Fostering within a family setting or with others is, however, not always considered when children lose their parents, and there are often misconceptions and concerns at the community level around the arrangements. Respondents said:

“I have heard that if you bring a vulnerable child to stay with you for a minimum of six months, he automatically gains the right to share in your property.” (FGD men, Kinuuka sub-county)

“Sometimes when you act as caretaker of an orphan’s property, he may grow up and ask you for the exact number of things that were placed in your care, without taking into account all the money that you have spent raising him.” (FGD men, Kinuuka sub-county)

The Uganda Foster Care and Adoption Association (UFCAA), which used to provide guidance and support to prospective foster children and parents, is unfortunately, largely inactive due to lack of funding. In the meantime, across Uganda, there are more than 4,500 children in residential care. In Rakai alone, there are more than 550 child-headed households, many of whom might benefit from fostering arrangements.

Funding of work with vulnerable children is inadequate at all levels

Government at all levels – from MoGLSD to districts and sub-counties – is failing to give adequate priority to the needs of vulnerable children, as reflected in their budget allocations. Yet the scale of the problem is huge. A recent survey in Rakai found 3,293 orphans; 969 child-headed households; and 80 per cent of children ‘in difficult circumstances’. While the number of orphans is much lower than in the 1991 enumeration study (Dunn et al), the proportion of child-headed households has increased dramatically, from 0.7 per cent in 1991 to nearly 30 per cent of orphans now. The problems have not gone away, but the resolve to deal with them is lacking.

“The local councils need to budget to support government Probation and Welfare Office staff. Don't leave it to the NGOs to facilitate and use government staff.” (District key informant)

“Sub-county officials do not see children as a priority. There should be a specific vote [allocation of funds] for children at the sub-county level.” (District key informant)

5 Conclusions and recommendations

Summary of findings

This section briefly summarises the conclusions of the previous chapters. First, on the long-term impact of the Rakai Child Social Care Project (CSCP), we found that:

- Few community-based child volunteer advocates (CVAs) had continued to be active after project funding stopped, but they do continue to play a role, albeit diminished, in raising children's issues.
- Probation and Social Welfare Officers (PSWOs) have been relatively constant and effective, but get minimal support from central or local revenues and have seen their caseloads diminish.
- De-institutionalisation was difficult for the children we interviewed (a small sample, from one of the better residential homes), who associated it with loss of educational opportunities. They received little preparation in advance and little support after returning to parents and relatives.
- Property disputes are a major issue for children and contribute to vulnerability. Unfortunately, however, confidence in the local council system to resolve disputes is low. There seemed to be greater satisfaction with PSWOs handling of issues. However, PSWOs are few in numbers. Case settlement seems to have had a long-term positive effect, through the improvement in the material circumstances of the families.
- In the areas where CSCP had been active, there is a higher level of awareness of children's rights and a willingness to hand over cases to CVAs and PSWO staff. In all three study sites, there is a widespread feeling, however, that the local councils, police and courts are more responsive to financial incentives than they are to justice.
- Despite CSCP being a significant project within Save the Children UK, on account of its innovative approach, the CVAs were not prepared properly for hand-over, findings were not disseminated as effectively to other interested parties as they should have been, and no follow-up was provided to support the continuation of the work by partners.

In terms of other approaches in Rakai over the past decade which aimed to address problems faced by orphans and vulnerable children, we found that:

- There have been considerable investments in interventions designed to benefit orphans and vulnerable children in Rakai in recent years, but their effectiveness has been hampered by poor co-ordination between organisations, lack of capacity at all levels, and a lack of participatory mechanisms.
- Government services and NGO support are not distributed equitably throughout the district. There is little systematic support to vulnerable children and families in the district.

- Police and the lower court system favour the well-off in a system characterised by a lack of transparency and integrity.
- Allocation within sectors, such as HIV/AIDS, is often skewed towards areas which provide the highest allowances (eg, information, education and communication (IEC), where impact is hard to monitor).
- There is relatively little co-ordination and learning across organisations. A number of different initiatives have been supported by different organisations, but few have learned from others and there is little consensus on “what has worked”.
- Probation and social welfare is a “Cinderella” area for government, receiving little attention and support. It is assumed that donors will fund these “charitable activities”, which are not viewed as a productive priority.
- Poor governance in Rakai had a major impact on the sustainability of projects, making it an unattractive place for donors to invest.

Good practice in support for orphans and vulnerable children

In this study of government, organisational, and sector support for vulnerable households in Rakai, particular themes of good practice have been identified. These examples of good practice are those that have evolved from experience to date and those that had been particularly significant in their effectiveness at community level. These themes included:

- **Human rights-based approach:** children’s needs regarded as rights
- **Using participatory planning techniques:** supporting communities to reflect, prioritise and make plans using their own resources and limited external support
- **Working with identified community-led organisations and structures:** identifying partnerships that will facilitate communities in their response
- **Identifying resources within the community, parish and sub-county:** what structures and resources are already in place? What other NGOs/CBOs (including faith-based organisations) exist and what contributions can they make?
- **Supporting existing mechanisms and arrangements that work effectively for and with vulnerable families and children:** there are many community-led groups requiring support that ranges from technical to financial, in order to sustain their work
- **Inclusive approach to working with members of the community, making a particular effort to work with women and children:** gender and age perspective to solving problems at community level

- **Identifying and supporting good neighbours, guardians and volunteers:** selected by the community and in the expectation that they will provide unpaid support to vulnerable households located within walking distance from their own homes
- **Developing support mechanisms to vulnerable households that encourage shared responsibility:** the community in the immediate vicinity to take an active role in the care of the household
- **Promoting partnerships between local councils and agencies:** sharing plans and resources; learning from each other from district to village level
- **Community groups and NGOs collaborating with district department plans and resources:** eg, health and medical support to people living with AIDS offered through the health centres, and co-ordinated approach established in relation to HIV prevention strategies
- **Gender balance:** eg, courts having balance of male and female members
- **Developing district-wide resource networks:** such as a network of professionals able to train and support counsellors
- **Working with families in distress before parents or guardians die:** eg, succession planning

Lessons for Save the Children UK

Based on the field research and interviews with key informants inside and outside Save the Children UK, some key lessons emerge:

Better utilisation of experience

It seems odd that a project, which was widely viewed (internally and externally) as successful, was not extended within Rakai or replicated elsewhere. Of course, the first grant from Comic Relief ended in 1996, but more funds could have been sought from elsewhere, and there was no effort to seek them. There appears to be a number of reasons for this, including:

- Key staff leaving, meaning that the new management was not committed to the project
- Management difficulties within the project itself discouraged further investment there
- “Pilot project syndrome”: perhaps Save the Children UK felt it had established the model in Rakai and could now leave implementation to others.

These points raise wider issues about how long NGOs should continue to invest in a given project or area. If projects are working, but are not internally financially self-sustaining (as is almost invariably the case in the area of support for orphans and other vulnerable children), how long should NGOs like UK remain committed? The theory was that government, as Save the Children

UK's partner, would develop and roll-out the work, but the capacity to do so was, and remains, limited.

Need for stronger community partners

From the outset, community partners were few, and little or no consultation took place with the people that the project was designed to help, such as people living with HIV/AIDS, and vulnerable, abused and neglected children. The PSWOs did meet with many community groups over the project period. No long-term partnerships, however, were formally established. The project was generally supply-driven, in that inputs and delivery mechanisms were decided for and on behalf of the people they were designed to help. The CVAs were the main community partners with whom the project was in direct contact throughout the duration of the project. The lesson here, from the point of view of sustainability as well as good practice, is the need for bottom-up planning from the start and throughout a project cycle. Recent Save the Children UK projects in Uganda appear to have taken this on board.

Better exit planning

It seems that Save the Children UK relied on DANIDA funding to fill the gap once its support was gone. However, more could have been done to build constituencies of support, both within Rakai and beyond, to carry the work forward. Community partners, in particular the CVAs, were left stranded by both the exit strategy and the financial problems at the Rakai District Headquarters. In 1998, county PSWOs did not have the resources to supervise and support the CVAs. In addition, the community development assistants (CDAs) who replaced the original PSWOs in three counties lacked the experience to manage them. With hindsight, it might have been more appropriate and effective to hold discussions with the CVAs themselves and to have supported them to develop their own maintenance strategies. In some counties it may have been better for them to transfer their capacity to an NGO or CBO capable of offering them the support they deserved.

A continuing relationship

After the project finished, no follow-up visits were made by Save the Children UK with the Department of Probation and Social Welfare in Rakai, until this study took place. This is not abnormal, but does diminish the likelihood of longer-term impact. Even if financial inputs are being withdrawn, a relationship can be maintained, whereby programme staff in Save the Children UK continue to visit, to advise, and to draw in other organisations to support the work. Independence for a project should not be given all at once, but gradually handed over, while continuing to provide different types of support as required and mutually determined.

Even allowing for governance issues within Rakai, it seems that there was a missed opportunity for taking the model to other areas of Uganda. Save the Children UK had a working model of support for orphans and vulnerable children a whole decade before a national policy was developed, and could have built up a critical and timely mass across the country.

It is therefore important that Save the Children UK learns some lessons about making best use of its experiences and realising its responsibilities to children in as effective a way as possible.

Recommendations for national and district governments

- **Governance** has come out in many ways in this study as one of the main constraints to effective protection for children. The national strategy for the implementation of the Children's Statute was derailed in Rakai when UNICEF stopped funding the MoGLSD following allegations of misappropriation of allocated funds. At the same time, DANIDA (the Danish International Development Agency) and central government withdrew support to Rakai District on the same basis, and all activities of the Probation and Social Welfare Department, aside from individual casework, were severely curtailed.
- **Corruption** at district level has reduced the opportunities for local community initiatives to be funded to deal with the problems of HIV/AIDS.

"The problem with accessing the CHAI money (Uganda HIV/AIDS Control Project) from government is that you have to give a bribe – which they call placing a stone on your application papers so that they are not blown away – and so the groups which do not pay the bribes will not get the money." (Focus Group Discussion (FGD) men, Kinuuka sub-county)

Members of the FGDs said that some of the local councils (LCs) are aware of their own role with regard to child care and protection but are not willing to handle cases involving children. Their unwillingness was seen as being based on their not receiving money from the cases related to children.

Districts have to improve on governance if they are to be able to deliver on national priorities such as the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), as well as the implementation of the National OVC Plan, which starts in 2004.

- **Defilement** cases are reported first to the LCs and then referred to the police. Usually the offender is allowed to go free once a bribe has been provided. Such corrupt tendencies have frustrated the efforts of those trying to seek justice and so people have in some cases, now resolved to take the law into their own hands. Moreover, defilement is an offence which can only be committed by boys and which fails to distinguish between rape and consensual teenage sex. It is clogging up the juvenile justice system (as a capital offence, the cases cannot, in theory, be diverted). This is an offence which needs immediate reform.
- **Minimal investment in social welfare services.** In almost every district, the community services department, including probation and social welfare, is the 'cinderella' wing of local government. They receive minimal support from the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MoGLSD) as well as from district funds. Uganda will not be able to deliver on its poverty reduction goals unless these priorities are changed.

"The highest proportion that the community services have ever got of their allocated budget is 4 per cent, in my time." (Former CSCP project manager)

"Little support was given to the Community Services department which was probably the only department with any idea of who the poor and vulnerable were, or how to reach them." (Consultant to the DANIDA Rakai District Development Programme Evaluation team 2000)

- **A specialised probation and welfare service is necessary**, not just at district, but at county level, linked to community volunteers. The idea that community development assistants are going to be able to handle the range of issues that affect orphans and vulnerable children at community level, as laid out in the Social Development Sector Strategic Investment Plan, is over-optimistic, given their multi-sectoral responsibilities.
- **Long-term funding** for PSWO posts down to county level should be built into government plans.
- **Community volunteers** can be effective only if continuously supported and linked to wider networks. Rather than allowing for a proliferation of NGO-supported volunteers working on single issues, there should be a system for joint training and accreditation with government, with agreed roles and pay across areas.
- The imbalance between **funding for IEC and funding for AIDS care and mitigation** should be addressed. There are plenty of good organisations working in this area, and the needs and potential effectiveness are huge.
- If community development officers are to have responsibility for children's issues, then a **manual** should be developed on involvement with child care and protection issues, linked to national standards and curriculum development at the proposed national Community Development and Social Work college
- More detailed **action research** should be carried out on how to build the capacity of local councils to handle cases effectively.
- Government should renew the **inspection process for residential care provision** for children in the social sector (which was set up with Save the Children UK assistance over a decade ago) and include within that review boarding schools at primary as well as secondary level.
- Government should develop a plan for the development and setting of national standards for **fostering arrangements**.
- Government should introduce **national standards for palliative care delivery** and treatment at the community level for both adults and children. Agencies contracted to deliver care should have quality controls on both coverage and treatment; this has become much more urgent with the increase in access to anti-retroviral drugs, care and treatment. The options for keeping carers and children well for longer are now much greater than at the time of the original CSCP.
- A **participatory planning process** involving district and sub-district officials, LCs and NGOs, should take place regularly, so that activities are harmonised and work towards common goals, using agreed strategies.
- District Administrations should be supported to establish **co-ordination and resource units** at District level to support civil society organisations including international non-governmental agencies (INGOs) working at community level. This should including support for the

development of planning, monitoring and evaluation guidelines, accountability mechanisms and quality assurance.

- Government to establish a multi-sectoral and multidisciplinary **resource centre** at sub-county headquarters where community members can access information, advice and support from advisory staff, as well as resource materials to support social protection and multi-sectoral developments at household and community levels.
- Review **district education plans** to include the provision of educational opportunities for those young people and adults who missed out on schooling in the late 1980s and 1990s and to provide additional schools and staff for those children who living far from the nearest school.
- Develop a system to **monitor vocational training** at district level that complies with appropriate international standards.
- Develop **vocational guidance and training opportunities** within the school system; improve access to education (afternoon schools for those children who have to work at home); and promote survival skills including food production through the development of demonstration school gardens.
- Develop national standards and systematic district programming for **peer education** to reach those children, particularly adolescent girls, who are living on their own.

Recommendations for other donors

- One of the issues when trying to compare different projects and different models of intervention is that there is no cost data available. Getting organisations to share descriptive information and evaluations is already challenging enough. Getting figures on how much programmes cost per beneficiary or for some other unit of 'benefit' is almost impossible. This makes informed comparison hard. Quality is important, but so is cost. We therefore recommend that orphan and vulnerable children programmers report on expenditure, as well as results, and make this information publicly available.
- In the meantime, more self-critical sharing of experiences would help. Many of the projects, which look good on paper, are delivering less than promised in reality.
- Very few initiatives are self-sustaining in this field. In the absence of government funding, donors should provide long-term support.
- Donors should consider the funding of staff and resources at district level to meet the growing capacity gap in the implementation of HIV/AIDS programmes, including mitigation and care.
- Donors should re-examine its funding priorities to include organised systematic resource support to INGOs), NGOs, community-based organisations and the private sector working in

partnership with district government with the poor and vulnerable, and support the development of mechanisms at national and district level for quality assurance.

- Donors to prioritise sub counties that are marginalised within districts.

Concluding remarks

- The Rakai Child Social Care Project was a success and provides a workable model for community-based care and protection.
- Such a project can be sustained, but only if all parties – government, donors, NGOs and communities – make a serious and long-term commitment.
- Such a commitment is not just political and financial, but also requires improved governance, greater transparency and more effective sharing of experiences (successes and failures).
- Re-establishing the model in Rakai and nationally should be a priority within the implementation of the new orphans and vulnerable children policy and plan in 2004.

Many of the problems which led to the development of the project in 1991 are now even more severe than they were a decade ago. As the former project manager from Rakai says: “We are no longer looking after orphans, but looking after the orphans’ orphans.”

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Appendix 1: A brief history of the Rakai Child Social Care Project 1991–1996

Background

The Rakai Child Social Care Project (CSCP) began in 1991 as a joint government/NGO initiative with collaboration between the Department of Probation and Social Welfare in the former Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MoLSA) and Save the Children Fund (Save the Children UK). Following decentralisation in 1993, the Rakai district administration became a key partner in the project.

In 1991 a major orphan crisis had been documented in Rakai district (Dunn et al. 1991:), with one out of eight children under 18 having lost at least one parent. The number of institutions and children's homes being established in the district was on the increase. One such home was caring for 400 children, and the government had become concerned that institutional care had become an inappropriate response to the needs of vulnerable children. In addition, there had been numerous reports from Rakai of property being appropriated from widows and children by relatives and neighbours following the death of a spouse or father (Bagarukayo 1994). A community-based approach was advocated for, but faced insufficient funding in terms of implementing the new strategy. The Child Social Care Project was developed within this context.

Prior to the project starting, Rakai District had only one social worker, based in Masaka and coming to Rakai only once a week. The department was using a traditional social work casework approach, focussing on the needs of referred clients. That approach, however, inevitably struggled to make an impact in the face of the enormity of the task, the size of the district and inadequate resources (Dunn et al. 1991).

Strategy and objectives

The initial project design proposed assisting the Department of Probation and Social Welfare (DPSW) in addressing issues associated with protection of the increasing number of children made vulnerable by poverty, underdevelopment and HIV/AIDS. The project planned to develop a community-oriented approach to address the needs of those children.

This strategy emphasised participation and community responsibility in promoting a proactive, rather than a reactive, social welfare service. The project aimed at enabling communities to identify problems concerning children who had lost their parents and those who were otherwise vulnerable. It aimed at developing appropriate responses. This community-based approach was more feasible and applicable in the circumstances on account of the large numbers of vulnerable children involved (Wamai and Barton 1997).

The Ministry provided: one senior probation officer to be the project manager, three assistant probation officers at county level and one probation assistant in Kyebe sub county on the lakeshore,

whose remit it was to meet the specific needs of the fishing community. Save the Children UK employed a social welfare adviser to work with the project.

Activities

From the outset, the main activities of the CSCP focused on the protection of property of widows and children, the development of community-based fostering, support to vulnerable families including caregivers who were ill, to destitute families, elderly guardians caring for children and children with disabilities. It was anticipated that community action would empower the community to advocate for better delivery of services, and appropriate interventions by development agencies. Project staff would support the formation of community groups and mobilise for community activities.

By the end of 1991, project partners were involved in a review of the original project ideas and determined that those ideas and objectives were ambitious, and that the intended activities were beyond the capacity of the project as it had been set up. As a result, in 1992, the objectives were restated as follows:

- to assist the DPSW explore and develop community-based approaches to the protection of children's rights and the improvement of child and family welfare.
- to assist communities to better understand the needs and rights of all children
- to develop community capacity to care for and protect the growing numbers of vulnerable children, through the promotion and formation of community groups, and mobilisation for community activities.

Project staff were also involved in the development of policy for the protection of vulnerable children at all levels of the district. These project goals and strategies were incorporated into the Policy Guidelines of the Rakai District Development Plan (1994/95 – 1998/99). The main project activities that emerged were:

- child rights, community sensitisation and awareness raising
- training of paralegals (child volunteer advocates – CVAs)
- protection of widows and orphans property
- closure of residential institutions for children
- tracing, resettlement and fostering of children
- facilitating the formation of community groups
- participation at the district level in policy formation
- training extension and NGO staff
- casework through the four county offices between 1993 and 1997.

Changes in activities

The original aim of strengthening the capacity of the different communities to cope with the social consequences of HIV/AIDS was not directly addressed (CSCP Annual report April 1993). The proposed home care system for people living with AIDS proved too complex, and the idea of using home care assistants was eventually dropped. Instead, home care kits for needy families were initiated (Review Report 1996).

In 1993 increasing numbers of child-headed households and concern from the community, particularly through the CVAs, led to a project proposal emerging from the CSCP project, aiming at supporting child-headed households. Unfortunately, funding for the proposal was unable to be secured.

Although many of the activities within the CSCP were community based, the DPSW continued to respond effectively to urgent problems concerning children and adults through the casework approach. Casework increased as the demand for protecting the rights of women and children was generated.

Once the closure of the residential children's homes had been effected, CSCP was able to become more proactive in its approach to child welfare issues, as resources such as staff and transport were redirected to meet other pressing requirements, eg support for Probation and Social Welfare Officers (PSWOs) and the CVAs at community level.

Project review

The project review in 1996 highlighted the fundamental change that had taken place in the nature of social welfare in Rakai district. Prior to the CSCP, the district relied on one part-time social worker, who was based in county headquarters and reported to the Ministry. Social work was now available with salaried staff based in the four counties with increased capacity for the development of community-based social welfare work and problem solving, accountable to the District Council, Rakai. In addition, decentralisation of local services at this time, by the government of Uganda, increased the attention which could be given by the district administration to project plans and activities. Through this process and the project, the DPSW became a major player at the District Technical Planning Committee, where district policy was discussed and recommendations made to the executive and elected officials.

At that time, the perceptions of the community were that the project had been of significant benefit, particularly in relation to the rights of women and children. Property rights of widows and children had been protected through community sensitisation sessions and the effective handling of individual cases of property-grabbing. Social workers and CVAs had been increasingly involved with issues of women's rights and had also provided counselling for marital and family conflicts. There were fewer reports of violations of child rights and incidents involving child abuse in areas where probation assistants and CVAs operated (Wamai and Barton 1997).

The review concluded that there was a need to:

- revise project objectives

- develop the capacity of communities to participate in social work and problem solving and to include vulnerable groups, particularly widows, children, families
- continue supplementary allowances
- provide more probation assistants
- develop CVA activities further
- widen collaborative training to probation staff, community services and NGO staff
- complete the child abuse and child protection study
- integrate activities at sub-county level
- develop joint planning indicators and a phase-out strategy
- advocate in new areas with partner agencies and the community, those areas to include education, healthcare, shelter for orphans and other priority areas in the community
- increase counselling skills
- provide skills training and income-generating promotion in collaboration with other institutions
- possible replication in other districts
- develop a manual to implement similar community social welfare strategies.

The review was a very positive experience for the workers of the project. Many of the recommendations of the review, however, came too late and the project closed the following year. Studies were nevertheless completed and a strategy for phase out was adopted. Save the Children UK had made the decision to cease work in Rakai after the project finished. Discussions around replicating the project were held without result with Masaka and Kibaale District Administrations. In time, Save the Children UK entered into an agreement with Kasese District Council to work initially with displaced people from the Rwenzori Mountains through the Community Services Department, including work on the HIV/AIDS prevention and the care and support of families affected by HIV/AIDS. There were also discussions with the acting Commissioner of Probation and Social Welfare to hold a seminar at the Ministry to discuss the possible replication of community-based strategies that had been employed in Rakai in other districts. However, the effort required from all parties to develop the learning process further was lacking.

Appendix 2: Children resettled and traced: a brief description

No	Name	Sex	Age	Marital status	Level of education	Other training	Source of income
1	Joshua T	M	29	Married	Senior four	None	Employment as a security guard Sale of agricultural products
2	Grace N	F	22	Divorced	Primary Five	Tailoring	Operates a stall
	Barbara N	F	27	Married	Senior Two	Hair dressing	Operates a saloon
4	Charity W	F	17	Single	Primary Seven	Hair dressing	NONE
5	John B	M	23	Single	Primary Five	Carpentry	Boda Boda Cultivation
6	Fred K	M	22	Married	Primary Seven	None	Cultivation
7	James N	M	25	Single	Primary Seven	Baking	Baking Making toilet slabs
8	Kenneth M	M	23	Married	Primary Three	None	Cultivation
9	Francis K	M	18	Single	Primary Seven	None	Cultivation
10	Patience M	F	23	Married	Primary Four	None	Cultivation
11	Richard K	M	22	Single	Primary Four	None	Cultivation

Appendix 3: Resettlement case studies

Case study 1: Francis K, 22

“I was born in 1982 in Kakuuto county, Rakai district. When my father died, a major source of income was also lost. I started living with his mother, brother and two sisters in a grass-thatched house. As the hardships at home increased, my mother was forced to take me to Kibaale Children’s Home (CH). I wanted to go to school but my mother did not think about taking me because she did not have the money.

At the CH I remember having a ‘good life’ even though we were eating one type of food. I also remember the smart uniform that I owned, the TV shows on Sunday and the many white visitors that frequently came to the home. It was at the CH that I started my education in primary one and sadly left after completing primary two.

In 1992, I left the home feeling sad because I was going to miss the opportunity to continue with this education and could not bear the thought of coming back to the miserable life at home. My fears were put to rest when I was taken on by the World Vision project as one of the children to be sponsored for their primary education. I enrolled in Kabwasa Primary School where I completed my primary 3, 4 and 5 then moved on to Kyarugaba Primary School where I completed my primary education.

When I left Kibaale, my studies became complicated. Each morning, I had to collect water for my mother before walking a distance of 12 miles to school. In fact, I was always detained for coming late at school. It was only later when the school authorities realised how far I had to walk that they excused me. I had one meal at the end of each day so I had to endure the hunger while at school. Even in this state, I would try my best to understand what was being taught in class. My mother did not give me anything to eat in the morning because she believed I would not perform well in class. However, despite the hardships, I excelled in my academics and always came first in my class.

Primary school education was the last formal training that I received. I consider myself informally trained in digging, which has become my main source of income. I have since then built a new iron roofed house and married a woman who is due to give birth in August. I deeply regret not having been able to continue with my education and achieve greater things in life. If I had stayed any longer at the CH I would also be a man, I would be ‘driving myself’ (owning a car). With the lifestyle that I was leading in the CH, I would be well off because I would have gone continued with my studies.”

Francis hopes to improve his income by growing coffee and planting trees.

Case study 2: Grace N, 23

“I was born in 1981 in Kooki County, Rakai District. I grew up with my parents until I was of nine, when they both passed away. It was at this point that I was taken to live with my aunt. My aunt supported the family by growing agricultural products which she would sell in the local market. Medical services were expensive and unaffordable and my school fees were out of the question. It was for this reason that I was not able to start school until later when I joined the Children’s Home in Kibaale.

The unbearable conditions at home forced my aunt to take me to the children’s home. At the children’s home, I had the opportunity of starting school and receiving material support, which included bedding, clothes, shoes and other such things. At the home I enjoyed watching TV, the Sunday services, and the many opportunities to play. Generally the children’s home was a good place because I was given everything that I needed, unlike in the impoverished home from which I came. My stay at the children’s home came to an end when I was told that I was going to be resettled back into my home. Though saddened by this news, I was consoled by the promise made by the children’s home to continue paying my school fees.

At home, I once again had to adjust to living with minimal provision. When I was taken back home, the children’s home started looking for a school where I would continue my education. I resumed my studies at Rwenkakala Primary School and while in P5 the support from the children’s home was cut off. It was not long after that, that I heard the children’s home had been turned into a training school. I think that is why they tricked us into leaving. Without any hope of going back to school, I moved to Kyotera town where I started working as a house girl and later on as a shop attendant. It was my earnings that paid school fees for my younger sister and enabled me to take care of my needs.

In 1997 I went to live with my sister in Bugerere, beyond Mukono district. At the age of 17, I got married to a fisherman in Jinja with whom I had two children. I separated from my husband early this year after he married a second woman. I have received a small loan from an uncle and now operate a stall in Bakijula that sells foodstuffs.

I regret all that has come to me, especially my failed marriage. I plan to bring my children to stay with me in Rakai. I have made achieving financial independence my primary goal. I also plan to farm the land that my father left behind and also start a saloon. I would have been able to study beyond my current level had I been allowed to stay at the children’s home.

Case study 3: Barbara N, 28

Barbara was born in 1976 in Kyarulagira, Kooki county Rakai District. She grew up with the love and support of her parents who managed to educate her in her early days of life. The turning point came when her mother died of AIDS in 1986, followed by her father in 1988. Barbara, as the eldest child, had to step into the shoes of her parents to support her siblings. Worse still, their father had sold all the land they owned to take care of his medical bills. Barbara was put into the care of her aunt who lived in the same area.

Her aunt made a living from cultivation and it was from this income that she struggled to educate Barbara. Money was not readily available, and from Barbara's perspective her school days were not happy times at all. The family could not afford any medical services and it was with great difficulty that any of them managed to get treatment. The circumstances surrounding the family drove her aunt to send her to the children's home. Barbara illustrates this in her own words,

“My aunt did not have any money to support us so she was forced to send us to the children's home. Pastor Mutebi, who was our relative, came to see my aunt and asked to take me to the home.”

The first year at the children's home was tough for Barbara. During this period she and the rest of the children were made to do a lot of work, especially digging. The school authorities explained this by saying that they needed to work for their food since the home had just started and had no funding. Later on, the home improved after funding was made available and Barbara started receiving support, which included medical services, clothes and shoes. Her memories of the home are good, especially after the first year of her joining. She particularly remembers the Sunday services that introduced her to Christianity, a religion that she practices to this very day.

After four years, Barbara was told that she had to leave the children's home. She says: “They told me and the rest of the children that they were going to take us back to our homes because they wanted us to learn how to conduct ourselves in the community.”

Her stay at the children's home proved to be the only opportunity for Barbara to attend school. She has since then received training in hairdressing and opened up a saloon in Kibaale Trading Centre. She has also started her own home and lives with her husband. Barbara says that she would have continued with her education if she had not been taken away from the children's home. “It would have been hard for them (referring to the children's home) to stop paying my school fees. But they stopped paying my school fees when they saw that I was out of the children's home.”

Case study 4: Joshua T, 30

Joshua was born in 1974 in Ntungamo District. His family migrated to Rakai District in 1978 and settled in Kagamba Sub-county, Kooki County. Their home was a real example of an impoverished household, struggling to take care of the basic needs. They depended on cultivation for their income and lived in a small hut built from grass and sticks.

In 1984, Joshua's father died and left him to face his grief and the uncertainties of the world. The children depended on the strength of their mother to provide emotional and financial support. As expected, money to pay for his education became even scarcer. In his own words Joshua attributes his success in education to the favour of generous people and school authorities.

"I was always chased from school because of not paying school fees. Sometimes I would receive favour from the school authorities and they would allow me to pay less than what was required of me".

Joshua's deep desire to obtain an education drove him to pursue all options at his disposal. In primary six when he should have dropped out because of the increase in school fees, he heard about the Kibaale Children's Home from a friend who was visiting. With a letter of recommendation from the local council, he walked all the way to the children's home to gain admission.

In 1991, he joined the children's home, where he completed his primary education. The home was a breath of fresh air and an opportunity to advance in all aspects of life. It was there that he was appointed head boy and food organiser. He also excelled in his academic work and was always among the top three students in his class.

In 1992, he sadly left the children's home and was left to the uncertainty of whether he would continue with his education. However, with the support of a friend, he was able to study and complete his senior four education. It is because of this secondary level of education that he has been able to get a job as a security guard at Rakai Hospital. Joshua was able to marry and now has two children. He has built a house and has bought land on which he is constructing a small shop. He plans to have two more children, expand his house, and open up a shop, which his wife will run. Joshua concludes by saying that his removal from the children's home cast a shadow on his opportunities for education, which may have given him a better job and financial standing.

Appendix 4: Children affected by property disputes: description of respondents interviewed

No	Name	Sex	Age	Marital status	Level of education	Year of dispute	Source of dispute	Place of first reporting
1	Paul W	M	23	Single	Primary 4	1996	2	LCs
2	Sarah N	F	29	Married	Diploma	1996	3 Both	Clan Heads
3	Harriet N	F	22	Single	Secondary 4	1996	2	PSWO
4	Rashid R	M	24	single	Secondary 6	1996	3 Both	Clan Heads
5	Susan N	F	16	Single	Secondary 3	2000	2	PSWO
6	Norah B	F	17	Single	Secondary 2	1997	2	LCs
7	Isaac W	M	16	Single	Primary 4	1998	1	LCs
8	James L	M	17	Single	Primary 7	1998	3 Male	Clan Heads
9	Grace T	M	14	Single	Primary 4		3 Male	PSWO
10	Ruth F	M	26	Engaged	Primary 4	1996	2	LCs
11	Francis M	M	14	Single	Primary 4	2000	3 Male	LCs
12	Dianna F	F	16	Single	Secondary 2	2000	2	LCs
13	Beatrice M	F	14	Single	Secondary 2	1997	2	LCs
14	Adam P	M	17	Single	Primary 7		2	LCs
15	Jane N	F	28	Single	Primary 3		4	LCs
16	Ann B	F	15	Single	Primary 4	2001	3 Male	PSWO
17	Joyce N	F	18	Separated	Primary 4		3 Male	PSWO
18	Emanuel M	M	20	Married	Primary 6		3 Both	LCs
19	Peter D	M	16	Single	Primary 4	2002	3 Both	PSWO
20	Susan M	F	10	Single	Primary 2	2002	3 Male	PSWO
21	Edith H	F	13	Single	Primary 5		3 Male	PSWO
22	David N	M	18	Single	Senior 2	2002	3 Male	PSWO

KEY: Source of dispute

Disagreement on contents of the will	1
Sale of family property by household head (father)	2
Death of parent	3*
Both parents dead	3 Both
Male parent dead	3 Male
Disagreement over land.....	4

* In the sample there were no disputes related to the wife dying before the man

Appendix 5: Case studies of children involved in property disputes

Case study 1: Harriet N

My name is Harriet and I live in Kabawanga Village in Kyotera. Before the property dispute between my father and mother, the living conditions at home were good and my parents could easily afford to pay for my school fees. My primary education was going on well because I was receiving enough support from my parents. Though we did not get any external support we had enough income from selling coffee, milk and local brew.

The property dispute started when my father started selling some of the property at home so as to support his mistresses. My father sold the bicycle, five cows and a radio. My life and that of the people at home started to change and the quarrels between my parents increased. This all made me sad because I was not proud of my parents because they were quarrelling all the time. The support for my secondary school education started reducing and it became harder for my parents to get for me school fees. I tried to stay strong during these conflicts and close to my mother because she made some money that could pay for my school fees.

My mother decided to report the case to the probation officer at the county headquarters and dad was summoned to appear before her. He refused to go and so an order was sent out to arrest him but he ran away to Rwanda. When he was away, we went to the local council and showed them the licence for the bicycle and recovered it in this way. We did not, however, recover the cows and radio.

After six months, Dad came back a settled man and did not try to sell any more property. Since then Dad has changed a lot. He now spends all the nights at home and does not start up quarrels easily. Home is now very peaceful and we can now afford medical treatment that was hard to get during the property dispute.

With the help of my father, I have been able to open up a shop and acquire some cows. In addition, I am now training to become a nurse at Kalisizo Hospital. I plan to get married next year and expand my shop. Our home would be better if there was no property dispute because we were doing well financially and Dad was planning to buy a car and build a new house.

Case study 2: Francis M, 14

“My name is Francis and I am 14 years old. My father died in 1999 leaving my three brothers, two sisters and myself in the care of our mother. After the death of my father the financial situation at home grew worse. We depended on selling the produce from our garden at the market and on working in other peoples gardens for food. By this time, the house in which we were staying had also started leaking.

After the death of my father, his relatives started taking away our land and my stepsister sold part of the land. This part of the land was the most fertile and had a banana plantation and other crops. My mother went and reported to the local council (LC). We won the case in the LC court. Later on my stepsister, together with the man who had bought the land, bribed the LCs and the ruling was overturned in their favour. The boundaries of the land were changed and we lost the most fertile part of our land. This all made me so sad because truthfully this land belonged to my father. We were also left without any real source of income and so we depended on family and friends for food.

My mother then decided to go to the sub-county chief who gave her a letter to take to the probation officer at the county headquarters. The probation officer then called a meeting that included the LC, my mother, the man who had bought the land and other people who were involved in the dispute. After this meeting, we were given a small strip of land which had my father's grave on it and which could not be used for any cultivation. In addition we received iron sheets for our house.

Though the decision was taken to give us more land, our living conditions have not changed and disagreements still existed. The LC chairman wants us to move away because he says that we are going to become thieves. The man who took our land also bewitched us and two children at home died within one week. We decided to buy protection from another witchdoctor.

We still depend on working in other peoples gardens in exchange for food as a means of survival. We all get up early in the morning and go out looking for somebody who can give us some work to do. As a group, we are paid between 1,000–2,000 shillings per day worked or in kind with food. For medical treatment, we have to depend on the government health units that provide free treatment.

As part of my plan to improve the income at home, I would like to buy a pig and also buy clothes for my brothers and sisters from the proceeds.

Case study 3: Paul W, 24

“I was born in 1980 in Kyasimbi Kyotera County. My earliest memories of my home are of the conflicts between my parents, and my father’s drinking problems. My education would have been impossible if it had not been for Concern World Wide to pay for my school fees. Our family depended on cultivation to raise money to support me and take care of the other domestic needs. The disagreements between my parents and our poor family income became the root cause of the property dispute in our family. My father would squander all the little money by spending it on his alcohol. Gradually, Dad started selling our land whenever he had financial problems.

The property dispute was sparked off when Dad sold off the land that was in the village, claiming that he wanted to avoid conflicts with the neighbours. This land had a plantation and was a major source of food for the family. After selling this land, Dad again wanted to sell part of the land on which we were living. It was at this point my mother reported him to the LC, who gave her a letter to take to the probation officer at the county headquarters in Kasali. My father was then called for a meeting in which he was given a warning not to sell any more land that belonged to the family.

The land dispute affected everybody in the family. My brother and I dropped out in primary four because of the unfavourable conditions at home. We had to start cultivating the land to get money to support ourselves. My mother had to leave home at the height of the dispute to stay with her relatives.

The intervention of the probation office was effective in ensuring that Dad does not sell any more land and helping my parents to sort out their marital conflicts. Since the property dispute was settled, I have moved out of my parents’ home and I now operate a bar that I started in Kalimira Trading Centre. I also own part of the land that remained, on which I cultivate a few crops for sale. I am now able to extend some support to my brothers and sisters who are still at home. I plan to expand my business and also build a house for my parents.

Appendix 6: A summary of activities supported by government and donors in Rakai

HIV/AIDS

RAIN (Rakai Aids Information Network), a community-based organisation set up by the Rakai Child Social Care Project has been in operation since 1992. RAIN has experienced a steady decline in funding from DANIDA (Danish International Development Agency) since the early 1990s. HIV testing stopped in 1999 because of a lack of funding for both equipment and materials. This funding gap was caused in part by DANIDA's response to the corruption scandal within Rakai District Administration in 1999.

RAIN runs an HIV/AIDS peer education programme for secondary pupils, and out of school youth, traditional birth attendant (TBA) training and retraining, community-based healthcare (in particular water and sanitation) and sexually transmitted disease and HIV prevention. It has worked in all 23 sub-counties although these activities are currently curtailed as a result of the funding situation. In a review in 2000 RAIN's peer education objectives were seen to be unattainable on account of the lack of transport and a low turn-up for education activities relating to HIV/AIDS prevention. The review also found that the geographical scope of RAIN's activities and subsequent financial outlays were too great for the organisation's capacity. (Nuwagaba 2000).

Between 1993 and 1998, RAIN conducted 148 training events in which 4,209 peer educators were trained, and they issued 252,332 condoms. Peer educators in a follow-up study said that after the early stages of their work, those involved in the training failed to make regular support visits. As a result, they felt they lacked effective supervision and support, and when the condom supply ceased there were no other condoms available to buy in the vicinity. Lack of refresher training courses and of new recruits for educating the new sexually active age groups were seen as major obstacles in the fight against AIDS in their communities.

Under the Ugandan Aids Control programme 2003 RAIN now has access to funding to promote peer education.

Counselling

In 2001 Rakai Counsellors Association (RACA) supported by Rakai Community Based Project (RACOBAC) had 134 counsellors working in all the sub-counties of Kooki and Kabula counties. The counsellors are supervised by AIDS field assistants. The counsellors support vulnerable children and families including people living with AIDS, child-headed households, widows and disabled people. The counsellors receive training in development counselling, including children's rights and protection, will making, community development and material support, and the referral of clients for treatment of opportunistic infections. The approach is human rights based. In 2001, 134 trained counsellors worked with 752 people living with AIDS and 3,749 others including widows, widowers and children. Of the people living with AIDS, 351 were new cases while 197 died during that particular year. Counsellors educate their clients on children's rights and making wills. RACA trained

861 people in making wills, and of the 197 who died, 146 had made wills. From this group trained in will making, 72 cases of disputes over property were reported; 39 of them were unable to be settled at LC level and were reported to the PSWO; five cases remained unresolved; and 731 clients were referred for voluntary counselling and testing.

The volunteer counsellors trained by RACA have a very similar function to the child volunteer advocates trained by the Rakai CSCP.

Registration of orphans and vulnerable children

DANIDA has funded the Orphans Community Based Organisation (OCBO), based in Rakai, since 1992. One of the activities for which OCBO was funded, under the first agreement, was the District Orphan Register. Since 1995 the organisation has played a wider role in the District, including the registration of vulnerable children and adults. Within their definition, vulnerable children and adults include those who are disabled, young mothers, street children, abandoned children and children with parents who are unable to look after them. Vulnerable adults include those incapacitated by illness and disability as well as those who are elderly, those looking after orphans, and those who lack extended family members (Mutebi-Goolooba 2000).

Each sub-county and three of the towns within Rakai has an OCBO project assistant who works alongside local councillors to identify those in need and the most vulnerable. OCBO village committees did exist to advise on cases of the those most in need and the most vulnerable. Those committees no longer function on account of the lack of sitting allowances paid to members, who complain that project assistants were paid a monthly allowance.

Support to production

The DANIDA Rakai District Development Programme (RDDP) had several key dimensions including the offering of specific support to households affected by the economic and social effects of HIV/AIDS. This was intended to target social and economic benefits for women, orphans and the poor; and the institutional development of the district council to enable them to play a leading role in planning and administration. However, the Production Department of the District has, to date, made little commitment to supporting households affected by HIV/AIDS. According to a review of its activities “it is not possible to demonstrate that the support provided through the RDDP has resulted in sustained improvement in extension services” (Andama 2000).

Most NGOs working with vulnerable families and children employed their own agricultural staff, although in the case of animal husbandry (especially where cows are sick) assistance is bought in from the District.

Government programmes such as the Household Agricultural Support Programme (HASP) identified the need to support the resource-poor primary producer and particularly female-headed farmers, but in the main the scheme benefits farmers who are not the worst off. The households that are supported involve farmers who may be relatively poor but are not the same vulnerable households with whom that NGOs tend to work.

Vocational training

There are several NGOs involved in both vocational training and income generating. Organisations working with vulnerable children, including those who have lost one or both parents have focused on the development of vocational skills and income-generating activities.

OCBO

OCBO has two centres for training of young people in Kyotera and Kalisziso in eastern Rakai. During the 1990s the organisation had 32 village centres run by local artisans providing training in metal working, carpentry, tailoring, mechanics. Trainers took on five to seven trainees and in all, 687 graduated from the scheme. OCBO ended this arrangement due to difficulties in managing the supervision of the training and the expectations of both trainees and trainers; the local trainers were unpaid and the trainees themselves often felt exploited by those who were training them. Trainers also in some instances complained about having too many trainees. Furthermore, on finishing their training, owing to limited resources on the part of OCBO, tools and/or loans for trainees to set up in business were often unavailable.

In its two workshops, OCBO in its two workshops has streamlined its vocational training sections and now attract more consistent donor funding. The Kyotera trainee workshop has three different departments; tailoring in which 20 places are available; carpentry with 20 places; and computer studies with 10 places. The organisation aims to become more self-sufficient by making the carpentry work shop profit making, thus reducing its reliance on donor funding.

World Vision

World Vision also undertakes vocational training and in the past had its own workshops. It now out-sources training opportunities and services for vulnerable children. World Vision sponsors students through college or skills training rather than providing the training itself. The organisation prefers to sponsor students through service providers who are able to offer two-year training in tailoring, bicycle repair, hairdressing, metal work, carpentry, and farming. Trainees are given a choice in terms of the training they can join. From this vocational training programme, 75 young people have been trained and are currently self-employed in carpentry, tailoring, mechanics and bricklaying. 16 children have also graduated with skills in teaching, nursing and small business management.

Rakai Community Based Aids Project

Rakai Community Based Aids Project (RACOBAC) of the Lutheran World Foundation works in Koochi, Kabula and Lyontonde. It supports 34 community-based vocational training centres with tools, including those for carpentry and sewing machines. In 2001, the vocational training centres trained 426 boys and 216 girls in tailoring, carpentry, handicraft, brick-making and motor mechanics. In addition 3,291 young people (including 1,308 girls) received on-the-spot-training in a variety of skills including chicken rearing, food preservation, improved agriculture techniques, financial management, rabbit keeping, bookkeeping, and savings and credit. In 2001, the organisation also trained a total of 4,836 (59 per cent female) self-help and community-based group members in poultry keeping, crop and animal husbandry, bee keeping and in the identification of other, viable business projects and loan management. On-the-spot skills training with individuals and individual projects is considered by RACOBAC to have the greatest potential for the training to be applied in practice and ultimately, for it to be successful.

RACOBAC also supports Zewulia Family Alliance for Development (ZEFAD – a community-led organisation in Lwanda Sub-county) in relation to skills training, food security and tree planting. The skill training includes carpentry, bicycle repair, agriculture, bark cloth making, building and tailoring. More than 120 trainees have benefited. RACOBAC is looking to the future and to supporting ZEFAD to take over all elements of vocational training of the project.

Income-generating activities

Agricultural activities form a major theme in the intensive World Vision programme to boost livelihoods by improving food production and household incomes. In three sub-counties, the World Vision programme reaches approximately 16,000 people, about 25 per cent of the population. Child-headed households and families with vulnerable children are targeted and according to the co-ordinator, more than 5,000 families have “had their livelihoods improved”. Approximately 625 farmers/family heads have acquired improved farming skills and have been trained to extend their own training to other farmers in their area. Income-generating activities have led to improved quality in poultry, goat rearing and the keeping of exotic (cross) dairy cows. They have also provided coffee plants and disease-resistant cuttings of bananas and cassava.

Credit

The ability of vulnerable families to access credit in Rakai District depends on where they live, on which NGOs operate in their area and on the connections that they have with these NGOs. DANIDA’s support to two societies, Century and Victoria Building Societies in Kyotera, gave credit to around 1,000, mostly urban households. Interest rates were high at more than 20 per cent in most cases. No large-scale schemes to specifically raise the income levels and livelihoods of the majority, rural poor have operated in Rakai. NGOs have, however, all tried out credit schemes. OCBO has borrowed money from larger credit institutions and donors such as Concern Worldwide for onward lending to clients. OCBO has expressed an interest in working with the poorest but has taken a strategic decision to lend to those who have “*shown that they can already initiate some activity to generate money for a living but only need a push to boost their business.*”

In 2001/2002 OCBO gave credit to more than 320 women and 380 men. Although recovery of loans is good and amounts to a stated 95 per cent, the interest rates in some schemes remain high at around 25 per cent. Demand for loans is very high, however, and OCBO aims to raise more equity to scale-up the schemes and increase the benefits to the organisation as a whole.

RACOBAC has also been making loans available to the community and self-help groups in their area of operation. In 2001, 40 million shillings, or approximately \$20,000, was disbursed to 48 groups. This benefited a total of 610 people, of whom 49 per cent were women members. RACOBAC claim a recovery rate of 90 per cent with their loans within one year. Groups receiving credit are involved in the following activities: crop and animal husbandry, produce buying, carpentry, hairdressing, catering, fish farming and culvert making. The project has also been able to support more than 150 groups in savings schemes.

World Vision also has a micro credit support project, MEDNET, managed separately from the main programme, which lends to graduates of vocational skills’ training. In addition, some NGOs have lent money directly to their volunteers as one form of incentive. However, this arrangement has brought problems, with some volunteers unable to pay back the money. This has led to them dropping out of their activities as they avoid contact with the project while loans are outstanding. As

a result of such experiences, World Vision and other NGOs have separated their micro-finance activities from the other types of support they offer, in order to enable support to continue independent of ability to repay loans.

Education

World Vision also supports local schools, building classrooms and latrine blocks, providing furniture, rainwater harvesting tanks and teachers' houses – all of which make a significant contribution to the ability of children to access education.

Appendix 7: Uganda AIDS Control Programme 2003/4 district programme support

The Uganda AIDS Control Programme (UACP) supports the goals of the National Strategic Framework for HIV/AIDS activities. The UACP was funded by the Uganda government with a soft loan from the World Bank. This strategic framework aims to:

- reduce the spread of HIV infection
- mitigate the health and socio-economic impact of HIV/AIDS at individual, household and community levels
- strengthen the national capacity to respond to the epidemic.

The programme works through the office of the Chief Administrative Officer and the District AIDS Committee. The Health Department acts as focal point for the main strategy support and co-ordination of the District Integrated HIV/AIDS Work plan, while the Community Services Department acts as a focal point for the Community-led HIV/AIDS Initiative component (CHAI).

The draft Rakai District integrated HIV/AIDS work plan 2003/04 has three areas of proposed activity:

- prevention of HIV transmission
- care and support, those affected and infected
- institutional capacity building.

Draft Rakai District integrated HIV/AIDS work plan and budget 2003/04

Activity	Budget	% of total HIV budget
1. Prevention of HIV transmission		
• IEC and advocacy campaigns	548,883	69%
• Condom education and promotion	43,061	5%
• Promotion of STI treatment seeking behaviour	9,746	1%
• Promotion of infection control in health care setting	22,252	3%
• Promotion of voluntary counselling and testing	29,399	4%
• Promotion of voluntary counselling and testing	18,776	2%
Prevention of mother-to-child transmission		
2. Mitigation of personal social impact of HIV/AIDS		
• Care and support services to those infected and affected	44,159	6%
• Management of HIV/AIDS and TB patients	12,866	1%
3. Institutional capacity building		
• Planning, supervision, monitoring and evaluation	12,600	1%
• Management and administration activities	12,600	1%
• Community led HIV/AIDS support activities	54,115	7%

Appendix 8: Key informants

Alinda Charles	- Rakai District Population Officer
Bagarukayo Alex	- Rakai District Principal Probation Welfare Officer and Co-ordinator Community Services
Bakirya Judith	- Programme Adviser Orphans and Vulnerable Children Programme
Bukenya Sayyid	- Principal, Kampiringisa Rehabilitation Centre
Bwanika Joseph	- Rakai District LC3 Chair Lyantonde
Coutinho Sheila	- UNICEF Project officer HIV/AIDS (OVC)
Dunn Andrew	- Former Save the Children UK Social Welfare Adviser
Durr Barbara A.	- Uganda Program for Human and Holistic Development UPHOLD Deputy Chief of party
Ggoyi-Kalungi John	- Orphans Community Based Organisation (OCBO) Project Co-ordinator
Iga Daniel S.	- DANIDA Programme Officer
Igulu David	- UNICEF Area Manager Rakai, Masaka and
Kabagozza James	- Principal Probation and Welfare Officer and OVC Co-ordinator MoGLSD
Kanyaraju Ruth	- Rakai District Economist
Kasos Fred	- Rakai Counsellors Association
Kasumba George	- Rakai District Planning Officer
Katusiime Grace M	- Principal Social Development Officer/Rights
Kayabula V.N	- Child Volunteer Advocate Kyotera County
Kayagoza Geoffrey	- Rakai District Chief Kyalulangira Sub County
Keeba Allen	- Consultant, Decentralisation and Governance Analysis
Kiirya Stephen K.	- Uganda AIDS Control Project. Community-led HIV/AIDS Initiative (CHAI) Implementation Specialist
Lubaye Erasmus	- Rakai District Chief Financial Officer
Lubega Bakaye B.	- Principal Culture Officer
Lubega Jimmy	- Child Volunteer Advocate Kyotera County
Luzze Fred	- Save the Children UK Psychosocial/Monitoring and Evaluation Project Manager
Mawer Richard	- Save the Children UK Former Country Programme Director
Mirago Eddie	- Rakai Aids Information Network
Mpagi Jane	- Director, Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development
Mugenyi Rodgers P	- Rakai District LC4 Chair Kyotera
Mugisha Enos	- Rakai District LC3 Chair Kabira
Mulumba Deo	- Rakai District Probation and Welfare Officer Kabula County
Musoke Sadabu	- Child Volunteer Advocate Kyotera County
Mutajjulwa Joseph	- Rudeser Kyotera Rakai District
Mwenisigwa Daudi	- World Vision Kyotera Office Rakai District
Mwesigwa Agabus	- Rakai District Principal Agricultural Officer
Naiga Regina	- Rakai District Community Development Officer
Namuddu Florence	- Rakai District Probation and Welfare Officer Kyotera County

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|--|
| Ochago Rufina | - | Principal PWO, MoGLSD |
| Ojwang Michael | - | Rakai District Acting Senior Probation Officer |
| Robbins Harriet | - | Heal the Nations Co-ordinator |
| Roys Chris | - | Former Save the Children UK Rakai Project Manager |
| Ssekiwanuka James | - | Manager RACOBAC Lutheran World Foundation
Lyontonde, Rakai District |
| Staff group | - | Concern Worldwide Kyotera Office Rakai District |
| Swales Diane | - | Save the Children UK Regional Social Protection Adviser |
| Wingfield Tom | - | DFID Assistant Governance Officer |
| Young Richard | - | Former Save the Children UK Country Programme Director |
| Zimbwe Margaret | - | Child Volunteer Advocate Kyotera County |

Appendix 9: Population Distribution, Rakai District

Kabula	Kaliro	7,300	7,744	15,044
	Kasagama	2,727	2,448	5,175
	Kinuuka	3,766	3,446	7,212
	Lyantonde	7,241	7,334	14,575
	Lyantonde TC	3,615	3,862	7,477
	Mpumudde	8,301	8,391	16,692
Kakuuto	Kakuuto	13,202	13,277	26,479
	Kasasa	7,112	7,270	14,382
	Kibanda	8,044	8,120	16,164
	Kifamba	5,928	6,082	12,010
	Kyebe	8,276	8,391	16,183
Kooki	Byakabanda	6,920	7,137	14,057
	Ddwaniro	13,343	13,897	27,240
	Kacheera	8,612	9,295	17,907
	Kagamba (Buyamba)	13,133	14,220	27,353
	Kyalulangira	15,230	15,539	30,769
	Lwamaggwa	15,675	16,202	31,877
	Lwanda	12,135	12,246	24,381
	Rakai TC	3,238	2,910	6,148
Kyotera	Kabira	12,728	12,948	25,676
	Kalisizo	13,156	14,524	27,680
	Kasaali	11,249	11,522	22,771
	Kirumba	11,987	12,642	24,628
	Kyotera TC	3,488	4,190	7,678
	Lwankoni	6,854	7,124	13,978
	Nabigasa	9,002	9,267	18,269
		232,262	239,544	471,806

