



Setting the post-2015 development compass:
voices from the ground

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Executive summary

In 2015 global leaders will take decisions affecting the lives of millions of people as they agree the framework to replace the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The MDGs have shaped development policy and political agendas for the last 12 years. Some of the issues they focused on have seen real improvements, from reducing the number of people living on very low incomes to increasing people's access to medicines for HIV.

Policy-makers have a responsibility to include those whose lives are most difficult and to make their interests a priority. The COMPASS 2015 research project was born out of CAFOD's determination to ensure that the perspectives of those living in poverty are included in the post-2015 policy process.

'The fresh perspectives from participants offer unexpected insights and challenge assumptions about what policies work, and for whom'

This in-depth participatory research is grounded in our partners' work with people who are marginalised or living in poverty, having collected the views of 1,420 participants in 56 communities affected by poverty in four low and middle income countries (Bolivia, Philippines, Uganda and Zimbabwe).

COMPASS 2015, as part of the global *Participate* initiative, explored people's experience of change over the last 15 years.¹ It aims to identify the priorities, challenges, visions and aspirations of poor or marginalised people. As the rate of global change accelerates, this report provides an updated understanding of people's experiences of poverty and sheds light on how change happens. The fresh perspectives

from participants offer unexpected insights and challenge assumptions about what policies work, and for whom.

The research is unique because it combines a genuine participatory process with addressing key issues in the post-2015 policy discussion. This evidence complements quantitative studies by exploring in-depth the complex interconnections of different issues and processes that affect the poorest people, exploring how they are experienced in the daily lives of people in different contexts. In writing this report, **the actual voices of the participants** have been prioritised and celebrated, rather than combined to produce a single linear narrative.

Its relevance for policy-making processes was planned from the start through using key questions developed by policy-makers as a foundation of discussion. The participatory nature of the research empowers participants to articulate the messages they want policy-makers to hear.

The first chapter examines participants' own perspectives of wellbeing before moving on to the changes in the global context that have emerged over the past 15 years in chapter 2. The next five sections present findings on several key issues. Chapter 3 focuses on the way in which changes in social norms can have positive impacts, while chapter 4 addresses the long-term consequences of natural disasters and conflicts. Chapter 5 discusses livelihoods and employment, the priority for most participants in the research, and the different coping strategies available to the poorest people. Chapter 6 examines how governance

issues such as political patronage, lack of accountability, and difficulties in access to justice affect people living in poverty, and chapter 7 focuses on provision of and access to services. The concluding chapter presents a synthesis of key findings, with implications for the post-2015 framework.

Main findings

In order to live well with your children at home, you should have maize, groundnuts, chicken, oxen, and milk that the children can drink. That is what makes one live well and people will say that old woman is living well with her children.

(Esther, 80, a widow in Uganda with eight children)

The aspirations of wellbeing expressed by many people living in poverty are varied and framed in many different ways. However, they are often both concrete and achievable, within the realms of what is politically and economically feasible. An underlying theme was having a secure livelihood and living without fear. Participants also put a strong emphasis on their own agency in achieving wellbeing, looking at other actors as partners or enablers of their efforts.

Changes in the global context

Over the last 15 years, the wellbeing of many people living in poverty has deteriorated as a result of processes that have displaced their livelihoods, severely impairing their ability to make a decent living. These processes include environmental degradation, violent conflict, forced displacement, rapid changes in the prices paid to farmers, resource depletion, natural disasters, and political and economic crises. This is aggravated by increasing uncertainty and precariousness, such as the drop in income from farming and the growth of casual and unreliable employment. In our globally interconnected world, people living in poverty are aware that their wellbeing is dependent on decisions and situations they have no opportunity to influence or control.

Often, the worst situations of poverty identified are caused by intersecting multiple factors. While some issues have existed for decades (such as land inheritance practices, customary duty of care disproportionately

‘The research is unique because it combines a genuine participatory process with addressing key issues in the post-2015 policy discussion’

Research session in Uganda



‘The wellbeing of many people living in poverty has deteriorated as a result of processes that have displaced their livelihoods’

burdening women, exploitative tenancy agreements), others are new (for example, changing family composition because of HIV and/or conflict, increasing frequency of droughts, rapid fluctuations in international commodity prices). It is the interplay between these ‘old’ and ‘new’ factors that produces the worst experiences of poverty and exclusion. To address the challenges presented by these complex situations, a comprehensive response beyond sectoral approaches is needed. One factor present in nearly every story is that of gender inequality which intersects with other issues to create new forms of social exclusion.

policies have reduced stigma attached to being HIV positive.

Conflicts and disasters

The little improvement we gained with hard work over the years was again back to zero because of the flooding.

(Celia, F, farmer, Mapulog, Philippines)

Human security is a priority with participants emphasising the great loss caused by natural disasters and conflicts. Even when small-scale, disasters and conflicts can destroy years of hard-won progress and undermine wellbeing for years to come. Some can be prevented or mitigated by building resilience and preparedness. Participants emphasised the importance of local solutions based on listening and understanding local people and their leaders rather than military deployment from central government.

Employment and livelihoods

The first thing that anyone needs is a job. We all need to be employed to fight poverty.

(Mrs Bhebhe, F, 58, Bulawayo, Zimbabwe)

The main concern from people living in poverty is for employment or access to productive assets that allow them to rebuild viable and sustainable livelihoods. Requests for external support – mostly directed to the government – are **a means to achieving self-reliance**. Land and access to land are key issues, although they are not enough if vulnerable communities are not supported in getting equitable agreements, for instance to overcome exploitative land tenancy arrangements. Farming income is often no longer sufficient and employment tends to be more and more precarious.

According to participants, **the strategies available to poor people are very different from those available to very poor people, suggesting the need for differentiated approaches and interventions.** For example, education is perceived as key to getting a job whose income does not depend on uncertain harvests increasingly affected by extreme and changing weather conditions. Education is also central to connecting with development organisations



Research session in the Philippines

Transforming discriminatory social norms

Sometimes, we face discrimination. When someone knows that you are HIV positive, they avoid your stall and buy from the next person, as if HIV is transmitted through the products that we sell. Cases of discrimination are few now, people are now aware.

(Rosemary, F, 61, Bulawayo)

Changes in social norms have **had concrete positive impacts on the lives of some of the most marginalised people.** For example, indigenous peoples have gained self-esteem and recognition through political participation, while for others government



Community dialogue in Uganda

that can provide support, but is less likely to be available to very poor people. Furthermore, the opportunities offered by migration are different for both groups, and tend to produce long-term improvement only for low income groups. Earning a living through multiple activities also mitigates risk for those who already live well but becomes a forced choice for very poor people who have to engage in multiple activities to survive, leading to extremely long working days. Often, very poor people have no choice other than to earn a living through risky activities, exposing them to greater vulnerability and undermining their capacity to move out of poverty.

Governance, patronage and politics

If you do not belong to the same political party as the incumbent local government chief executive, it is very difficult to get support for development projects or activities in the ward.

(Mapulog, Philippines)

Another set of findings examines **how development programmes and public services are delivered to very poor people, and who benefits.**

People living in poverty recognise that national government plays a key role in development, but new forms of accountability and monitoring are needed. Very poor people are particularly affected by political patronage where projects and services reward or punish political support. Corruption and elite capture often prevent very poor people from benefiting from the projects and services meant for them. This is more marked in isolated areas where monitoring is difficult, disproportionately affecting marginalised groups who most need services but fear retaliation if they speak out. Access to justice was another strong issue raised by participants, often connected to economic transactions and power.

‘The main concern from people living in poverty is for employment or access to productive assets that allow them to rebuild viable and sustainable livelihoods’



Research participant in Bolivia

‘Excluded groups have started to engage in politics and see political participation as a strategy to improve their lives and tackle exclusion’

Participants consider **social protection programmes** such as conditional cash transfers and healthcare insurance to be very important and advocate expanding the scope and duration, as well as number of beneficiary groups. However, these

programmes have also been used to blackmail people living in poverty and gain their political support. Participants identified a need for improved delivery mechanisms.

Participants often felt that government takes the side of mining companies rather than guaranteeing people’s rights and the rule of law. At the same time, the expansion of mining activities and intensifying pressure from many corporations make it difficult for local communities to make informed decisions on the use of their land.

In a context of increasing uncertainty, the government becomes a fundamental enabler of processes of development. Increased interconnectedness demands collective decision-making at different levels through the transformation of ‘poor people’ into political subjects. Excluded groups have started to engage in politics and see political participation as a strategy to improve their

lives and tackle exclusion. A profound change in many current models of governance is needed for them to be effective in challenging existing inequalities, through empowering those who live in poverty.

Services provision and access to services

Health and education are the two most important services discussed by participants in the research. While participants acknowledge improvements in provision, a recurring theme is **insufficient quality of services and economic barriers** (such as fees and hidden costs) for the poorest people. Achieving high enrolment rates in schools is undoubtedly important but the quality and relevance of what is taught is equally important. When enrolment rates are the indicator for progress in education targets, there is no incentive to invest in quality. Poor people who send their children to school often feel their efforts and children’s time are wasted because of the poor quality of education available.

Measuring quality and whether government responses reflect the needs and aspirations of its citizens remain crucial questions for the post-2015 framework. Participants emphasised the need for **new indicators and systems of accountability based on participatory monitoring of development interventions and government**

programmes. Even projects that appear unproblematic and beneficial for everyone in the community, such as road building, can have negative effects. This underlines the need to involve local communities in design, planning and implementation of development interventions, and collectively strategise to reduce unwanted impacts.

Development interventions in isolated areas and aimed at marginalised groups is often costly as is monitoring effectiveness. **Global accountability mechanisms and development frameworks that focus on value-for-money and average national progress tend to exclude very poor people.** Delivering quality education to a child with disabilities in a remote area costs more than educating a child without disabilities in a city, although they may be ‘worth’ the same amount to development statistics. **Governments competing to achieve targets and demonstrate ‘effective’ use of resources target people who are cheaper and easier to reach, resulting in exclusion of very poor and marginalised people.** While measurement and assessment

of impact is essential, **quantitative and value-for-money tools should not funnel resources only towards the most accessible.**

Enabling poor people to participate
Enabling people living in poverty to participate in policy deliberations and development interventions can be **costly and time-consuming**, requiring political will. The use of local languages is paramount for genuinely inclusive processes but presents many challenges; for example, to gather a relatively small number of perspectives within four countries, researchers on this project used **15 languages**. Too often development agencies work through **local elites** who speak dominant languages. This is a lesson for both UN-driven processes and civil society coalitions in which meaningful participation is often subordinated to English ability. Tight time schedules and budget constraints **further reproduces existing global inequalities.**

Research participants in Uganda



Implications

This study offers three sets of implications which are summarised here and reproduced in full at the end of report.

Principles and approach

The post-2015 framework should:

1. Challenge existing social and economic development processes and relations (for example land grabbing, rapid changes in commodity prices, inequitable tenancy agreements), recognising that for the poorest people they generate and perpetuate poverty.
2. Highlight the need for a comprehensive and holistic approach to development issues beyond sectoral approaches.
3. Create an enabling environment for positive global changes in discriminatory social norms to impact and empower people at the local level.
4. Emphasise the importance of using aid to target the most excluded in both low and middle income countries, while encouraging the use of all available means and funding mechanisms to promote sustainable development.
5. Stress that international and national legislation must work effectively for poor people.

Content

The post-2015 framework should:

1. Adopt a gender lens to address gender inequalities and promote empowerment of women across all development goals.
2. Include and prioritise conflict prevention, disaster and conflict risk reduction and building resilience, to favour global investment in these unattractive but important sectors.
3. Promote the creation of decent jobs as well as ensuring poor people have access to and control over key productive assets such as land.
4. Highlight the importance of establishing a minimum social floor for all through universal social protection. Universal health insurance should also be promoted as a way to grant access to health services to the most excluded.

Implementation and measurement

The post-2015 framework should:

1. Emphasise the need for differentiated approaches and interventions for very poor and the most excluded people and incentivise effective measures which include them.
2. Consult and involve local communities in design and planning to ensure that meaningful participation of citizens is mainstreamed in all development interventions.
3. Genuinely include the perspectives of those living in poverty by allocating adequate time and resources for this purpose and outlining a clear process for how these perspectives will contribute to the decision-making process.
4. Include different indicators which measure the quality of the services provided through participatory monitoring and evaluation of the interventions.
5. Identify new forms of accountability. It must change MDG indicators and complement them with citizen evaluations, peer reviews and comprehensive forms of assessment looking at overall progress and challenges beyond single indicators.
6. Require accountability and transparency from all actors dealing with people living in poverty and from marginalised and excluded groups, including government actors (both local and national) companies, in particular multi-nationals, and NGOs. A new framework should also ensure that the poorest people have access to justice and voice to make other actors accountable.

Introduction

In 2015 global leaders will take decisions affecting the lives of millions of people

as they agree the framework to replace the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The MDGs have shaped development policy and political agendas for the last 12 years, and some of the issues that the MDGs focused on – from reducing the number of people living on very low incomes to increasing people’s access to medicines for HIV – have seen real improvements.. CAFOD’s report ‘100 voices’² demonstrated that people and civil society organisations working with poor communities in the global South believe that a new overarching framework to direct development is important.

CAFOD is a member of Caritas Internationalis, a global network of 165 Catholic organisations working in humanitarian emergencies and international development. In keeping with Catholic social teaching, CAFOD seeks to listen to the voices of those who are seldom heard and works with the poorest people of the world so that they might be ‘the artisans of their destiny’.³ A key concern is that the issues that matter most to people living in poverty and from vulnerable, marginalised or excluded communities will be sidelined by the interests of more powerful groups. Policy-makers have a responsibility to include those whose lives are most difficult and to make their interests a priority. The COMPASS 2015 **participatory research project was born out of CAFOD’s determination to ensure that the perspectives of those living in poverty are included in the post-2015 process.**

COMPASS 2015 contributes to the *Participate* initiative (www.participate2015.com)



Research session in the Philippines

co-convened by the Institute of Development Studies (Brighton) and the global civil society campaign Beyond 2015. Through participatory research, *Participate* provides high quality evidence on the reality of poverty on the ground, bringing the perspectives of the poorest people into the post-2015 debate.

COMPASS 2015 research is grounded in the work of CAFOD’s partners with people who are marginalised and/or living in poverty. The purpose of the research

was to provide a space for people on the ground to engage with and provide their own insights on fundamental questions of the post-2015 debate. The research used questions developed by key policy-makers

‘Policy-makers have a responsibility to include those whose lives are most difficult and to make their interests a priority’



Training of local researchers in Uganda

‘A participatory process that starts with the concerns of those living in poverty and offers insights to policy-makers’

as an input to ensure that the participatory research process led to results relevant to policy. A process of negotiation with the partners led to four research projects, each different in method, scope and thematic focus. The common objective was to establish a participatory process that started with the concerns of those living in poverty and offered insights to policy-makers, framed in research participants’ language. Such insights are based on participants’ experience of change (a concept broader than development) over the past 15 years (in order to provide an indirect assessment of MDGs) and on their aspirations for the future.

COMPASS 2015 involved four partners from four countries in four different regions, working with diverse communities in various agro-ecological areas. Since over two-thirds

of the world’s poor people live in middle income countries (World Bank, 2011), **two low income countries (Zimbabwe and Uganda) and two middle income countries (Bolivia and the Philippines)** were selected. **The research involved 1,420 participants in 56 different communities**, ranging from rural villages to urban neighbourhoods and informal settlements (see Annex II). The research involved 44 researchers and fieldwork was conducted between December 2012 and March 2013.

This research provides an **up-to-date picture of people’s experiences and perspectives of poverty**. The communities are not representative of all situations and experiences and COMPASS 2015 does not claim to be exhaustive. Nevertheless, there is a wide representation and the research explored many different experiences of poverty and exclusion. For example, in Uganda and the Philippines rural communities taking part in the research did not even have electricity, while in urban areas of Zimbabwe, some people living in poverty had mobile phones or even smart phones. If a simple money-metric approach is used, it is easy to reach quick conclusions on who lives better. However, a more complex understanding of poverty and marginalisation demonstrates how, despite the relative availability of luxury goods such as smart phones, the high costs of urban life force some residents to undertake highly risky activities such as prostitution which exposes them to violence and sexually transmitted diseases.

An important analytical distinction made throughout the report is that between ‘poor’ and ‘very poor’ people. While most participants were living in poverty, in their narratives there was a clear distinction between the poor and those living in the worst situations of poverty within their communities. Not all members of a poor community were equally affected and this distinction became very important when analysing the coping strategies available to various people and the effectiveness of development interventions. This important distinction may vary according to the context and it is not easily translated into standard definitions such as ‘extreme poverty’.



Research session in Bolivia

A list of guiding questions was given to partners to discuss, challenge and reframe. Every research project designed its own questions (see Annex II). Questions were open and focused on participants' perspectives of wellbeing, asking who lives well and who doesn't, as well as exploring the causes of situations of poverty. The research questions have been used as guidelines but research sessions have followed an open pattern based on participants' suggestions.

Partners designed and adapted different methods of data collection. These include visual mapping, participatory workshops, groups of collective reflection, participant observation, in-depth interviews with key informants, focus groups, and collective processes of data validation (more details in Annex II). Different groups of participant analysed changes in their community over the past 15 years, their current situation of poverty and its causes, and identified their key challenges. Researchers facilitated the process through which participants selected

their priorities and discussed solutions and demands. Each group's analysis was then shared with other groups in the community, generating lively debate that highlighted shared challenges and aspirations as well as issues and aims pertinent only to specific groups. Participants articulated messages which were recorded and later fed back to them both visually and orally during a process of validation, giving them an opportunity to further discuss, clarify, amend and withdraw any information.

Local researchers emphasised how the participatory process necessitated context-specific methods, which meant changing the approach according to the community. As the lead researcher in the Philippines stated, 'The appropriateness of methods resorted to in the field had been determined in consultation with community representatives and tailored with techniques sensitive to the

'In writing this report the actual voices of the participants have been prioritised'

culture in the research site – especially in terms of language, manner of inquiry, mode of discussion. Doing so ensured site-specific and site-contextualised data gathering'. The methods were based on the ways in which each community usually discussed and debated, while also including social groups whose voice on important issues is often not heard, even within their own communities, such as children. Moreover, research facilitators were strongly connected with the topics and the experiences discussed. For example, in Iligan (the Philippines), the researcher herself was directly affected by the typhoon that killed her neighbours.

The knowledge of research facilitators and partners enabled them to reach out to some of the most marginalised people and bring together their voices and collective

analyses. Methodological differences between and within the COMPASS 2015 research projects are consistent with its participatory nature. Far from presenting a challenge, these differences helped methodological triangulation which further strengthened research results. What is striking is that the research clearly identified common issues, despite the fact it was conducted in different continents, countries, and communities, by different types

of organisations with different goals using a range of methodologies. For this reason, these issues can be considered to represent the concerns of people living in poverty beyond the communities involved in the research.

In writing this report, the actual voices of the participants have been prioritised, rather than combined to produce a single linear narrative. This has been done so that the complexity of the messages is not

compromised nor are the participants' views manipulated. The integration of continuous input and feedback from across the research teams transformed the process of compiling this report into a lively process that ensured the key messages were widely validated and endorsed by all involved.

The survey MyWorld,⁴ conducted by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and various partners, invites people around the world to share their priorities for the post-2015 framework. Results (updated at 10 June 2013) indicated priorities of: (1) A good education; (2) Better health care; (3) An honest and responsive government; (4) Better job opportunities. COMPASS 2015 complements this knowledge by identifying the priorities for some of the very poorest people, exploring the connections between these different issues and their manifestation in people's daily lives.

The first chapter examines participants' own perspectives of wellbeing before moving on to the changes in the global context that have emerged over the past 15 years in chapter 2. The next five sections present the findings on several key issues. Chapter 3 focuses on the way in which changes in social norms can have positive impacts, while chapter 4 addresses the long-term consequences of natural disasters and conflicts. Chapter 5 discusses livelihoods and employment, the priority for most participants in the research, and the different coping strategies available to the poorest people. Chapter 6 examines how governance issues such as political patronage, lack of accountability, and difficulties in access to justice affect people living in poverty, and chapter 7 focuses on provision of and access to services. The concluding chapter presents a synthesis of key findings, with implications for the post-2015 framework.

'The research clearly identified common issues, despite the fact it was conducted in different continents, countries, and communities'

Summary of COMPASS 2015 research projects

	Philippines	Uganda	Zimbabwe	Bolivia	Total
Total Researchers	11	14	5	13	43+1
Total Languages	6	3	3	5	15
Languages	Bisaya, M'ranao, Tagalog, Subanun, English, Higaunon	Teso, English, Kumam	Shona, Ndebele, English	Spanish, Aymara, Quechua, Guaraní, Guarayo	N/A
Research Participants	616	427	177	200	1420
Communities (eg. villages, neighbourhoods)	13	20	7	16	56



Research participants:

Religious leaders
 Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people
 Former combatants
 Drivers
 Children
 Employed and unemployed young people
 Older women and men
 Internally displaced people
 People resettling from displacement
 People with disabilities
 Street children
 Fisherfolk
 Forest dwellers
 People working in the informal sector

Traders
 Agricultural labourers
 Small-scale farmers
 Artisans
 Inactive/unemployed people
 Wage workers
 Small business owners
 Civil servants
 People affected by war
 People living with HIV

1 Perspectives of wellbeing

- The aspirations of wellbeing expressed by many people living in poverty are often both concrete and achievable, within the realms of what is politically and economically feasible.
- Participants put a strong emphasis on their own agency in achieving wellbeing, looking at other actors as partners or enablers of their efforts.

In order to live well with your children at home, you should have maize, groundnuts, chicken, oxen, and milk that the children can drink. That is what makes one live well and people will say that old woman is living well with her children.

(Esther, 80, F, widow with eight children, Malera, Uganda)

The aspirations of wellbeing⁵ expressed by many people living in poverty are often both concrete and achievable, within the realms of what is politically and economically feasible. The view of Esther was largely shared by other widows,

If you are living well, in your home you should have oxen, goat, sheep, groundnuts and all that food. This will make you live well.

(Berida, 66, F, farmer and widow with four children, Malera, Uganda)

In other words, **food security** and **access to land**.

Research session in Uganda





School of living traditions, the Philippines

Young people may articulate what they need more directly than older widows,

If you are able to educate your children, you are living well. Secondly, if there are enough drugs at the health facilities without being stolen then we will be able to live well. Thirdly, security should be guaranteed in our communities. Then having good and accessible roads, markets for our foodstuff, this is living well.

(Onyait, 25, M, farmer, married with three children, Kobwin, Uganda)

The underlining theme is having a **secure livelihood** and living **without fear** of sudden shocks, as expressed by Lourdes:

development is when my family is able to eat three meals a day and we sleep peacefully at night without fear that a flood will wash our livelihood away.

(Lourdes, F, 60, farmer, Philippines)

Protection and security is part of the demand for shelter:

Development for me is when we have a house to protect us when rains come and keep us warm during the night.

(Grace, F, 12, children focus group, Philippines)

In Bolivia, visions of wellbeing have a strong communal element:

When all of us in the community are self-sustainable and we do not depend on anyone else. That the community has all basic services and no one suffers hunger in the community. The presence of projects and programmes to support production, education and health in the community. That there is work. That there are places of recreation for children, young people and the rest of the community.

In these requests, participants articulate a desire for **self-reliance** while simultaneously recognising their need for **support to achieve their vision of wellbeing**. Often, it is a request for basic services or **access to productive assets**. A similar perspective comes from Florence (F, 30, widow, Uganda) who does not simply want a house but a house that she has built:

when I have constructed a house for myself and family where my children live comfortably sleeping on mattresses.

Participants put a strong emphasis on their own agency in achieving wellbeing, looking at other actors as partners or enablers of their efforts.

‘Participants articulate a desire for self-reliance while simultaneously recognising their need for support to achieve their vision of wellbeing’

2

Changes in the global context

- While acknowledging improvements in the provision of key services, living conditions have deteriorated for many people who are marginalised or living in poverty because their livelihoods have been severely hampered by a combination of factors and processes.
- The worst situations of poverty are very rarely caused by a single factor but by a range of intersecting factors working together on different scales.
- People living in poverty are aware of increasing global interconnectedness, especially when adversely affected by situations they haven't contributed to.
- Gender is a major source of inequality, and often an additional source of exclusion that worsens the situation of poor women.

This chapter examines two findings emerging from analysis of changes that have taken place over the last 15 years in the lives of the research participants.

‘Poor people have seen their living conditions deteriorate over the past 15 years because their ability to make a decent living has been severely curtailed’

The first is that, while acknowledging improvements in the provision of key services (as outlined in chapter 6), living conditions have deteriorated for many people who are marginalised or living in poverty. This is because their **livelihoods have been severely hampered by different factors and processes**, some of them human-induced. The second is that **intersecting factors frequently cause the worst situations of poverty and marginalisation**, and that

these factors are often a combination of old and new issues. Gender is a cross-cutting issue that is present in almost every story, often as a source of further exclusion.

2.1 Displacement of livelihoods

Evidence from COMPASS 2015 research suggests that poor people in most of the communities involved in the project have seen their living conditions deteriorate over the past 15 years because their ability to make a decent living has been severely curtailed. It is not only that they have been excluded from modernisation and development, but also that they have been adversely affected by it. Factors – often human-induced – range from pollution and environmental degradation to violent conflicts (often over natural resources) and rapid swings in commodity prices for farmers. The most significant factors were resource stress, natural disasters and conflicts.

Participants did not have an idealised view of the past but clearly articulated better experiences of wellbeing in the past. This occurred in a wide range of contexts but particularly in conflict and post-conflict situations. For instance, fisherfolk in Iligan



Research session in the Philippines

City and in Lintangan (Philippines) described having to put more effort into catching fewer fish because of pollution, increased numbers of fisherfolk, illegal large-scale fishing and violent attacks by pirates.

Typhoon Sendong, which killed more than 1,000 people in the same area in 2011, is an example of a natural disaster made worse by human activity. This area had not traditionally seen typhoons. As one research team member put it,

They would say, “this is a typhoon-free zone, our curse is war, conflict, not typhoons” – and so local people were unprepared.

Local participants reported that many of those killed were crushed by logs left along the riverbank by forestry companies, which were swept into houses when water levels rose. The river reached unprecedented levels partly because deforestation in the surrounding area meant the ground was unable to absorb large quantities of water.

Zimbabweans saw their living conditions deteriorate rapidly during the political and economic crisis their country faced, especially from the year 2000. Despite some improvements over the last four years, most feel their situation is still worse than it was pre-crisis. Other major factors that disrupted livelihoods and caused poverty were identified by participants as local conflicts over land or struggles over the presence of mining companies.

Research session in Zimbabwe

These findings clearly show that development cannot simply be constructed as a progressive, linear process, where people are poor because they are outside of development processes. Many COMPASS 2015 participants are ‘**poor because of others**’.⁶ This suggests that there is need for deeper transformations of social and economic relationships. Participants also articulated experiences of **increasing uncertainty and precariousness**, particularly farmers whose income does not guarantee dignified lives and livelihoods, and those for whom employment now tends to be more casual and unreliable.

‘They found themselves adversely affected by situations they hadn’t contributed to’

A new understanding of the world

Participants communicated widespread awareness – even in the remotest places – of increased **interconnectedness**, and how decisions and actions in one country have global implications. Participants understand that we share just one world, finite in resources. This discussion emerged particularly in communities who consider themselves affected by climate change. However, this interconnectedness is also felt through other global processes such as rapidly fluctuating commodity prices, and the



‘The worst situations of poverty are rarely caused by a single factor’

increased interest in participants’ land and natural resources. As the Philippines research team found, environmental disasters also helped people to appreciate the interconnectedness of upland and lowland communities through the river, especially when they found themselves adversely affected by situations they hadn’t contributed to. People living in poverty articulated strong appreciation of the **relational character of poverty**. In Obalanga (Uganda),



Research session in Uganda

on-going conflict between the Karamojong and the Teso people is caused by violent cattle raids, particularly during droughts. According to a Teso leader, the conflict cannot be solved without first improving the Karamojong’s living conditions.

The conflict with us is caused by their situation. If you visit households in Karamoja, they have nothing.

He argued that the situation is becoming worse as land is expropriated to create protected wildlife areas, leaving people with less fertile land to farm.

If people in Karamoja are forced to live like animals, how do you expect them to behave with us? [...] it is this bad situation in Karamoja that affects us in Teso.

When asked about his development priorities, the local leader answered with a list of interventions designed to improve living conditions of Teso’s historic rivals. While

acknowledging that his people were living in poverty, his message was to help his neighbours first.

2.2 The impact of intersecting factors

Participants’ stories of poverty and exclusion demonstrate that the worst situations of poverty are rarely caused by a single factor, but by a range of intersecting factors working together. These factors may also (but not necessarily) be linked by causal relationships. Several factors combined (for example gender discrimination, lack of land and the effects of conflict) produce a condition of exclusion, which is not merely the sum of the separate factors but a new and significantly worse condition in which each factor multiplies the impact of the others.

The example in the box tells the story of, Anna, 47, whose husband was deployed to fight in the north of the country. He returned after five years, Anna became pregnant and then found she was HIV positive. When her husband was killed, Anna sold her cow – one of her few valuable assets – to fund a trip to the army headquarters to fight for compensation but her husband’s other partner in the city where he was based claimed it first. Anna’s husband’s relatives seized her land, as is often the case when widows are no longer considered part of the family. After the death of her sister, Anna looked after three of her nephews and nieces, as well as her own seven children.

Anna’s story shows how a combination of issues intersect and are responsible for her extremely difficult situation. They include conflict, gender norms as they play out at intra-household level, customary inheritance practice, corruption and a governance system that denied her rightful compensation.

What is also important to note is that some of these factors have been there for decades and some have emerged only over the last 15 years. For instance, in rural Uganda **land inheritance practices that exclude women** and that **the duty of care disproportionately burdens women** are not new. What is **new is that conflict and HIV have changed family dynamics**, creating households exclusively of dependent people aged under 14 and over 65 (including child-headed households). This often leaves the

Anna's voice: the intersectionality of poverty in rural Uganda

I am Anna, I am 47 years old and a mother of seven children. I take care of my late sister's three children. I grow cassava, millet, sorghum, groundnuts and I also earn a living by selling tomatoes, onions, cabbages and small fish. I am living with HIV. My husband was a soldier and died whilst fighting, leaving me with seven children. During pregnancy, I was tested and it was confirmed that I was infected in 2006. Since then life has not been good for me. This sickness removed all my finger nails and my skin scaled off.

Then the children were still young and I had no energy to grow food for them. Now, one of the boys has grown up and I have already found a wife for him. I could not afford to continue paying his school fees. My major problem is paying school fees for the children. There are five children; one is in primary three, two are in primary four, one is in primary seven and the boy is in senior two this year. I am the one paying their fees. If I do not sell small fish, onions, tomatoes, books and files for schools, then I have no money to pay school fees. I usually buy them from the main wholesale market in Ocorimongin, 10kms away from Ongongoja where I live. Then I sell them at the village centre near my home.

When my husband died in Gulu where he was working, he was brought home without even a blanket but only with his Army uniform and a coffin. Later the clan asked me to claim my late husband's benefits but unfortunately the woman he was living with in Gulu went to Bombo offices before me. This same woman did not attend his burial but instead rushed for the money. The soldiers who brought the dead body gave me some documents that would help me trace my husband's money. I went to Bombo with my son. We sold one of the cows that we bought using the food that we had grown. When we reached Bombo we were told to open an account which we have done but till now we have not got anything.

The good thing is that my husband's close relatives have not chased me away from their home. My husband's uncles are the ones who are asking us to leave the land and find somewhere else to go, but we are still living here [...] I was given land by my late husband's family but now as a widow, the land has been grabbed away from me. I now depend on only one patch of land where I can grow food. I just hire patches of land for growing food. That is what is hurting my life so much. And also someone like me who is living with HIV, all the time you worry about the education of your children. I'm not sure if I can manage to educate them, or whether I will die before they complete their education. That is what is hurting my life so much. [...]

At least none of them [my children] is infected because it seems I got this virus the time I conceived my last child. I confirmed it after testing my blood. What prevents me from living well is taking care of orphans without anyone helping me. Because I am taking care of orphans of two families: my brother-in-law killed my sister and he also shot himself. He was a soldier and I do not know why he did that. So I am suffering with their children together with mine. I am the one educating them yet I am also a widow. All the time I do not find happiness in my family and I am living with HIV.

primary carer with no option but to take a child out of school to put him or her to work so that their earnings can help support the family. Therefore, the worst situations of **poverty can also drive people to make choices that undermine their future capacity to move out of poverty**, for instance by forcing people to leave education early.

Disaggregated approaches that attempt to identify and rank the single most important issue not only **fail to bring about**

significant change in the lives of very poor people, they also **fail to understand the condition and root causes of poverty**. Anna's example is reinforced by other cases presented in the report that show multiple factors interacting. **Cross-cutting dimensions, such as gender, underline the need for holistic responses that go beyond sectoral approaches**. The intersection of multiple factors also makes the presentation of the findings and experiences of poverty problematic since it is not easy to capture specific issues in a simplistic way.



A cross-cutting gender lens

Gender is a crucial dimension of discrimination in almost every story. Across research sites, the greatest source of inequality amongst those living in poverty is between women and men. Gender inequality can be seen at household, community and national government levels and intersects with other types of discrimination to create new forms of exclusion.

The duty of care that falls on women puts further pressure on women’s already precarious livelihoods.

The problem with my children and my son-in-law is that they have left me to take care of their children after they divorced and I am heavily burdened.

(Mary, F, 49, farmer and widow with nine children, Ongongoja, Uganda)

Teresa’s account (F, 58, Soroti, Uganda) describes unequal control over family income:

‘Gender inequality can be seen at household, community and national government levels and intersects with other types of discrimination to create new forms of exclusion’

father, mother and children work together [in the garden]. But when it comes to selling it’s a man who comes first because he will want to be the one going to the market to sell and does not even show the money to his family. For example, you find that a family plant their crops, but when it’s selling time the woman is not informed or even bought any gift to appreciate her efforts. Sometimes you find that he has brought a new wife to marry out of your efforts instead of educating the children.



Research session
in Uganda

Gender often intersects with age, land and traditional practices. A young woman from Alwa (Uganda) discussed how to live well and how young women need their own land,

The young people who have land live well because they grow crops, and after selling [their produce] they shop for themselves and they use that as pocket money at school and for buying a uniform. Parents come in to pay school fees and buy school materials but there are things parents cannot purchase for their daughters. [Sanitary] pads and underwear cannot be asked for from fathers.

Domestic violence was a sensitive issue related to gender in Zimbabwe, Uganda and the Philippines. Even infrastructure interventions have an important gender dimension. For instance, in Rogongon (Philippines), the absence of a bridge forces pupils to swim across the river during the rainy season to reach their school. Young girls were discouraged from attending the school because they felt that crossing the river was too risky. The need for better public toilets came especially from women in Zimbabwe, the Philippines and Uganda.

Gender is a major source of inequality, and often an additional source of exclusion that worsens the situation of poor women. Gender inequality can be the product of social practices in local communities and/or institutions, which government policy may

either reinforce or challenge. Sometimes government policies and development interventions provide legitimacy to the struggle for gender equality; however, they may also represent an obstacle to women's empowerment at the national, community and household level. Women research participants living in poverty said that it is not enough to bring in ideas of equality but highlighted the importance of **empowering women by building their skills and expertise** so that men recognise their capabilities. In rural communities in the Philippines, women participants argued that if women's crops were more successful, or if women showed themselves to be capable leaders when offered a role of responsibility, then women would be increasingly recognised.



Research session in the Philippines

3

Transforming discriminatory social norms

- Changes in social norms over the last 10 to 15 years have represented a considerable improvement for specific groups of people, such as those living with HIV or indigenous peoples.

When we are at the vending stalls, sometimes we face discrimination. When someone knows that you are HIV positive, they avoid your stall and buy from the next person, as if HIV is transmitted through the products that we sell. Now cases of discrimination are fewer, people are now aware.

(Rosemary, F, 61, Bulawayo)

Social norms can discriminate and further marginalise, representing a major obstacle to the wellbeing of individuals and groups. **Changes in social norms over the last 10 to 15 years have represented a considerable improvement for specific groups of people.** Research participants identified instances where there have been improvements in social norms at the national level, although these advances have by no means ended discrimination. The two key areas of improvements are **for indigenous peoples and people living with HIV**. To a lesser extent, progress in gender equality and the importance of education were also recognised. Women research participants felt overall there have been some positive changes in the national discourse around gender, particularly regarding women in leadership roles and the emphasis on the education of girls. There was also recognition that development programmes have often contributed to challenging established social norms that excluded women. Another change experienced over the past 15 years reported by research participants is an increased recognition of the

importance and role of education, and the value of educating both girls and boys.

3.1 Indigenous peoples

Many indigenous peoples in both the Philippines and Bolivia **have developed an increased political consciousness and have entered politics to claim their rights**. While equality at the national level is still some way off, these changes have contributed to people's increased self-esteem and pride in being indigenous and in their own culture, including appreciating the value of their local knowledge as key to solving the problems affecting them. As a representative of the Subanun indigenous peoples in the Philippines explained,

What we are doing and did was to join politics so that we have a platform for articulating the need to sustain our traditions and our customs. In the past, when we would come together for meetings, we would be considered suspect as [if we were] rebels; we were accused of having done a lot of things, most were untrue.

In the Philippines, a community who participated in the research communicates their cultural heritage to new generations through a school of living traditions. In Bolivia, social struggles led to an indigenous person being elected President, representing a radical change in the self-perception of indigenous peoples and in public policies. Often rising level of threats against indigenous peoples prompted increased collective actions, which in turn led to positive changes such as more recognition. In Bolivia, collective action and political participation played a key role in the construction of a new collective identity, moving from 'second to first class citizens':

Today, in this time, we the people are changing, are waking up because before it wasn't like this. If we were told to do something, we would do it; but now people do not submit to the rule of the other person.

(Isabel, F, unemployed, El Alto)

3.2 HIV stigma

Attitudes towards people living with HIV is another sphere in which changes in social norms, often driven by governments and development organisations, have led to improvements. Changes not only relate to availability of treatment but also people living with HIV report feeling that governments recognise them and their contribution to society. A woman who publicly discussed her HIV positive status said,

People should know that being HIV positive does not mean the end of everything. When my husband divorced me I was stressed and thought my life was doomed

but thanks to the Government we now have access to ARVs (Antiretroviral drugs).

(Patricia, F, 52, Bulawayo)

She had been verbally abused by her husband because of her HIV-positive status and acknowledged the importance of support groups and government intervention to provide her with the drugs she needed but also to change the way in which people living with HIV are viewed.

Marginalisation and practices of social exclusion which lead to further poverty are often linked to power relations at a household or community level. These usually include gender, caste, health, age, disability, ethnicity or a combination of these factors. Government has an important role to play in addressing these; however, changes in norms and attitudes – while very valuable – are often not reflected in the behaviour of institutions. Participants described government attempts to grant rights to groups such as indigenous peoples, ethnic minorities and women, but inadvertently discriminated against people who do not fit into a specific category. Despite commitments to policies of equality, institutions may discriminate in practice. For example, a country may have laws on gender equality but in practice it may be too costly for a woman living in poverty to access justice, or corruption may lead to a court judgement against her.

Changes in social norms are often a first step and need to be consolidated through changes in policies, laws and practice to ensure that improvements are maintained over time and discrimination is overcome.

School of living traditions, the Philippines



4

Conflicts and disasters

- Conflicts and disasters are capable of wiping out years of hard-won progress and have long-term consequences.
- Conflict has unpredictable consequences, for example in its impact on education, long after the violence has ended.

The little improvement we gained with hard work over the years was again back to zero because of the flooding.

(Celia, F, farmer, Mapulog, Philippines)

The most harmful thing in the last ten years here in Ongongoja is the attacks by the Karamojong that took away cattle from us, burnt houses, took the property and killed the people. The incidents forced people to move to camps.

(Alex, 50, M, farmer renting land, Ongongoja, Uganda)⁷

What is harmful to me is that my mother was killed by the Karamojong and my father was killed with poison in the camp.

(Jane Rose, 40, F, farmer, Ongongoja, Uganda)

‘Conflicts and disasters are capable of reversing hard-won progress and have long-term consequences’

Though conflicts and disasters are very different issues with different causes, this report examines them in the same chapter because the key messages were often similar. From the perspective of research participants, both conflicts and disasters are capable of reversing hard-won progress and have long-term consequences.

Even when small-scale and localised, they can have severe negative impacts. A clear demand for **human security** emerged from the different stories.

Even if disasters spare lives, they can destroy the productive assets needed to make a living, forcing people to start again from nothing. A fisherfolk participant in Santiago, Philippines, commented:

In the 12 years since 2000, our lives were better because we had bought fishing nets, engines, boats and equipment. We lost everything because of the typhoon, our equipment and boats. We saw our fishing nets on the beach but they were damaged by logs. It almost cost us our lives too. We have to start again from scratch. That’s why we asked for help because we didn’t ask for it to happen, it just happened.

Another participant added:

Before [Typhoon] Sendong, we were able to save some money because there was still fish to catch and they were sold at a decent price. When the typhoon came, everything that we had was gone, including the fish in the sea. It's really hard to catch fish now.

Similarly a farmer explained

just when we were expecting very good harvests we were devastated by the typhoons.

(Kiwalan Muslim community workshop)

Conflicts were identified as a central obstacle to wellbeing, demonstrating that poverty is often caused by human processes. Increasing competition for natural resources and agricultural land is a consequence of growing local populations and unsustainable consumption habits of increasing sections of the global population. Land, for both extractive and agricultural purposes, has become a key contested asset. However, land is much more than just an asset because livelihoods and cultural practices are strongly connected to it. For this reason, it is important to guarantee that those living in poverty can access their fair share of such productive assets.

As explained by Mary (28, F, married, farmer, Kobwin, Uganda),

Those who do not have land have hardly any food for their family welfare.

Conflict over land can also be seen at a community level where, for example, widows and orphans are stripped of their land by relatives as a result of losing a husband or parents. The **gender dimension of land inheritance practices** is a major issue in Uganda:

When the husband dies, he leaves the land and property but the husband's relatives grab the land and property from the widows and either send you out of the home or leave you with a small piece of land that cannot sustain you and the orphans.

(Sylvia, 35, F, Ongongoja, Uganda)

I have a lot of poverty. My late husband left me with land but some man came and grabbed it from me. [He] took my land and even imprisoned my son in July 2012. To

CATEGORIES	REPORTED	RESOLVED	UNRESOLVED	PERCENTAGE
LAND	84	21	33	30
DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	50	14	23	13
THEFT	08	03	01	04
DISASTER	07	03	02	02
DEV'T	82	55	09	18
ADMIN SECURITY	29	20	02	07
ADMIN	34	22	07	10
TOTALS	297	138	77	25%

Chart showing the number of recent cases reported to the local authorities in the Obalanga sub-district in Uganda. At the first place there are land conflicts (84), followed by incidences of domestic violence (50). For the same period there were only eight reported cases of theft

get my son out of prison I had to sell the small piece of land that had remained. Up to now the case is pending and he is still in prison and that hurts me so much. Now I am suffering with famine as I have no food at home, no land to cultivate.

(Ademun, 54, F, widow and farmer with six children, Malera, Uganda)



Research session in the Philippines

Many of us are people who were displaced from our homes and ended up living here in town, we have not gone back because we lost our husbands and we are no longer accepted back in their families. They tell you that you no longer have land there because your husband died. So we end up in town living in poverty with our children.

(Priscilla, 60, F, widow living with 11 children in Soroti town and working in a quarry).

Widows such as Priscilla are forced to move into urban areas and find alternative livelihoods.

In both Uganda and the Philippines, long-term land disputes have their roots in violent conflict, when people were forced to leave their land:

The issue of land is a problem here because of land disputes. People used to be in camps [for internally displaced people] for a long time and when they returned some had forgotten their [land] boundaries and are now claiming the wrong areas. Also the population increased when people were in camps and now some are just interested in grabbing because they have no land for their children.

(Rose, 36, F, farmer and married with six children, Ongongoja, Uganda).

‘The forced movement of people from their land in San Roque is relatively small-scale yet has had profound effects that may last for generations and create long-term grievances’

Another important issue raised by research participants is the negative impact of land titling laws, which often work to support processes of displacement. Indigenous peoples have rarely had or requested formal titles to their land, instead living on traditional lands managed through customary practices.

Many years of conflict linked to the presence of rebels and militias in San Roque (Philippines) has forced families off the land they had cultivated as tenants for generations.

We are forced to go back as thieves in our own land’, said one child research participant, describing how they ‘steal’ food from their own gardens. ‘We were afraid

that we [...] might only get ourselves killed, or be taken hostage [...] That is why we did not risk going up [to our land] anymore. Back then, we were only in the first year of high school and were afraid that we would be unable to continue schooling.

(Ali, M, San Roque, Philippines)

The conflict has badly affected farming in San Roque.

My neighbours were held hostage. [...] That is why we were really terrified. Whenever we saw someone in uniform, we would run away, even if the wearer was a soldier. We were very worried because our neighbours were kidnapped including their children. [...] We do not have any carabao,⁸ we only use a [hand] plough to farm because carabaos get stolen. [...] In the past, you would find large numbers of carabaos here. Nowadays, they are gone. That is the reason why there is little farm produce because there are no carabaos to pull [the ploughs].

(Focus group discussion, farmers, San Roque, Philippines)



Research session in the Philippines

The president of a local farmers’ association revealed that they were offered support and loans for new animals but the farmers refused:

They were afraid because the animals might just be stolen; [...] worse, someone might be killed if seen bringing a carabao.

The forced movement of people from their land in San Roque is relatively small-scale yet has had profound effects that may last for generations and create long-term grievances. The experience of being held hostage was remembered by participants and children as particularly traumatic and as having

permanently affected them. This highlights the importance of preventing land conflicts, however small, as they may have long-term consequences, destroying livelihoods, affecting wellbeing and undermining peace for many years.

4.1 Consequences of conflicts

In Ongongoja, Uganda, the Karamojong people have repeatedly stolen their Teso neighbours' cattle in armed raids. One research participant from the Teso community revealed that,

Peace is the most important thing for me based on the history of this place. Our relationship with the Karamojong people has not been friendly; it has been fragile over the years. With peace our children will go to school. We shall be able to farm. Our prayer is that the existing peace be long lasting. Our fear is that as we move towards 2016 [election year] this peace can easily be disturbed. For example as we talk now, our brothers the Karamojong have already moved to our borders.

(Patrick, 43, M, farmer)

Conflict has unpredictable consequences, for example in its impact on education, long after the violence had ended. When people lose their life savings through conflict, they cannot afford to put their children through school. The people of nearby Alwa have also been raided by the Karamojong:

What makes the young people in Alwa poor is that most of them were born when the cattle that would have been sold to put them through school had been raided by the Karamojong. That is why they are not even able to plan for themselves. We try but we cannot move out of poverty.

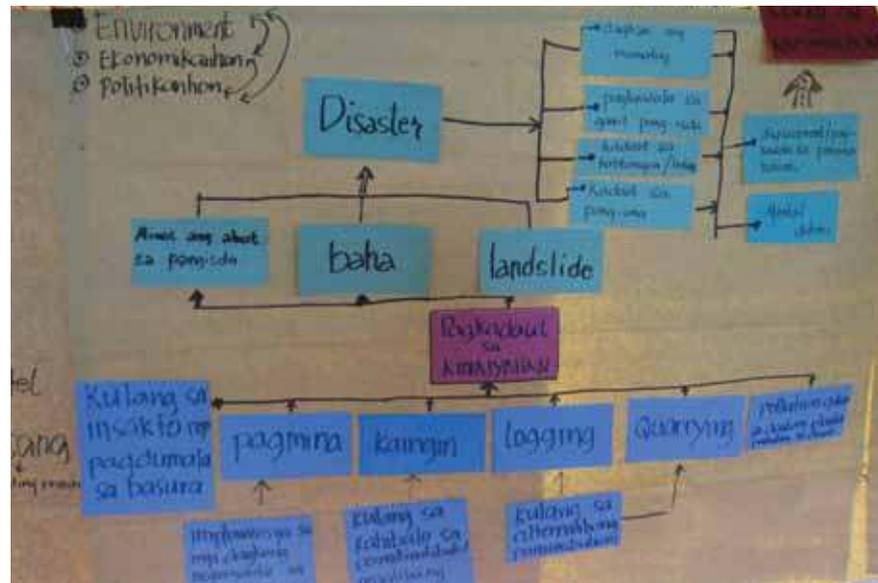
(Alfred, 30, M, farmer)

Participants described how **conflict can lead to environmental degradation** as people are forced to find alternative ways to make a living. One participant in the Philippines recalled:

This is our experience over the last ten years. The majority of people here in Kormatan are farmers [...] Our income is not stable because of the recurring conflict [between the Moro Islamic Liberation

front and the government]. Because of insufficient income from farming, we are forced to look for other sources of income. There are a lot of difficulties. Of course logging is illegal [...]. [But] logging is one of the ways we can depend on. That is the only way we can feed our families.

(Farmers' focus group, Kormatan, Philippines)



Research session in the Philippines

A common element experienced by those affected by natural disasters and conflicts alike is the long-term impact and the many years needed to recover materially and emotionally, as well as coping with devastating human loss. After a discussion of the violent conflicts and later the drought that affected the area over the course of the past 30 years, the vicar of the Catholic Diocese of Soroti commented:

‘We make some progress but then, every 10 years, something happens that brings us back to where we were or worse than before’

We make some progress but then, every 10 years, something happens that brings us back to where we were or worse than before. All the work done, the efforts and sacrifices are lost. This could be due to violent conflict or a severe drought.



Research session in Uganda

The long-term impact of natural disasters and conflicts highlights the importance of prevention and investment in preparedness, but there is little incentive for development and government agencies to prioritise prevention measures. Prevention, preparedness and resilience involve costly, unexciting work that is rarely popular for special appeals. It often involves difficult political decisions and frequently donors are more likely to support emergency responses than preventive interventions. Response to natural disasters may create opportunities for building political capital and attract funds. But **understanding the impacts of loss clearly shows the**

long-term benefits of prevention and risk reduction strategies. Countries are praised for brokering peace agreements and for reconstruction after floods but less for preventing conflict or disaster in the first place. A post-2015 framework which promotes disaster and conflict risk reduction will favour global investment in the unattractive but important sector of prevention and preparedness, and encourage aid organisations to change practices of fundraising through crisis-specific appeals that sensationalise suffering.

5

Livelihoods and employment in an uncertain environment

- People living in poverty want access to employment or the means to build a sustainable livelihood, as they are considered fundamental to achieving self-reliance.
- People want access to and control over productive assets; access to land alone may not be enough to achieve a viable livelihood.
- Income from farming and other previously viable livelihoods are often no longer sufficient to guarantee dignified living conditions.
- Labour precariousness is a key negative factor for those who live in poverty.
- The opportunities available to poor people are very different from those accessible to very poor people, and the worst situations of poverty can drive people to make choices that make it more difficult to move out of poverty in the future.

For me I want a job above all else, due to extreme crisis which cause us to have nothing, nothing at all. So I believe a job is needed... nothing else .

(Internally displaced young person, Santiago, Philippines)

Those who live well have more land.

(Wage workers workshop, Charagua, Bolivia)

The first thing that anyone needs is a job. We all need to be employed to fight poverty .

(Mrs Bhebhe, F, 58, Bulawayo, Zimbabwe)

The central demand of those living in poverty is either access to employment or the means to build a sustainable livelihood. Income from farming is often no longer sufficient and other previously viable livelihoods are unable to guarantee dignified living conditions. Participants report increasing uncertainty which makes

life precarious and long-term planning difficult. While increased uncertainty is a generalised condition, it tends to affect certain groups more than others. **The coping strategies available to those who may have a low income but are not very poor are different from the strategies that very poor people can pursue.**

‘A strong value associated with the demand for jobs and viable livelihoods is that of achieving self-reliance’

A strong value associated with the demand for jobs and viable livelihoods is that of achieving self-reliance. Fisherfolk have been badly affected by the typhoon in the Philippines, significant reductions in daily catch, and piracy. Fisherfolk are therefore forced to fish in deeper seas and compete with bigger fishing boats owned by non-resident companies. They asked for help through better equipment to enable them to

fish. Similarly, in rural Uganda and Bolivia, participants recognised their need for credit, farming inputs, and skills training.

Across the different research locations, people wanted access to and control over productive assets. In rural areas, the key asset mentioned was land. Farmers may not have access to land or, in the case of

many communities in the Philippines, they may have exploitative tenancy agreements, whereby the landowner takes 70 per cent of the produce, leaving the farmer with only 30 per cent. **Yet access to land alone may not be enough to achieve a viable livelihood.** Indigenous peoples in Bolivia were given valuable land but their wellbeing is dependent upon the dynamics that

determine the price paid to them for their produce. Poor indigenous communities often are not able to access the funds needed to develop their land, and find it difficult to commercialise their produce, which means intermediaries step in and appropriate most of the value.

In Uganda, some research sessions were postponed because participants were working in their gardens after unexpected rain. When asked if they were happy with this blessing, they had mixed feelings and some were worried because in previous years unexpected rain meant irregular rainfall during the rainy season, leading to droughts. In Bolivia, according to participants, **climate change has affected agriculture.**

The environment has changed. Now stronger rains come, the land collapses, and just stones are left behind. It is now three years that we have had this bad weather. Before there were just showers and the rain did not destroy the crops. Now it comes with hailstones and it takes the land away. It brings all kinds of diseases for the plants and does not let them produce well. There are more thunderstorms now and that kills sheep, men... before, this was not happening.

(Artisan workshops, Yamparáez, Bolivia)

Research session in Bolivia



Farming can no longer support entire households and some family members have to look for alternative employment.

With little land [people] survive if their children are professionals.

(Pedro, M, farmer, Batallas, Bolivia)

Cultivating land is not enough to make a living. Wheat costs nothing. Also potatoes do not cost a lot. There is not much selling. There is no money.

(Farmer, F, Yamparáez)

Low prices may not be enough to cover transport costs to and from the land (many people live at a distance from their land), and for taking the produce to market.

For me, farmers spend more in transportation because sometimes they have to carry the produce from the land to their homes. Nobody has a job to do in their own land, in the community. Some have land and it takes a long time to get there.

(Catalina, F, 56, farmer, G. Moreno, Bolivia)

Low prices are not the only issue: farmers are also aware of the increased **pressure on land due to growing populations alongside large scale land acquisitions:**

Every generation multiplies and land unfortunately cannot stretch like rubber. Land has to rest in order to get a harvest that will be at least acceptable. If the grandfather had four, five children, as children we have our own children and grandchildren. We continue to grow but the land does not produce and to avoid disputes [some of us] choose to come to the city and no longer live there.

(Wage worker workshop, Batallas, Bolivia)

In other cases, people have access to productive assets such as land but are bound by unfair agreements. Families in Mapulog in Nawaan (Philippines) are highly dependent on agriculture and 63 per cent are farmers. But most households – 86 per cent – do not own any land, which is mostly owned by eight influential people. As one resident put it,

Life is so difficult. Farm production is minimal because we do not have money to buy enough seeds and fertilizer. We have

to borrow money from middlemen with interest. Then, we have to share the profit with the landowner.

(Aurora, F, farmer)

In fact, most farmers are tenants, who cultivate plots averaging one and a half hectares. Farmers cannot decide on the size of land to cultivate and or what crops to grow; moreover, **they have to share their income with landowner often on an unfavourable 70/30 split.**

Farmers want to own the land they till and have full control of the farming processes; a good life for them is described in terms of farming income exceeding subsistence level. As a farmer complains, under these conditions

no matter how we work hard in the farm, our standard of living still remains low.

(Ricardo, 45, M, farmer, Philippines)

‘Even when people have access to productive assets such as land, they can be bound by unfair agreements’



Research session in the Philippines

Something that has deeply affected farmers in Mindanao has been **the fall in the international price of copra**⁹ due to a drop in demand and competition from palm oil. Such drastic price drops have particularly affected farmers who only get money for a third of their produce. In Riberalta (Bolivia), **farmers and agricultural labourers saw their situation deteriorating as a result of lower prices:**

The low price of the Brazil nut has been a problem. Last year, it fetched 120



Research session in Bolivia

bolivianos (\$17) and it has reached up to 230 (\$33) per box in the past, but now it has gone down from 120-110 to 60 bolivianos (\$8). It is so cheap that it is not worth people going harvesting.

(Wage workers workshop, Riberalta)

However, the drop in prices is connected to the consolidation of the industry, with few organised actors to buy and process the nuts.

When the price of the nuts drops, it affects all, us, the traders, the pickers. All the village is affected when the nut price drops because the entire economy works around this. Those who benefit are the entrepreneurs because they make profit when the price drops. [...] We are very affected by the plunge of the nuts [price]. We are traders and we live on those who work... when they have money and they buy. They have good money when the price of nuts is good, and everybody prospers. When the price collapses, the only beneficiary is the entrepreneur.

(Small traders' workshop, Riberalta)

Participants in Bolivia emphasised the lack of waged employment, which has become an increasingly important source of income

for many rural and urban families in recent years. It is particularly important in rural municipalities where agricultural activities generate insufficient income. Labour precariousness was found in all research areas in Bolivia and affected wage labourers as well as small business owners and traders. For wage labourers, precariousness is characterised by the absence of long-term contracts and increasing deregulation.

Casual workers in agriculture are amongst the hardest hit, as they are sometimes paid in kind and lack social security and medical insurance.

The *zafreros* (casual agricultural labourers) do not have a fixed place. They go and look for work. They go to the landowner and offer themselves as labourers. If they collect two or three boxes of Brazil nuts, probably they agree on: "two boxes for you and one for me". They work for the product, not even for money. There is no contract that says that they are employed.

(Rigoberto, fisherman and daily agricultural labourer, M, 42, G. Moreno)

Agricultural labourers live in poor conditions for months during harvest and may be cheated out of payment.

Sometimes they get sick and the landowner does not go to check how they are doing. He leaves them on their own. Some of them even die. [...] They do a contract and later they get a lower price than was agreed [...] because the buyers lie and say that the price of the nuts has gone down.

(Iver, M, 21, G. Moreno)

Small business owners and traders suffer from long working hours, uncertain of whether they will make enough money, lack of health and old-age insurance, and affiliation to professional organisations.

The other thing is that they make an extra effort for their own work, beginning at dawn working for the whole day. It would be good to work some hours per day. It is an over-exploitation what people are doing to themselves.

(Danilo, M, 26, Batallas, Bolivia)

Being a moto-taxidriver, for example, is a very hard activity, because he suffers from the sun, from the bad condition of the roads. He suffers because has pain in his kidneys. There is no health insurance for moto-taxidriver.

(Rody, artisan, Riberalta, Bolivia)

Labour precariousness is a key factor for those who live in poverty. According to the research participants, those who live well have a stable and growing income, such as civil servants. In rural areas, any form of paid employment was perceived as offering an improvement in living conditions.



Research participant in Bolivia

Amongst craftspeople, there is a perception of increased competition:

Sales are not like before. There are many artisans. They produce; sometimes they sell, sometimes they don't. From the year 2000 until today more artisans have appeared. Their sales are not like the ones of their parents. The sales have gone down and that is a problem. That is a change in demand.

(Artisans workshop, Yamparáez)

While insecure livelihoods and labour precariousness affect a range of social groups, some are more affected than others. For instance, landless farmers often face a situation of precariousness which pushes them towards continuous migration. In Zimbabwe, people are often unemployed or are unpaid for their work, living on 'piecemeal jobs' which provide unreliable sources of income.

People adopt different strategies to counter uncertainties and move out of poverty. These strategies demonstrate a high degree of agency but not all strategies are available to everyone, and particularly not the poorest people.

'Labour precariousness is a key factor for those who live in poverty'

5.1 Coping strategies and limited opportunities

This chapter discusses the strategies adopted by those living in poverty to either cope with their situation or try to move out of poverty. It is based on perspectives and perception of what the research participants think about those who have moved out of poverty and what has worked. It is striking to see **how the opportunities available to poor people are different from those accessible to very poor people, suggesting the need for differentiated approaches and interventions.**

It is difficult to define these categories exactly. On the one hand, there are those who have access to productive assets or have a profession but do not earn enough and thus may be living in poverty. On the other hand, there are the 'very poor', who are living in the worst situations of poverty without access to productive assets. In uncertain and rapidly

‘Education is seen as the way to create links with development organisations able to provide support’

changing situations, the ability to take risks and innovate is important as it may lead to livelihoods better suited to evolving contexts.

Often, however, very poor people can only adopt strategies that involve risky activities, which may lead to further vulnerability. From participants’ discourse, it is clear that ‘good risks’ are not available to the very poor, and that ‘bad risks’ are the outcome of very poor people having no other option than to engage in unsafe behaviour.

5.1.1 Education

A young Ugandan, 25, who dropped out of primary school to work as a builder and farmer said that,

when there is education in the family, living conditions improve because when you depend on farming, sometimes drought can destroy crops and you become poor. But when you have gone to school and got a job you will be getting a regular salary.

Educating a family member is seen as a form of social protection against unpredictability. The importance of education was reinforced by a young person who said that,

if you are educated and you get a job, you will be able to help people in your family, for example paying school fees for the young ones and paying for their treatment unlike those who are farmers. When you plant crops and you don’t get a good harvest you won’t have anything to sell and you remain poor. When there is no one educated in that family everyone will be down and no one lifts them up.

(Florence, 25, F, nursery teacher and farmer, Alwa, Uganda)

Moreover, education is seen as the way to create links with development organisations able to provide support.

Living well is taking children to school because when the child gets an education [he/she] will be able to support the family. Maybe the child will be able to connect us with some NGOs so as to bring us support, like boreholes for easy access of water around the community. But when there is

nobody who has studied, then we will not be able to access such services.

(Caroline, 36, F, farmer and widow, Kumi, Uganda).

[It is] through education that a child will get connections to different NGOs that will benefit everybody in the community. So for us widows, we try to work hard to see our children go to school. Possibly one of them may work hard and becomes a doctor who will support the sick in our community and also encourage hygiene among people.

(Hellen, 43, F, farmer and widow, Kumi)

An educated broker is always needed as development projects require a local elite of educated people to deal with development organisations. People living in poverty are often very aware of how development benefits are captured:

I have seen that homes where people have been educated have improved a lot, but the families where people have not studied are completely down. In addition, there is nothing they get from the government because even if the government sends programmes to the community, they will end up in rich and well-off families because of the upper hand they have.

(Musa, 30, M, student and farmer, Malera)

Research session in Zimbabwe



5.1.2 Migration

The immediate strategy for tackling insufficient income from farming is **seasonal migration**:

Men generally migrate to Santa Cruz, Sucre, or Cochabamba and work as bricklayers, casual workers, bricklayers' assistant, porters [...]. At the time of sowing potatoes, everyone comes back. Once the sowing finishes, all the men disappear and only women remain for the gathering, weeding.

(Artisan workshop, Yamparáez)

There is lack of money in the community. Men migrate to work for three months and come back for three. The money they earn is for their children's studies and food. This is seasonal migration, they come and they go.

(Workshops with farmers, Yamparáez)

Migration is a key survival strategy, and people living in poverty perceive it to be partially successful.

I believe that constant migration in a rural municipality is due to the needs of health and access to education. People migrate a lot from here in Riberalta, many times they improve their conditions.

(Wage worker, G. Moreno)

However, the move to the city is associated with informal and casual jobs which are characterised by a high degree of precariousness, uncertainty and stress. In the city of El Alto (Bolivia), newly arrived migrants also live in the areas with the worst housing conditions and access to basic services.



Research session in Bolivia

The following interaction between a researcher and a research participant demonstrates that **migration can improve household living conditions for families who are not very poor but have some productive assets** such as land.

Before we didn't have cows, now we improved. My dad migrated to work and then we bought the house and more cows. He went to build houses, he was doing some handicrafts, nothing else.
 'And did he save money?'
 'Yes [...]'
 'How did you live before?'
 'We had a small plot and we lived there.'
 'Now have you bought a bigger one?'
 'Yes'.

(Otilia, F, 22, farmer, Batallas, Bolivia)

Another important element of migration is the feeling of loss of community in rural villages:

first, little by little, the young people leave and since they do not come back their parents leave looking for their children. There in Chinpakata there was the little village, now it is silence, there is no one left.

(Yamparaez, wage workers workshop)

International migration is also seen as an important route out of poverty. In Bolivia, this includes highly skilled professionals emigrating to the USA or Europe, and poor



people emigrating to neighbouring countries to work as agricultural labourers or in the manufacturing industry. Many Zimbabweans left their country for South Africa and other countries as a result of the political and economic crisis. However this strategy is **not always available to the poorest people**.

The Philippines has capitalised on global demand for nurses by adapting their education system, but this strategy carries risk for both individuals and households. In this case, a household makes a long-term investment in migration which is vulnerable to policy changes in other countries over which they have no control. For the Philippines, **migrants' remittances are an important source of income but the poorest families do not benefit**. Migration also has consequences for relatives remaining in the country. The households considered to be living well and able to cope with uncertainty are those who receive remittances from family members abroad. This was particularly relevant for urban households in Zimbabwe.

5.1.3 Diversification

An important trend observed is that **more and more people engage in several activities to make a living**. However, there seems to be a clear difference between very poor people and other groups. For those who already have a viable livelihood,

other complementing activities as part of a conscious strategy of diversification can bring about improvements and help to mitigate risk. For very poor people, holding down several jobs and working long hours is about survival. Those able to live well do so because they can diversify their activities. For some this might have a seasonal pattern and could mean working on a farm and then as a bricklayer in the city; for others it is managing several activities simultaneously. For instance, a small business owner with access to capital and political links explains:

I live here in the Las Piedras community, I am a multi-tasking person because I don't have just one job. For instance, I am a driver, a mechanic, I work in the community, I transport gravel and sand, I own vehicles, I also have cattle in the municipality and I am the president of the association of cattle breeders.

(Workshop with small business owners, G. Moreno, Bolivia)

A master bricklayer is thought to be someone who lives relatively well. Although his income is not necessarily stable and he does not have social security, he is paid for his daily work and thus has cash available and is also able to combine work in the city with agricultural work. Even amongst low-level civil servants, diversification is a key strategy to complement their salary. This is a powerful strategy against uncertainty but requires access to productive assets and the capacity to undertake some level of risk, which is not available to those living in poverty.

'For very poor people, holding down several jobs and working long hours is about survival'

Research session in Bolivia



We can live well if we have many things to do but here we are poor. Some of us cultivate from morning to evening, everyday. You come home tired and you have to cook food, but when you have other things to do, you can raise money from many sources.

(Johnson, M, 70, elder and farmer, Bugondo, Uganda)

Diversification also allows people to exploit new opportunities offered by rapid processes of change. However, these same changes may have a very negative impact on very poor people who do not have capacity to adjust to change.

In Charagua, those who work as both artisans and farmers acknowledge that they are in a better position than those who only farm:

we could say that we live a bit better than our brothers who only work in agriculture, but we have to do every sort of thing to be better.

(Farmers and small artisans' workshop, Charagua, Bolivia)

As previously mentioned, diversification works well as a complementary source of income for those who already have one activity:

my contract is for 600 bolivianos (\$86) but they pay me 500, they keep some. For this, at my home I have to cook food that I sell in the street. If I don't work, from where am I going to earn for my children?

(Maria, F, 52, Yamparáez, Bolivia)

5.1.4 Risky livelihoods and difficult choices

In Zimbabwe, participants felt that some of the families who moved out of poverty had done so through illegal activities, for instance by dealing in diamonds or unlicensed imports of second-hand clothes or alcohol. To succeed in these activities, connections and relationships are needed, which are not available to everyone.

Deteriorating socio-economic conditions and job losses may force people to **adopt risky livelihoods, which could expose them to greater vulnerability or undermine their future wellbeing**. For instance, in Zimbabwe, some single mothers became sex workers, risking violence and contracting sexually transmitted diseases, demonstrating impacts that go well beyond loss of income.

Sex workers in Mutare demonstrated great awareness of the consequences of their choice, displayed great agency, and used complex risk management strategies. Some men will pay up to \$100 for unprotected sex, as opposed to \$5 for protected sex, which is very difficult for many women to refuse.

However, a participant explained that if they can, they wear a female condom without the men realising it. But not all men pay what they have promised, and risks taken for unprotected sex may not provide more income for the women. The participants felt they could do very little about a violent client who decided not to pay. Adopting a risky livelihood is seen as a forced choice:

If I had a job, or access to funds to start up some projects, you would not find me on the streets. But because I don't have any other options, I am forced into prostitution' (Veronica, F, 38, Mutare). 'Young girls do [prostitution] because they don't have any other options.

(Tambudzai, F, 49, Bulawayo)

The worst situations of poverty can also drive people to make choices that make it more difficult to move out of poverty, for instance by forcing people to leave education early. In Obalanga (Uganda), a grandmother explained that she had to take a grandchild out of school and use the money he earned as an agricultural labourer to support herself and the other grandchildren. She argued very convincingly that she had no other choice. People face other trade-offs:

It is because of pollution from the factory; cough, cold and fever. It's really a dilemma between our health and source of income. It's complicated... if the factory closes, we will have nothing to eat.

(Workshop, Kiwalan, Philippines)



Research session in Zimbabwe

'Adopting a risky livelihood is seen as a forced choice'

6

Governance, patronage & politics

- The cost/benefit calculations of central government do not take into account the costs paid by local populations.
- Even when laws exist to protect rights, access to justice may be connected to economic transactions and power.
- International law on the rights of indigenous peoples and other global frameworks may be useful in supporting their struggles and influence governments to take action against companies which violate their rights. However, people living in poverty need support to use international and national laws and mechanisms effectively to access justice.
- Excluded groups see political participation as a strategy to improve their lives.

If you do not belong to the same political party as the incumbent local government chief executive, it is very difficult to get support for development projects or activities in the ward.

(Mapulog, Philippines)

How development programmes and public services are delivered to very poor people and who benefits from such projects and services are two of the central issues that emerged in most research sessions. This chapter discusses what, according to participants, development projects and public services deliver, and how they would like to see them delivered. It also presents some of the challenges participants face daily in accessing projects and services. A key theme is around the role of governance both at national and local levels and in particular the role of government actors. The section also explores the importance of ensuring other factors for the wellbeing of participants, in particular justice and human security.

While development aid and government programmes are important for isolated and remote communities, the benefits of interventions in these areas may not reach the poorest people. **People living in poverty recognise that national governments play a key role in development, and call for new forms of accountability and monitoring.** Governments are often the key actor to whom they address requests for support. However, this **does not mean they are handing over all responsibility – people still want to be consulted and to participate.**

Despite the global scale of today's challenges, a key cross-cutting relationship that emerges with every theme and issue is that between those living in poverty and



Research session in the Philippines

the state in its different forms. Communities living in poverty see the government as a key actor in the process of development. In almost every research session, people's (positive or negative) experience of dealing with the government is mentioned in understanding their situation and their aspirations for change. This relationship demonstrates the importance of better governance and of increased institutional capacity to respond to complexity, diversity and change.

6.1 Political patronage, elite capture and corruption

Participants identified four interlinked (and often overlapping) types of patronage or corrupt allocation of project benefits and services which exclude the most marginalised people.

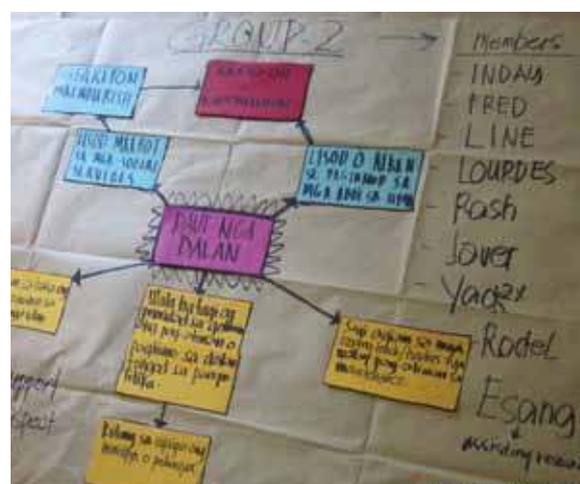
Political patronage linked to electoral support: punishing, or rewarding with projects and services, particular villages, wards, areas or people according to their support for a specific political party or politician.

Personal patronage: when in order to get a job or be enrolled in a specific programme a person needs to know certain people or belong to certain groups.

Elite capture: when the benefits of programmes are enjoyed by people who are in a position to capture them rather than the intended beneficiaries. It can be because of their role, education and so on.

Corruption: when those in a privileged position demand payment in exchange for services or access to specific programmes.

‘The importance of better governance and of increased institutional capacity to respond to complexity, diversity and change’



Research session in the Philippines

6.1.1 Political patronage linked to electoral support

‘Projects have been set up to punish or reward support for specific political parties’

People living in poverty have a strong sense that the benefits of development projects are distributed according to political patronage. In Zimbabwe, the Philippines and Bolivia, participants have described how projects have been set up to punish or reward support for specific political parties.

If you do not belong to the same political party as the incumbent local government chief executive, it is very difficult to get support for development projects or activities for the ward. All you get from these politicians are empty promises and lip service to the detriment of the constituents.

(Mapulog, Philippines)

6.1.2 Personal patronage

A Zimbabwean participant explained:

it is very difficult to participate in development programmes. The problem is; if you know me, and when you know of a development initiative that needs to be done, you just pick me, you also pick your uncle in Honde and your aunt in Masvingo, those who are marginalised in the community remain marginalised; no one looks at them because they don't have relatives in influential positions.

Equally in the Philippines, a woman explained,

If you don't have somebody to back you up, even if you have the money or the eligibility, you will not be hired.

(Women's focus group, Binidayan)

Single mothers in Zimbabwe acknowledged the support that older people and vulnerable households receive but felt that targeting beneficiaries for social protection is not transparent.

We are always asked to submit our personal information for consideration, but we are never selected for donations. They only select a few who have relatives working for the donors.

(Mhike, F, 47, Mutare)

A similar concern was expressed regarding the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) national programme to support the education of vulnerable children in Zimbabwe.

It is everyone's right to learn [...] some children are not able to go to school because parents are failing to pay school fees. There is discrimination and nepotism in selecting BEAM beneficiaries.

(Nokuthula, F, 37, Bulawayo)

Research session in the Philippines





Research session in Uganda

6.1.3 Elite capture

Personal patronage becomes elite capture if a programme meant for the most vulnerable children is appropriated by well-off families, as argued by a woman in Mutare:

My children are not going to school, because I don't have money to pay for their fees. BEAM is supposed to support children from poor backgrounds but because of corruption in the system most students enrolled in the programme are from well-off families. My oldest child hasn't been able to collect his O Level results because I don't have money to clear school fees arrears at the school. The money I get from selling goods is not enough to buy food, never mind school fees.

(Amina, F, 37, Mutare)

In San Roque (Philippines), a participant with disabilities mentioned how she felt used by an organisation which purported to raise funds for people with disabilities but the resources did not reach the intended beneficiaries.

That is an organisation set up because there are funds available. When the time comes, our name is used as leverage in securing the funds. [...] Personally, we don't know where the funds go, to what use. Because as soon as they receive the funds, they are used in matters supposedly for the disabled, but we actually don't know that.

(Woman, San Roque)

In terms of elite capture participants emphasised the importance of NGO projects improving the transparency and accountability of their operations. Examples of corruption are presented below in the relevant sections.

6.1.4 Political patronage, fear, and accountability

It is important to note that in **three out of four countries** (Uganda, Zimbabwe, Philippines), **participants** felt that elections were uncertain and dangerous periods and **regarded future elections with concern**. Political patronage was connected with fear of speaking out because of threats or violence. For instance, in some communities in the Philippines, participants felt that denouncing corruption practices would put their lives in danger.

In Binidayan (Philippines), political patronage has been viewed by research participants as the main problem in the failed implementation of projects. They also reported unfair distribution of government relief assistance after a recent typhoon. They never received what they were supposed to get because, they claim, they were not supporters of the incumbent mayor. In nearby villages where residents supported the mayor, relief goods and cash were given.

'Participants felt that denouncing corruption practices would put their lives in danger'

But we did not receive any amount, only one ganta of rice and a can of sardines. We did not even receive any noodles. The problem is where the money went? We cannot mention who received the money because we might get into trouble. It could be that after leaving our house, we might receive threats [...] Yes, we are not of the same party. The house of our [government] official is just there. None of the medicines sent to him would reach us. No sardines, or noodles, or rice were given to us [...] Actually, we know about it but we cannot tell you because our life will be in danger. You may know it yourself [...] We don't have the courage to tell you because the persons who are accountable for that are around, sitting there.

(Women's focus group, Binidayan, Philippines)

‘Access to justice remains a problem’

The women participants had also complained that there was unequal access to the main social protection programme in the Philippines, 4Ps, a conditional cash transfer scheme. Since the mayor did not win in their village, they were deprived of the government programme. They did not receive the transfers for six months and feared that they would be taken off the programme if they complained.

First, on pay day, there were those who received a bigger amount like PhP 900 (\$21). Some also received PhP 300 (\$7). But there were also some who did not receive any. They were even taken off [the programme]. So, we cannot voice our problem for fear of being taken off the list. If you complain, you will be erased from the list [...] We are politically abused. This 4Ps is being politicised. We live a life that is always politicised. If there are benefits from the government, we cannot receive them if we are not their supporters. That is our problem.

(Women’s focus group, Binidayan)

Actually, this is one of the sickening situations that is happening now, that if the community leaders are not the political allies of the person in power, he can do what he wants to do even if it is violating the right of a person. He can dare to change the name of the person, to delete his name from the list. In this case, the issue is with the leaders’

(Local government officials focus group, Binidayan)

Research session in the Philippines



Situations of conflict generate fear and **people are scared to make public institutions accountable**. They fear retaliation and **social protection programmes are used to blackmail people living in poverty and gain their political support**.

Another problem is that the community is not informed when civil servants are appointed in their area. A traditional leader explains,

There are also regular teachers under the district of Binidayan whom we do not know. We need participatory, transparent and accountable governance so that we will know all the people of Binidayan. All the people who live and work in the place would be known to all. People in Luzon or Visayas differ from our people here. In other places, for example in Luzon and Visayas, people have the guts to say that even if the leaders have embezzled only PhP 5, they could report it or tell the media because they could not be affected by doing that. Here, if you report anything against them, you get yourself killed by his supporters even before you reach your home. This is similar to what happened with the Ampatuan family. They killed the media people so that the information would not be released.

(Traditional leaders’ focus group, Binidayan)

6.1.5 Access to justice

For those living in poverty, access to justice remains a problem. Even when laws exist to protect rights, enforcement may be connected to economic transactions and power. Asked why he was afraid to reveal something suspicious, a participant in Bangsamore (Philippines) replied:

It can be divulged but it is very difficult. In the government if you “reveal” and if you belong to the minority and very poor, you cannot afford it. If the case will be filed in court, you have no money to pay. How can you divulge it when you have no money to be spent on the case? So, you have no right even if you are telling the truth because you cannot afford. You cannot ask help from the military because they have received some money from your opponent.

Participants also explained that to deal with local conflicts they need an effective justice

Accessing justice in the Philippines: an indigenous woman's experience

An indigenous woman interviewed in a research session in Mindanao (Philippines) explained how, despite being the victim of rape and domestic violence, she found herself charged with attempted murder by her partner. She was told that she could not file a legal case against the man until the existing case of attempted murder has been closed. She does not have the economic resources and skills to defend herself in court and asked for help.

'I have two children but I am not married. I have a problem because now I am facing a case which my ex-partner, the father of my children, filed in court. My question is, I believe we have a law on women's rights, violence against women, how are we going to solve this problem that we are facing now? For men who only wanted to bear children but don't want to take responsibility in providing their children with something to eat? We tried to seek help from the government since we were told there is a legal process, however there are consultation fees and charges that I cannot afford. The man involved is very irresponsible, he is supposed to be in jail, but because there is a politician behind him, he is free.'

Researcher: 'You mean you are the one being sued? What was the crime or case against you?'

'Attempted murder and death threats. But they don't have the basis to file such a case. I am the victim of battering and abuse, he raped me, that was why I was forced to live with him but he continued to abuse me and hit me. There were times when I fought back but I am small compared to his physical build and strength. I have no choice but to denounce him or else I will die. We tried to file a case against my ex-partner but we were told we cannot file the case unless the existing case of attempted murder is closed. I believe I have more right to sue him, I am the victim. What is worst is that there are officials from the government who take his side. They are providing him support because of political patronage.'

system. However, they argued that it is the person who bribes the law enforcement officials and magistrates that receives 'justice'. Participants complained that 'justice has become relative' and shaped by money.

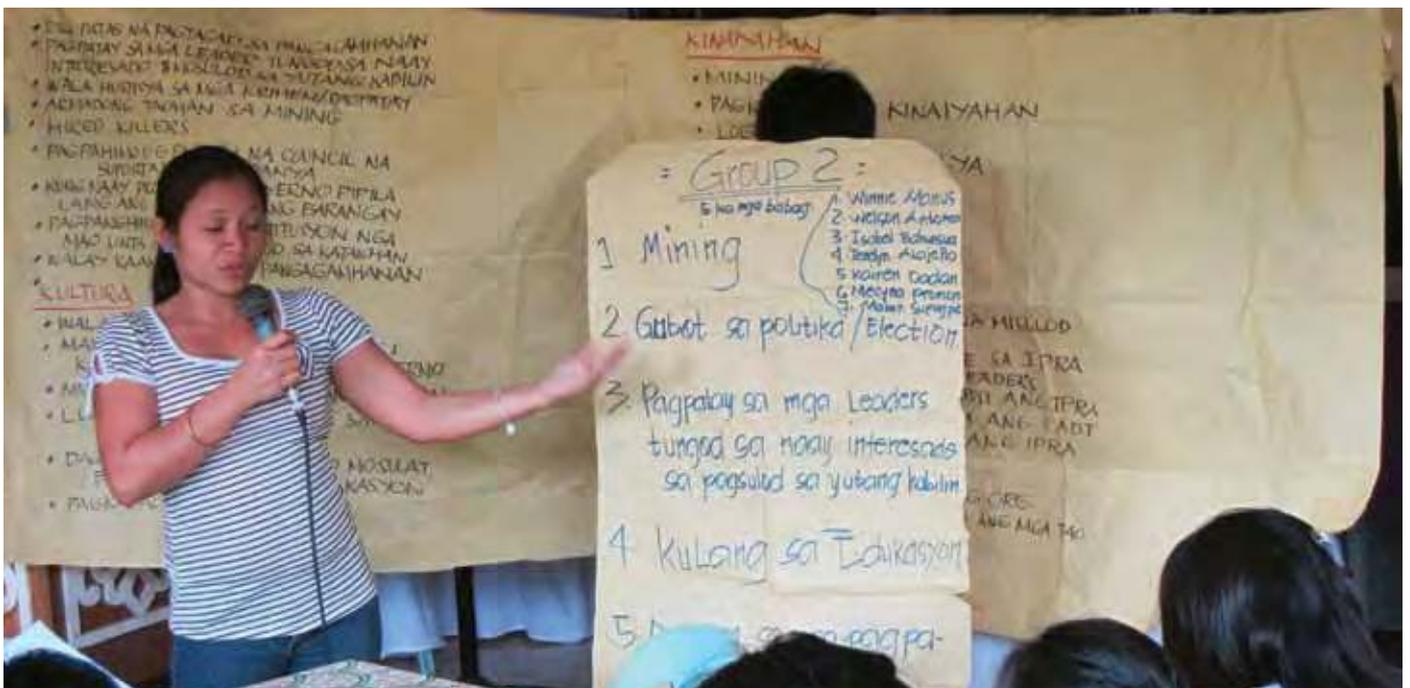
6.2 Mining: governance and justice

On the issue of mining, local communities involved in this research felt that government often sides with mining companies rather than guaranteeing people's rights and the rule of law. While some of these activities have been going on for decades, there has been an intensification over the last ten years which has led to further pressure on local communities. In many parts of the world, with the increasing need for natural resources, governments use resource extraction as a central part of their development strategy. However, in certain cases the social and environmental costs outweigh the revenues, generating a long-term loss rather than a gain. Often the cost/benefit calculations of central government do

not take into account the costs paid by local populations. In the Philippines, the overall negative impacts of mining operations on local communities emerged as a central issue of concern. Participants felt that principles such as Free Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC), environmental laws, and indigenous rights were not adequately implemented, either by the state or by companies. Another central issue of public concern amongst the communities participating in the study is how bribery can be used by companies to relax enforcement of environmental regulations.

The Maranao Moro Community of Kiwalan in the Philippines lives next to the mining and manufacturing operations of a cement company, and is affected by air pollution, dust and stones falling on them because of blasting. The local community left the land in

'Often the cost/benefit calculations of central government do not take into account the costs paid by local populations'



Research session in the Philippines

the 1970s because martial law was imposed by the central government. When they came back, they found that the company had started work.

When we arrived, we saw all our coconut trees dying which we believe was because of the thick covering of cement dust from the factory. We had to cut them all down and replant the land. Before that, we could harvest coconut and earn as much as thirty thousand pesos. Since then, we can hardly harvest any copra. I will tell you this. Our children hardly eat rice three times a day. [...] We feel that we are being oppressed by the company. We have nowhere to take refuge.

(Farmer, Kiwalan)

A nearby fisherfolk community raised similar concerns about the link between the activities of different companies and environmental pollution which they believe to affect their livelihoods.

That's why we're not fishing here because there's no more fish here. We have to go very far just to catch enough fish to feed our families [...] What we want is to stop the pollution coming from the factories. They [government authorities] will say, yes, that's correct and then they will list the factories that must be stopped. [...] I have witnessed it, when factories clean their machines, wastewater goes into the

Agus River, there I saw the fish died. I can say that because before we were fishing for sardines there in the Agus River.

(Fisherfolk, Santiago)

However, a more threatening issue was **the expansion of mining activities over the past ten years**. Indigenous peoples in Mindanao can apply for a Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT), which grants communal ownership of land to a community. However, obtaining the title involves a complex, costly and bureaucratic process, which is very difficult for isolated indigenous community with little means. This makes it difficult for local communities to protect their rights and negotiate on equal terms with mining companies interested in expanding their activities on their land. Before this, according to customary law, land was communally owned and controlled by the clan without the need for a title.

In many parts of the country, **extractive industries offer financial help and legal support with the process of titling indigenous lands in exchange for access to it**. Indigenous communities denounced attempts to 'buy' leaders with offers of money and cars. Their opinion is that conflict amongst indigenous communities is created by the efforts of mining companies to buy what they call 'tribal dealers' as

opposed to 'tribal leaders'. These 'dealers' convince some of their own people to accept money and work with the company; however, they don't have the support of the entire community and their action becomes a source of profound internal conflicts. **Companies were also accused of bypassing laws.** Where they do not have a mining licence, they pay locals to blow up mountains and then buy rocks from them. They say they are not mining, but argue they are 'rock harvesting'. There are also permits needed to transport precious minerals, but using the same line of argument companies claim that they are transporting rocks and not precious minerals. Communities that try to turn away mining companies can face increased intimidation, and the killing or injuring of leaders and their families.

In the following example an indigenous leader explains his experience (some details on this research session have been purposely concealed to protect research participants):

There are some [mining companies] who wanted to be legal, and others which are illegal. Me, I'm not pro-mining nor anti-mining, but I am for what is legal because there is a government to live with. But there are people who always practice 'fixing'. Imagine, they offered me a car and money, I remember that clearly. We were then at [name of restaurant]. Ah, [name of the leader], we will bring you to [name of the Hotel] with your people. You will get a Pajero [car], you take care of registration. But no matter how I analyse that type of deal, besides that, there was this 55-45 sharing, the company gets 45 per cent and the community gets 55. But no matter how I would analyse the offer in the way of a simple trader, would you buy one kilo of fish, sell it, and then you receive 55 per cent? What about us, what do we get out of it? That's why I did not agree. Whatever agency would verify it, they were really [operating] illegal[ly]. Then I had to assert my position. I will not be on your side because you are illegal. Unless you set your papers in order, you cannot enter our area.

The company was involved in transporting rocks containing valuable minerals, the community blocked the operation, denounced the matter and the court issued a

'cease and desist order'. The company had to leave the rocks at the side of the road.

We made a resolution, then a petition, until they were issued a cease and desist order because they are really illegal [...] And that's it, they wanted a reconciliation and called us. He said they had incurred PHP 18 million in damages. He asked if we could just arrive at some arrangement. So I responded that it would be fine with me, after all we could not make use of the rocks anyway. The only problem with this is your illegality. How do we face the government? Because if I should sign your papers, you will transport the rocks, what will happen with my reputation, it might be problematic later. He said "we have plenty of [high-level political] connections [details of the connections]". They flaunted, thus, their links. To cut a long story short, we did not arrive at an agreement. Their equipment was pulled out, and the rocks were left, with only the security guard remaining.

The leader had already survived an ambush that killed his young son. In a focus group discussion with local indigenous leaders, they explained how companies approach them (some details on this research session have been purposely concealed to protect research participants):

so we will finance [the processing of your papers for securing] your CADT [Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title], but we will be the one to mine here in your place. That is the reason why they have a Council of Elders, it had been established by the mining company. Now, there are two councils, one of which can be termed

Research session in the Philippines



“council of dealers”. That is what is risky. [...] There is this creation of a council of dealers, and we were sold out by them. Our rights had not been acknowledged, they sold us out. [...] We experienced serious problems. We had leaders who died because of those interested in getting into our territory. As geologist researchers would say, we are very rich in minerals, our ancestral domain is wealthy.

‘Excluded groups have started to engage in politics and see their political participation as a strategic element in improving their lives’

In Mutare (Zimbabwe), participants said that when diamonds were discovered in the area, there was a hectic period in which people

searched for them. Some were successful and lived a lavish lifestyle as a result, and expensive cars appeared in the city. When the Government assigned mining licences, mining companies took over the business. Many people were displaced, affecting their livelihoods.

The negative impact on local communities of extractive activities is not a new issue but with the current global scramble for natural resources,

companies have adopted more aggressive strategies. The result for local communities has been increased destruction of local livelihoods, as companies attempt to bypass national legislation and fail to leave a fair proportion of profit to local communities. Research participants claimed that national legislation and government were often unable to counter such behaviour, usually because they have a stake in the company’s activities. Research participants argued that **international law on the rights of indigenous peoples and other global frameworks may be useful in supporting their struggles and influence governments to take action against companies. However, participants argued that they would need support to use international and national laws and mechanisms effectively to access justice.**

6.3 Political participation

People living in poverty recognise the fundamental role of government in ensuring access to key services and delivering development projects. Too often, the benefits are used to reinforce patronage systems or are captured by elite groups.

Poor governance, political patronage, and corruption affect everyone. However, while those who have sufficient income can afford to buy their medicines, pay a bribe to get a service or use a private provider, very poor people are the ones who suffer most. Moreover, this problem is more marked in isolated areas where the poorest people live. Participants strongly argued that they fear to complain as it can be dangerous and lead to further exclusion, and may also involve having to pay legal fees.

People identified their direct participation as a crucial factor in their ability to be heard and achieve **more transparent and accountable governance. Participants understand their fundamental role in development and are willing to take part in it.**

The people whom I think are responsible for bringing about change are the very people who live in this community because we are the ones who know our own problems. So we should bring heads together and share ideas that will bring change to our community. An outsider cannot easily know our problems.

(Agnes, 43, F, Bugondo, Uganda)

In Bolivia and the Philippines, excluded groups have started to engage in politics and see their political participation as a strategic element in improving their lives. Participants in Bolivia acknowledge that the pro-poor positive changes are a result of their political participation in important social struggles in the 2000s, which subsequently led to the election of an indigenous president.



Service provision & access to services

- The poorest people often have only poor quality services available to them, and are preventing from accessing these services by economic barriers, including fees or hidden costs.
- When people living in rural poverty send their children to school, rather than work in the fields, they expect this investment to be worthwhile. Quality and relevance of what is taught is important.
- It is important to always consult and involve local communities in the design and planning of any improvements and collectively think of ways to mitigate negative side effects.

What are they learning? We are losing a generation if we run schools with three teachers. It is very dangerous to have half-educated people who believe they are educated.

(Focus group, Obalanga, Uganda)

I cannot get free drugs from local clinics. At times nurses from those same clinics would come and sell us the medication through the back door.

(Clara, 54, F, Bulawayo, Zimbabwe)

Participants expect the state to play a leading role in the provision of key services. **Health and education are the two most important and discussed services for those living in poverty in the COMPASS 2015 project.** A good education and better healthcare were identified by the global UN survey MyWorld on post-2015 as people's two key priorities. They were also a central part of the MDGs, so it is important to present participants' views on them. **From a long-term perspective, participants acknowledge improvements in the provision of both,** although displacement because of land conflicts sometimes

interrupted education; and the political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe contributed to a deterioration in the provision of the services in that country. **However, a recurring theme is poor quality of services offered, and the economic barriers that prevent the poorest people from accessing them,** including **fees or hidden costs** such as transport, corruption, and medicines. This section discusses findings around five key services: healthcare, social protection and security, education, human security, and infrastructure.

Discussions with research participants also illustrated **the need for better indicators**

to measure service provision. For example, distance from a service provider is the indicator often used by the government as a proxy for access to services. This indicator is particularly used in policy and planning documents such as Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers¹⁰. Particularly for urban areas, this approach results in statistics that demonstrate the availability of services to poor people. However, proximity to health centres does not mean access which is undermined by the costs, often hidden. Also enrolment rates used by the MDGs to measure education are unable to measure quality and full inclusion of all children.

7.1 Access and quality of healthcare

The three key issues around healthcare are the **cost of services, hidden costs** mainly because of corruption, and the **low quality of services** because of either a lack of equipment and drugs or insufficient or poorly qualified staff. It is important to note that these issues primarily affect the most vulnerable and marginalised groups who are often those who most need healthcare.

We have the health centres, but if you do not have the money, you cannot access treatments. The health centres are far away from us and a lot of money is required to be treated in the private clinics and even in the Government hospitals.

(Rose, 51, F, farmer, Alwa)

For Rajab (38, M), a taxi driver from Kumi, living well

is having good health and having drugs in the hospitals. Good health is access to medical treatment; at the moment there are not enough drugs in the health centres. When you get to the health centre, the doctors prescribe you medicines and send you to buy drugs in the drug shops. There are no drugs in the health centres.

Health costs mean that lives are lost because of a lack of money or that important productive resources (such as a cow) have to be sold to save the life of a child, thus undermining the future livelihood of the entire household. A woman in Binidayan (Philippines),

I also have children who died, the eldest child and the second. The eldest died because of fever and we did not have money for hospitalisation.

(Women's focus group, Binidayan).

Health for me is the most important thing because I had to give away almost all of the resources I had so my daughter can be still alive.

(Small trader workshop, Riberalta).

Research session in Bolivia



A local leader in Obalanga (Uganda) complained that the government health centre only gets 1,000 tablets to treat malaria for a population of 42,000 people – a quantity that he considers insufficient. The result is that despite the presence of this relatively new, large government health centre, people attend the small clinic run by the church few kilometres away. While this clinic is not equipped to admit patients, many prefer to stay there as medicines are available and they can get treatment, which is not always the case in the government centre.

Similar issues were expressed by Bolivian participants.

Everything is money, even going to the post office, hospitals is not for free. We do not have money, we could even die. For a very short time in the hospital they charge 30 bolivianos, with their machines they look and charge you. If we do not have money, we just die. [...] There is social care. All children have insurance. But it is not an insurance that covers everything, it is for palliative care. For the elderly there is an insurance too, but again it is also palliative, it covers only aspirins, there are no operations, no treatments, no rehabilitations. When someone gets sick, he has to go at five, six in the morning to get a ticket. Then they told him that they have not come, that he has to come back another day [...] The ticket is to get an appointment, not for medicines.

(Pedro, M, farmer, Batallas, Bolivia)

We are not well taken care of regarding health. We do not have all the medicines in the pharmacy. Now, the farmer does not have any form of health insurance because he does not have the means. He does not have the means to access treatments. The insurance for elderly people is incomplete. It is with better treatments that they have to cure us.

(Small traders workshop, Riberalta, Bolivia)

There is also a further level of exclusion as **certain health conditions are not treated by local health centres, forcing those who need treatment most to travel long distances,**



Research session in Bolivia

One time when I took my child to Ngora hospital, they told me that we people who are living positively should not be given attention [there] and they told me to go to Soroti Hospital.

(Jennifer, 35, F, farmer)

People living with HIV are often sent to the regional referral hospital for the Teso sub-region; the costs involved in such trips might be such that patients cannot afford to travel. Those who most need treatments are in fact excluded through these indirect barriers. In Zimbabwe, there were also concerns about hidden costs. While HIV is no longer an automatic killer because of significant improvements in the provision of ARVs, sometimes there are small fees to pay as well as transport costs, and there is a need to accompany treatments with a balanced diet.

‘Three key issues around healthcare are the cost of services, hidden costs because of corruption, and low quality services’

Moreover, corrupt practices mean that supposedly free drugs are sold to patients. As many participants explained, supplies to government offices are often resold, forcing users to buy their treatment. In Bulawayo (Zimbabwe), a widow, taking care of three children and seven grandchildren, one taking ARVs, explained:

I am taking care of a grandchild who is on ARVs. I usually spend R100 (\$10) to buy medication for the child because I cannot get free drugs from local clinics. At times nurses from those same clinics would come and sell us the medication through the back door.

(Clara, 54, F)

Because of poor salary levels in most government institutions, including the health sector, employees use public facilities and services to generate private profits, thereby compromising government initiatives to improve health service delivery.

We need money for medication, nurses are selling medicines claiming that there is no medication in the clinics.

(Alice, 82, F, widow, Bulawayo)

There is no medication in the hospitals. If you go to Mpilo hospital you are told that the hospital has run out of drugs and they refer you to chemists where the drugs are expensive.

(Monica, F, Bulawayo)

Some of us are on ART [antiretroviral therapy], at times I don't have money to collect medication, the administration fees are as follows; local clinics \$2, St Joseph's mission hospital \$4 and government hospitals \$6. Going to collect medication with inadequate funds means you will be the last to be served after everyone else. At times you end up defaulting.

(Shelly, F, 56, Muthare)

There was an acknowledgement of the positive efforts made by government in making some services available, for instance free maternity treatments in Zimbabwe. However, the quality of services remains a key concern that pushes many people to travel very long distances in search of better health care. In Binidayan (Philippines) a woman described her experience:

Yes, I had my prenatal check-ups. I gave birth to my first four children in our place. The last three of them were born in the hospital because I am afraid to give birth in our place. They were born in Cagayan. One reason is that I am a bit old and I also fear giving birth in our own hospital.

Another mother also explained why she chose to give birth in a far but better equipped hospital:

Yes, so I gave birth to my youngest child in Iligan. I was afraid I would give birth at night and there would be no midwife here in the nearby place. So I needed to transfer to Iligan City because I was also not sure if my blood pressure would rise.

(Women's focus group, Binidayan, Philippines).

A participant in Riberalta summarised the sentiments of a wide range of research participants:

I believe with the universal health insurance we all are going to have access to a better healthcare.

7.2 Social protection and social security

People living in poverty consider social protection and social security to be key interventions for reducing poverty. Cash transfer programmes such as the bonos in Bolivia are welcomed by marginalised people. Sometimes these programmes do not reach the most isolated communities as they have to pass through intermediaries.

The mothers and pregnant women do not receive the bono Juana Azurduy because the bureaucratic procedures are done by the nurse who has to go up to Charagua to request it.

(Charagua, wage workers workshop)



Research session in the Philippines

The problem with health centres, though they have available stocks, they will tell you there are no more medicines available and they will direct you to buy them in the city. But how can we? When we cannot even afford the fare.

(Internally displaced people, Santiago, Philippines)



Research session in Uganda

Sometimes, cash transfers may have hidden costs which limit the impact. In some areas of the Philippines, for example, people are expected to withdraw the transfer from an ATM machine and the lengthy travel to a bank eats up a significant proportion of the transfer.

With the lack of social protection, children are still considered the key to guaranteeing a dignified old age. However, often older people find themselves having to look after grandchildren following the death of their children. Where there is no social protection for old age, this situation has a huge impact on the wellbeing of both older people and children and, some children may have to leave school early to contribute to household income.

Despite the shortcomings in the implementation and the ways in which transfer programmes are used to reinforce political patronage, social protection measures were considered very important. When asked about the changes that improved the lives of the families living in poverty, participants in Bolivia clearly identified the introduction of transfers for children and older people and health insurance for women and their children. The request for universal health care is also

thought of as a way to protect precarious workers:

As daily [casual agricultural] workers we need health insurance because if we get sick working no one will pay and they would not pay us if something happens to us.

(Charagua, wage workers' workshop)

‘Social protection measures are considered very important’

7.3 The quality of education

During the COMPASS 2015 research, education constantly emerged in people's accounts. The concern for the poor quality of education and the need for monitoring progress in education in qualitative terms with the participation of citizens were unanimously identified by communities in different continents. The current Millennium Development Goals have a strong focus on education and a good education is the key priority identified by citizens around the world in the global MyWorld survey. It is therefore important to clarify what education people living in poverty want and what have been the obstacles to its achievement so far.

For instance, in Uganda, everyone agrees on the importance of introducing universal

primary and secondary education – policies which are viewed favourably by the international donor community. However, the rural communities engaged with COMPASS 2015 described **large overcrowded classes without teachers, furniture and teaching materials**. They argued that **without enough trained teachers, packing students into an ill-equipped classroom wastes their time, particularly when they could be contributing to the livelihood of the family through farm work**. In rural areas, people living in poverty make considerable efforts to send their children to school rather than work in the fields and expect this investment to be worthwhile.

Rose (53, F, farmer, Alwa, Uganda) emphasised the problem of poor-quality education, infrastructure and how it affects those who are already disadvantaged:

well, the Government has built classrooms but look at the teachers' houses! It has been left to parents, who build very shoddy grass-thatched houses. But you know, if teachers do not sleep well, they will not teach well. The house may leak on the teacher's white shirt that he is supposed to put on the following day. How do you expect him to teach your child if he is not happy? Teachers feel that they are being punished by the Government by making them sleep in the grass-thatched houses. People with disabilities suffer more in rest rooms; the latrines constructed are not favourable to them. Often children with mobility problems find it difficult to access the pit latrines

and urinals because the entrances are not disability-friendly. These children are also exposed to poor personal hygiene because of treading on the faecal and urinal matter of others, on the floors of the toilets and urinals. These are problems that the Government needs to put into consideration when it's building schools, even in the villages.

Achieving high enrolment rates is undoubtedly important, but the quality and relevance of what is taught is equally important. However, investing resources in good education does not improve education statistics as structured under the MDGs. A research assistant who works with children with special needs emphasised how these children are completely excluded from the MDGs. There is a need for trained, capable teachers and sufficient resources to ensure that all children can fully develop their potential and participate fully in society. Yet what is counted is the enrolment rate of children in schools, not what they learn. In terms of quality of learning, students in under-resourced rural schools are at a disadvantage compared to peers in urban schools with better facilities. Research participants also described hunger as a barrier to learning:

| How can you learn with an empty stomach?

asked one participant. Inequalities are consolidated rather than challenged through schooling systems which fail to recognise how disadvantage affects outcome and offer the support needed to all citizens.

Although the government of Uganda has introduced free education, in practice parents are required to pay a small fee to cover things that are not provided by the government. This can be building materials for teachers' houses, school meals, and uniforms. Some participants felt that this request was illegitimate, as

the universal primary and secondary education programme is meant for the poor, yet they charge fees. I feel the charging of fees should be scrapped completely. Let the children study freely. Which fees are they charging pupils and students? This is corruption.

(Enough, 19, M, orphan and student, Kumi).

School toilets in Uganda





Interviewing a participant in a rural school, Uganda

The same message came from Bolivia, where a workshop participant reflecting upon the MDGs emphasised **the need to measure the quality of education by involving civil society in monitoring education progress**. There is a wide consensus on this issue across countries. In Mutare (Zimbabwe), the view was echoed with concern expressed on the deteriorating conditions of public education and the increased need for those who can afford it to hire private tutors.

Low teachers' salaries and poor living conditions were identified as factors which could compromise the quality of education by both teachers and other research participants. However, some examples shared by participants suggest that increasing salaries is not enough without systems that make teachers accountable.

The teacher is not fully dedicated to education. Once he finishes his job in the classroom, he devotes his time to agriculture work, business, trade. Sometimes this is why there are problems in the education, we can say that the teacher is not prepared for the class. If he does any preparation will be very shortly at night. It is the economic aspect, the wage goes from one and a half minimum salaries until two for someone who already has more years of experience.

(Wage workers' workshop, Batallas, Bolivia)

The teachers are no longer teaching. They are not getting enough salaries, so instead

of teaching they are doing piece jobs. Also children's parents are not working and cannot afford the fees that are charged by most schools.

(Bertha, Bulawayo, Zimbabwe).

The education system is deteriorating, children are asked to pay incentives and teachers are not teaching during normal hours; they ask the children to come for extra lessons which they charge.

(Jack, M, 50, Bulawayo)

In the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM), the Philippines, **teachers do not want to live in rural areas and pay a local substitute to teach for them. This is possible because there are no mechanisms to ensure accountability.**

One of the existing problems here in Binidayan is that, believe it or not, a teacher is assigned here in Binidayan but lives in Cagayan and so she could not settle in the school. What happens to the teacher who lives in Cagayan and teaches here in Binidayan? She pays for a substitute. For example, [name of the teacher] is a teacher with a salary of PhP 17,000 (\$390). She would personally hire [name of the substitute] to take care of her pupils and pay him PhP 2,000 (\$46) [...] There is no appointment. It is just a verbal agreement like, "You take over my class and I will pay you this amount". [...] If we complain we will be destroyed by others, and we are just creating enemies. Secondly, principals and supervisors make an agreement with the teacher. If the teacher goes home to Iligan, she will just give 2,000 or 1,500 to the substitute. The principal and the supervisor will then make another arrangement. Then, they would go home to Iligan or to Cagayan and do their business. They would return to the province to get their salary in the ATM and hire again a substitute. This happens with the local police, too. They would also get their substitutes to do the job for them [...] That is the problem in ARMM because there is no supervision here. No one would also dare to do a monthly monitoring. They could not reach here because we are situated in a very remote place.

(Traditional leaders, Binidayan, Philippines)



Research session in the Philippines

An additional element was added to the debate by the research in Mindanao (Philippines). **Participants argued that governments should also engage with citizens in thinking about both the model of education and its aims.** Should education help students go to colleges which open the door to long-term international emigration? Or should education provide the skills to build successful and sustainable livelihoods in local communities? The current model focuses on producing labour for export. Some students and their families are happy and choose emigration as a deliberate strategy, but often it is the only strategy if education does not equip students to develop a viable livelihood in their community. Moreover, the focus on economic emigration has led to perverse effects. In the community of Rogongon, the school has a computer lab but the computers are falling into disrepair since the area has been without electricity for more than a year. Even if they had electricity, there are no other computers in the area, and so IT skills may not be very relevant to local life. In the community, the local school has started a unique attempt to introduce a year of sustainable agricultural practice at the end of high school to teach pupils how to use fertile land effectively with appropriate technologies. The good news is that the government has shown interest in this experimental programme.

Evaluations of budget support programmes in education inspired by the MDGs and aimed at boosting school enrolment rates and achieving gender parity raised concerns around the attention given to the quality of education.

Evidence from the ground in three different continents supports the need to include indicators that measure quality in the new post-2015 framework and change the current system of incentives for governments. Measuring quality can happen only with the involvement of citizens. Such involvement may also lead to a deeper national and local reflection on the role of education in the development of the country. These insights from participatory research have implications beyond education; the need for radically different sets of indicators can be extended to other areas such as health care. **How quality is measured and the assessment of whether government responses reflect the needs and aspirations of citizens remain central questions for the post-2015 framework.** The report of the High-Level Panel on post-2015 identified the need for a 'data revolution' and 'better accountability in measuring progress' but those living in poverty are clear about **the need to go beyond better data, statistics and disaggregation to include citizen participation in monitoring the quality of education through different indicators, and collectively defining the purpose of education in society.**

7.4 Human security

Participants felt that human security was fundamental to living well, prompting reflections on the relationship of citizens with government institutions. Both in Uganda and the Philippines, participants claimed that government response to conflict through the deployment of the army does not help to build peace. On the contrary, it may increase conflict. In Mindanao participants argued that it was important to stop military deployment in order to solve the conflict.

According to participants' and local researchers' accounts, some of the areas of the COMPASS 2015 research in Uganda have been periodically affected by conflict since 1980s. In this context, many participants emphasised that **there cannot be development without peace**. A community leader, when asked about his priorities, said, 'first, security, community-led security'. The area is also a cattle corridor and often this leads to cattle rustling between different ethnic groups. However, the response of the central Government – to build a military base near to the border between the two ethnic regions – was perceived as provocation and was carried out without consulting local people.

We have tried to explain as local people how we want to work on the concept of peaceful coexistence with our neighbours,

said the local leader in Obalanga, who believes in localised approaches to peace building. During the research, local communities explained that they found peace building through their traditional leaders very valuable, in particular when done through the elders of different family clans. Peace building organisations have promoted exchange visits and periodic meetings between the elders of different ethnic groups. Moreover, these leaders provide very valuable support in dealing with most internal issues and disputes in remote areas where local government authorities would not be able to intervene effectively. But despite this important work, the role of traditional leaders is not recognised by the law. **Designing strategies and mechanisms to strengthen alternative conflict resolution will enable poor people to access justice and resolve conflicts when**

they are still manageable. Clan heads can be an important asset if recognised by government and given a role in conflict resolution.

'Security but community-based security', emphasised the local leader,

achieved through reconciliation and dialogue between communities, not occupying our county with soldiers.

He proposed the creation of community-based security systems, sustainable within the community, and accompanied by training for local people in peace building. In the process of achieving peace, the government can be an important facilitator, for instance fulfilling its responsibilities as service provider for people who are resettling after living in camps.

'Human security is fundamental to living well'

People are returning to their homes but there are no health facilities, no schools, no clean water that the children can drink. The road network is poor. In places like Akuda Sama there is not even a borehole. In Opiang there is no water source, no borehole, no medical services. So how do you expect us to improve our lives under such conditions?

(Gabriel, 38, M, affected by war)

The resettlement of people affected by war worsens their suffering as people return to villages which lack basic services. Often, those leaving camps for internally displaced people return home to worse living conditions.



Research session in Uganda

According to participants, another important role for the government in conflict would be to help find out about abducted children.

Up to now we don't know the whereabouts of some boys and girls. We don't know whether they are alive or killed.

(Imeringole, 65, M, elder and farmer, Ongongoja).

The issue of security also demonstrates the often complex, contradictory and problematic relationship between people and government institutions. For instance,

in Bulawayo (Zimbabwe) a group of single mothers and young participants requested a police presence to reduce robberies and cases of theft and to ensure that residents could move around safely. However, the very same participants complained of the behaviour of police officers in terms of corruption and threats to their informal trade activities.

7.5 Infrastructure

Participants showed the many ways in which the poor quality or the lack of

infrastructure affected their wellbeing. While participants agree on the fundamental role of government in the provision of infrastructure such as roads, they also raise an important point that even interventions that initially seem unproblematic and beneficial to

everyone in the community may also have negative side effects. This underlines the importance of **consulting and involving local communities in the design and planning of any improvements and collectively thinking of ways to reduce unwanted outcomes.**

Roads are very important for remote communities in getting access to markets. Produce transported on poor roads often arrives damaged. In the case of Uganda and the Philippines, some areas are very hard to reach during the rainy season, making it impossible to transport produce as well as travel for medical emergencies. Moreover, poor roads increase the costs of agricultural inputs as farmers have to travel to the city. For instance, communities in the Philippines complained that a motorbike ride to the city, the only available means of transport, cost them approximately US\$4 each way. Poor roads also make it difficult for children to get to school.

Isolated indigenous communities in the Philippines very much needed a road, but the road gave settlers from lowlands access to their area and made their land more appealing to others, increasing encroachment and squatting from outsiders. Therefore, while building roads is considered a good thing, it also presents new challenges that need to be mitigated through a participatory and inclusive decision-making process.

‘While building roads is considered a good thing, it also presents new challenges that need to be mitigated through a participatory and inclusive decision-making process’



Research session in Uganda

Conclusions

This research has sought to bring the perspectives of people living in poverty, or from marginal, vulnerable and excluded groups, into the post-2015 agenda through engaging with their stories, priorities and experiences using participatory methodologies. The aspirations expressed by research participants throughout have been both concrete and achievable, and provide policy-makers, politicians and civil society with a guiding compass in the process of creating a new framework of development goals, and for implementation, monitoring and review at the local, national and global levels.

The **global context** has significantly changed during the last 15 years. A range of processes have displaced the livelihoods of people living in poverty, resulting in a deterioration of wellbeing experienced by many. While some of these processes, such as environmental degradation, violent conflict, and political and economic crises, can affect us all, people living in poverty are often impacted first and hardest. Other processes, such as forced displacement from land, are more likely to affect those who are already disempowered, marginalised or excluded.

The worst situations of poverty identified are caused by intersecting multiple factors. Some have existed for decades (such as land inheritance practices, customary duty of care disproportionately burdening women, exploitative tenancy agreements) while others are 'new' (for example different family composition because of HIV and conflict, frequent droughts, rapidly changing international commodity prices). It is the interplay between these 'old' and 'new' factors that produces the worst situations



Research session in the Philippines

of exclusion. To address the challenges presented by these complex situations, a comprehensive response that goes beyond sectoral approaches is needed. One factor present throughout is that of gender inequality, which intersects with other factors to create new forms of exclusion.

Changes in social norms have had demonstrable positive impacts on the lives of some of the most marginalised people. For example, indigenous peoples reported increased self-esteem and recognition through their political participation, while government policies have led to improvements in the stigma attached to HIV positive status.

‘Bringing the perspectives of people living in poverty, or from marginal, vulnerable and excluded groups, into the post-2015 agenda’

‘Employment and access to productive assets are central to achieving viable and sustainable livelihoods’

Human security is prioritised by people who are poor or marginalised, as even small-scale disasters and conflicts have the potential to destroy years of progress and undermine the wellbeing of people for years to come.

Employment and access to productive assets are central to achieving viable and sustainable livelihoods. Requests for external support, often from governments, are instrumental to attaining self-reliance. Land and access to land are paramount, in conjunction with equitable agreements that overcome exploitative practices such as unfair land tenancy arrangements. In this global context, income from farming is often no longer sufficient to provide dignified livelihoods and employment for poor people tends to be more precarious.

People respond to these situations through a range of strategies but the **strategies available to very poor people are different** to those that can be accessed by poor or non-poor groups, suggesting the need for differentiated approaches and interventions. Education is perceived as key to stable

incomes, as well as being central to linking with development organisations who may be able to provide support. The opportunities offered by migration are very different for low income and very poor people, and tend to produce long-term sustainable improvements only for low income groups rather than very poor people. Earning a living through multiple activities may mitigate risk for those who live well, but can become a forced choice for very poor people who have to engage in multiple activities to survive. Often, very poor people have no choice other than to earn a living in risky ways, which may expose them to greater vulnerability and undermine their capacity to move out of poverty.

People living in poverty recognise that national governments play a key role in development, but new forms of accountability and monitoring are required to ensure that development programmes and public services reach very poor people so that no one is left behind. Political patronage, where projects and services are dispensed to reward or punish political support, affects very poor and marginalised people, and corruption and elite capture often prevent very poor people benefitting from projects and services meant for them.

Research session in Bolivia



Geographical isolation and existing patterns of marginalisation amplify these phenomena; marginalised groups, who often need the services most and who fear retaliation if they speak out, are disproportionately affected. Access to justice, while essential for people living in poverty, is too often connected to economic transactions and unequal power relations. Social protection systems can improve the situations of people living in poverty but are not immune to corruption and political manipulation.

The relationship between local communities, government, and mining companies has become more contested, with participants questioning whether government carries out its role as guarantor of people's rights and the rule of law. Mining activities have expanded during the last decade, and intensifying pressure from corporations has impinged on the ability of local communities to make informed, transparent decisions and may create internal conflict.

In a context of growing uncertainty, the role of the government as a fundamental enabler of processes of development is more important but it must be matched by an increased commitment to collective decision-making at a range of levels from community

through to the national and global. **Political participation and active engaged citizenry are key strategies for people living in poverty, and call for profound changes in models of governance to challenge existing inequalities through empowerment of those who live in poverty or are marginal.**

Health and education remain the two most important services discussed by those living in poverty but improvements in provision **have been hampered by low levels of quality and economic barriers** for the poorest people. While enrolment rates in schools are important, investment in quality and relevance of what is taught is equally important. Measuring quality and whether government responses reflect the needs and aspirations of its citizens remain crucial questions for the post-2015 framework. New indicators and systems of accountability based on participation enable people living in poverty to identify appropriate solutions to local problems and collectively address the challenges of today and the coming decades.

'New forms of accountability and monitoring are required to ensure that development programmes and public services reach very poor people so that no one is left behind'

Research session in the Philippines



Implications for a post 2015 framework

Principles and approach

1 Finding: Many people live in poverty not because they are excluded from social and economic processes but **because their livelihoods have been severely impaired over the last 15 years** as a result of human-driven processes.

Implication: A post-2015 framework should challenge existing social and economic development processes and relations (for example land grabbing, rapid changes in commodity prices, inequitable tenancy agreements), recognising that for the poorest people they generate and perpetuate poverty.

2 Finding: The intersection of multiple factors (old and new) creates the worst situations of poverty and marginalisation.

Implication: A post-2015 framework should highlight the need for a comprehensive and holistic approach to development issues beyond sectoral approaches.

3 Finding: Changes in social norms and attitudes towards marginalised and stigmatised groups, sometimes driven by the state, **have had positive impacts on the lives of the most marginalised people.**

Implication: A post-2015 framework should create an enabling environment for positive global changes in discriminatory social norms to impact and empower people at the local level.

4 Finding: While the role of aid in development is decreasing, it is **still very important for the poorest people**, particularly for those living in aid-dependent countries.

Implication: While encouraging the use of all available means and funding mechanisms to promote sustainable development, a post-2015 framework should emphasise the importance of using aid to target the most excluded in both low and middle income countries.

5 Finding: International law on the rights of indigenous peoples and other global frameworks may be useful in supporting citizens' struggles to protect their livelihoods and rights, particularly when facing more powerful actors. However, principles need to be both incorporated into domestic legislation and enforced effectively. People living in poverty also need support to use international and national laws effectively.

Implication: A post-2015 framework should stress that international and national legislation must work effectively for poor people.

Content

1 Finding: Gender inequalities remain a major source of exclusion at household, community and national levels. It is important to identify and address the gender dimension that intensifies other forms of exclusion.

Implication: A post-2015 framework should adopt a gender lens to address gender inequalities and promote empowerment of women across all development goals.

2 Finding: Natural disasters and conflicts wipe out the progress communities and households have achieved over many years. Even relatively small-scale natural disasters and conflicts have long-term effects. Some can be prevented or mitigated by building resilience and preparedness.

Implication: A post-2015 framework which includes and prioritises conflict prevention, disaster and conflict risk reduction and building resilience, will favour global investment in these unattractive but important sectors.

3 Finding: The main demand from people living in poverty is either for employment or access to productive assets that would allow them to rebuild a viable and sustainable livelihood. Their key objective is to achieve self-reliance.

Implication: A post-2015 framework should promote the creation of decent jobs as well as ensuring poor people have access to and control over key productive assets such as land.

4 Finding: Those living in the worst situations of poverty are more exposed to the negative consequences of uncertainty and labour precariousness. Workers in the urban informal sector or in agriculture have no forms of social protection. Despite shortcoming in the implementation, participants consider existing **social protection programmes** such as conditional cash transfers very important.

Implication: A post-2015 framework should highlight the importance of establishing a minimum social floor for all through universal social protection. Universal health insurance should also be promoted as a way to grant access to health services to the most excluded.

Implementation and measurement

1 Finding: The strategies available to poor and very poor people to cope with uncertainty and rapid change are different, and very poor people may have no choice other than engaging in risky behaviours which further increase their vulnerability or may undermine their capacity to move out of poverty.

Implication: A new post-2015 framework should emphasise the need for differentiated approaches and interventions for very poor and the most excluded people and incentivise effective measures which include them.

2 Finding: Even interventions that seem unproblematic and appear to benefit the entire community can have negative side effects, particularly for marginalised and excluded groups.

Implication: It is important to always consult and involve local communities in design and planning. A post-2015 framework should ensure that meaningful participation of citizens is mainstreamed in all development interventions.

3 Finding: Enabling poor people to participate is costly, time-consuming, and requires political will. The use of local languages is paramount for genuinely inclusive processes but presents many challenges; for example, to gather a relatively small number of perspectives within four countries, researchers on this project used **15 languages**. Too often, development agencies approach and work through **local elites** speaking dominant languages and **further reproducing existing inequalities**.

Implication: If a post-2015 framework aims to genuinely include the perspectives of those living in poverty, then adequate time and resources should be allocated for this purpose and a clear process set in place outlining how these perspectives will contribute to the decision-making process.

4 Finding: Global priorities and national strategies are set by the indicators selected to monitor progress, as in the case of education where metrics based on enrolment resulted in little incentive to invest in quality. **Poor people** who send their children to school can feel their **efforts** and children's time are **wasted because of the poor quality of education** available.

Implication: A post-2015 framework should include different indicators which measure the quality of the services provided through participatory monitoring and evaluation of the interventions.

5 Finding: Delivering development to isolated areas and to marginalised groups and monitoring that it has effectively reached them is costly. **Governments competing to achieve targets and demonstrate ‘effective’ use of resources target people who are cheaper and easier to reach, resulting in exclusion of very poor and marginalised people.** While it is imperative to measure and assess the impact of development, **quantitative and simplistic value-for-money tools should not divert resources towards the most accessible** and push governments to save on processes of citizens’ monitoring.

Implication: A post-2015 framework should identify new forms of accountability. It must change MDG indicators and complement them with citizen evaluations, peer reviews and comprehensive forms of assessment looking at overall progress and challenges beyond single indicators.

6 Finding: **Services and development projects targeting the poorest people often fail to reach them** because services and development interventions are often disbursed through **patronage politics or captured by elite groups.** These phenomena are more marked in remote communities. People living in poverty fear retaliation if they denounce corrupt practices and have little access to justice.

Implication: A post-2015 should require accountability and transparency from all actors dealing with people living in poverty and who are from marginalised and excluded groups. These are not only government actors (both local and national) but also companies, in particular multi-nationals, and NGOs. A new framework should also ensure that the poorest people have access to justice and voice to make other actors accountable.

Annex I – COMPASS 2015 partners

- UNITAS (Bolivia) The National Union of Labour Institutions for Social Action is a Bolivian network of 26 NGOs, operating in different parts of the country to promote the participation of grassroots organisations in the analysis and development of public policies, and the creation of new development paradigms. www.redunitas.org
- Ecoweb (Philippines) Ecoweb's work addresses four inter-linking challenges: poverty, strained social relations, environmental degradation and poor governance. Ecoweb explores the inter-connections between local, national, international and global issues, including climate change. www.ecoweb.ph
- Poverty Reduction Forum Trust (Zimbabwe) conducts poverty-related research and promotes evidence-based policy formulation and dialogue between civil society, development partners and policy-makers on issues of poverty reduction and sustainable human development. www.prftzim.org
- Justice and Peace Commission, Soroti Archdiocese (Uganda) was established in 1981 with the mission to build a just and peaceful society. Current programmes include inter-community peace-building among pastoral and peasant communities, in an area that has a history of cattle-rustling and war, and the presence of rebel groups.

Annex II – Methodology

Research design

The research process began with the identification of four CAFOD partners with previous experience of research with people living in poverty and an interest in participatory methodologies. CAFOD regional offices discussed the project with several potential partners and finally four of these, representing a heterogeneous mixture of organisational types, were selected. There was also a mix of continents, low and middle income countries, rural and urban settings and communities.

Partners were given broad guidelines to help create a shared understanding of participatory research. They were largely based on the inclusion criteria set by the Participate initiative (see box on next page). The guidelines were discussed alongside a list of key topics and an indicative set of questions based on the main concerns of policy-makers and other actors involved in the post-2015 debate. Each partner was tasked to design a research proposal and a detailed methodology in dialogue with CAFOD and the other partners involved. A key criterion was that the research needed to be embedded in a longer-term relationship with participants. This meant that the scope and focus of each project varied according to the context and the work that partners had previously undertaken in the country. However, partners were asked to fully document the research process and methods.

The set of questions were not prescriptive but were provided to help frame the research in such a way as to produce knowledge that would be useful to the post-2015 process. The research design has been characterised by an intrinsic tension between the nature of participatory research and the needs of the policy process. The challenge was to balance the need to generate policy-relevant knowledge with a genuinely participatory process that allowed people living in poverty to frame questions that would address their concerns. Amongst many inputs, the framing questions set by the High Level Panel on post-2015 were used as a proxy for policy-makers' needs, but negotiated, adapted and discussed with local researchers and participants to generate knowledge that reflects their concerns and perspectives. In this way, COMPASS 2015 has produced participatory research that is pertinent to the global process. Another set of questions considered by COMPASS 2015 were those formulated by the United Nations Development Group (UNDG) in their document, 'La agenda de desarrollo post 2015: guía para fomentar el dialogo en los paises: Qué futuro quieres?'¹¹ in order to provide a framework to analyse poverty and open a discussion about the post-2015 agenda. These questions were translated, adapted and used in Bolivia and Uganda and, to a lesser extent influenced the Philippines' project. As an example, one of the boxes below shows the guiding research questions for the Uganda project.



Research team in the Philippines

Guidelines on participatory research (Participate criteria)

- The research is with those living in the poverty or who are from marginal, vulnerable or excluded groups.
- The research is not a one off. It is embedded in a longer term relationship.
- Participants will be centrally involved in identifying the key questions, and in making sense of the 'data', they won't only be participating in data collection.
- Participants will be supported so this involvement is meaningful, not tokenistic.
- The research questions have to be defined in order to address the concerns of the research participants but at the same time have to provide valuable information for framing the new international framework that will substitute the MDGs.
- The data analysis will be made together with the research participants and their feedback will be sought throughout the process of drafting the final report.
- Participants will be invited to validate any findings, and have the ability to withdraw any of their contributions from the research.
- Participants will be given feedback about what happens to their contributions and where possible what outcomes have emerged from the process.

Key topics

- 1 Experiences of change
- 2 Development priorities of those living in poverty
- 3 Visions and aspirations for the future
- 4 MDGs and architecture and rationale of the new framework
- 5 Evidence of the importance of linking poverty and sustainability
- 6 What are and what should be powerful tools to deliver 'real' change
- 7 How those living in poverty should be involved in new global frameworks

Guiding research questions

- 1 What have been the major positive and negative changes in your community/village/town over the past 10/15 years?
- 2 Who was responsible for these changes?
- 3 How does change happen in this community/village/town?
- 4 Who initiates positive processes of change in your community/village/town?
- 5 Can you describe one significant positive change that happened in your life/community in the past 15 years? What were the major factors that allowed this change to happen?
- 6 What would make your family/community more resilient to shocks and rapid changes?
- 7 Are there households in your community who managed to move out of poverty? How have they achieved it? What contributed to the change in their circumstances?
- 8 What have been the major obstacles to achieve what you aspire to?
- 9 Has there been any change in the situation of the most marginalised people in your community over the past 10/15 years?
- 10 What is your vision for your community/the world in 15/20 years time?
- 11 What development issues are the most important for your family and community?
- 12 Have you ever heard of the MDGs? What was their purpose in your opinion? What was the impact they had on your life? Have MDGs made any significant contribution to any specific issue affecting your community/town?
- 13 Are you aware of the current negotiations of a new set of goals to drive development policies of all countries after the 2015?
- 14 Which issues were missing from the MDG (or development interventions you've experienced) and should now be included?
- 15 In what ways can global objectives contribute to improve your life and aspirations?

Guiding research questions (continued)

- 16 What should be the purpose of such a framework?
- 17 What principle and criteria should guide the choice of these goals?
- 18 Could poverty eradication be the central objective of the new framework or are there other equally important objectives?
- 19 Have you been affected by any environmental issues over the last 10/15 years?
- 20 What environmental issues have affected your life and your community over the last 10/15 years and how?
- 21 How could people living in poverty contribute to monitoring and evaluating the progress of a new framework?

Guiding research questions - Uganda

Manifestations of poverty

- 1 What does 'living well' mean for you (as a category)* and your family?
- 2 What is most important to you (as a category) and your family in order to 'live well' in your community (naming the place)?
- 3 Who (as a category) lives well in your neighbourhood/community (naming the place)? Why?
- 4 Who (as a category) does not live well in your neighbourhood/community? Why?
- 5 In the last 10 years (since 2002) what changes have improved the lives of your family (as a category) and your neighbourhood/community?
- 6 In the last 10 years (since 2002), what was most harmful to your family (as a category) and neighbourhood/community?
- 7 What have you done (since 2002) in these (positive and negative) situations to improve living conditions in your neighbourhood/community?

8 What have others (actors and institutions) done in these (positive and negative) situations to improve living conditions in your neighbourhood/community?

9 What would you like to be changed so that you and your family/your neighbourhood/community can live well?

10 What good things should be maintained to ensure the welfare of your family (as a category) and neighbourhood / community?

11 What are the causes/reasons that allow you (as a category) and your family to live well?

Causes of poverty

12 What are the causes/reasons that prevent you (as a category) and your family from living well?

13 Are there more people who are improving their situation or are more those whose situation is not improving? Why are they improving? Why are they not improving?

Possible solutions

14 What can you (as a category) and your family do to improve your situation in your neighbourhood/community?

15 Who else (actors and institutions) has the responsibility to change the situation in your neighbourhood/community?

16 What should others (actors and institutions) do to improve your situation?

Expectations of social change

17 When/how would you (as a category) know that you have achieved what you want for your family, community and municipality?

18 What would you do to ensure that what you want will be there for you, your family, the community and the future generation?

*As a category refers to the fact that questions were addressed to different groups of participants such as people affected by war, fisherfolk, older people, etc.

Research locations

Bolivia

Communities in rural municipalities

Yamparaez

Molle Punku
Talahuanca
Sotomayor

Puerto Gonzalo Moreno

Las Piedras
Gonzalo Moreno
La Victoria

Urubicha

Urubicha
Yaguaru

Charagua

Kaipepe
Taputá
Piriti
Capiguazuti

Batallas

Cullucahi
Batallas

Neighbourhoods and/or districts in urban municipalities

Urban districts of the municipality of El Alto
Urban districts of the municipality of Riberalta

Philippines**Iligan City**

Kiwalan
Santiago
Digkilaan
Rogongon

Lanao del Norte

Paiton, Kauswagan
Lumbac, Kolambugan
San Roque, Kolambugan
Kormatan, Poona Piagapo

Lanal del Sur

Olama, Binidayan

Misamis Oriental

Upper Malubog, Manticao
Mapulog, Naawan

Zamboanga del Sur

Conacon, Bayog

Zamboanga del Norte

Lintangan, Sibuco

Research locations (continued)

Uganda - Soroti Catholic Diocese

Ngora

Alengo, Kobwin (Parish of Opot)

Agule, Kobwin (Parish of Opot)

Bukedea

Kachede, Malera (Parish of Kachede)

Kalou, Malera (Parish of Kachede)

Kumi

Olungia, Kumi Town Council (Parish: Kumi Town Council)

Kanyuma B., Kumi Town Council (Parish: Kumi Town Council)

Soroti

Swaria, Eastern Division (Parishes: Kengere, Akisim and Central wards)

Agip, Eastern Division (Parishes: Kengere, Akisim and Central wards)

Kengere, Eastern Division (Parishes: Kengere, Akisim and Central wards)

Cell B, Eastern Division (Parishes: Kengere, Akisim and Central wards)

Tesco Inn, Eastern Division (Parishes: Kengere, Akisim and Central wards)

Cell F, Eastern Division (Parishes: Kengere, Akisim and Central wards)

Akisim, Eastern Division (Parishes: Kengere, Akisim and Central wards)

Katakwi

Okuda, Ongongoja (Parish of Okuda)

Apuuton, Ongongoja (Parish of Okuda)

Serere

Alengo and Agule , Bugondo (Parish of Opot)

Kaberamaido

Madoc, Kobwin (Parish of Agule)

Owii, Kobwin (Parish of Agule)

Amuria

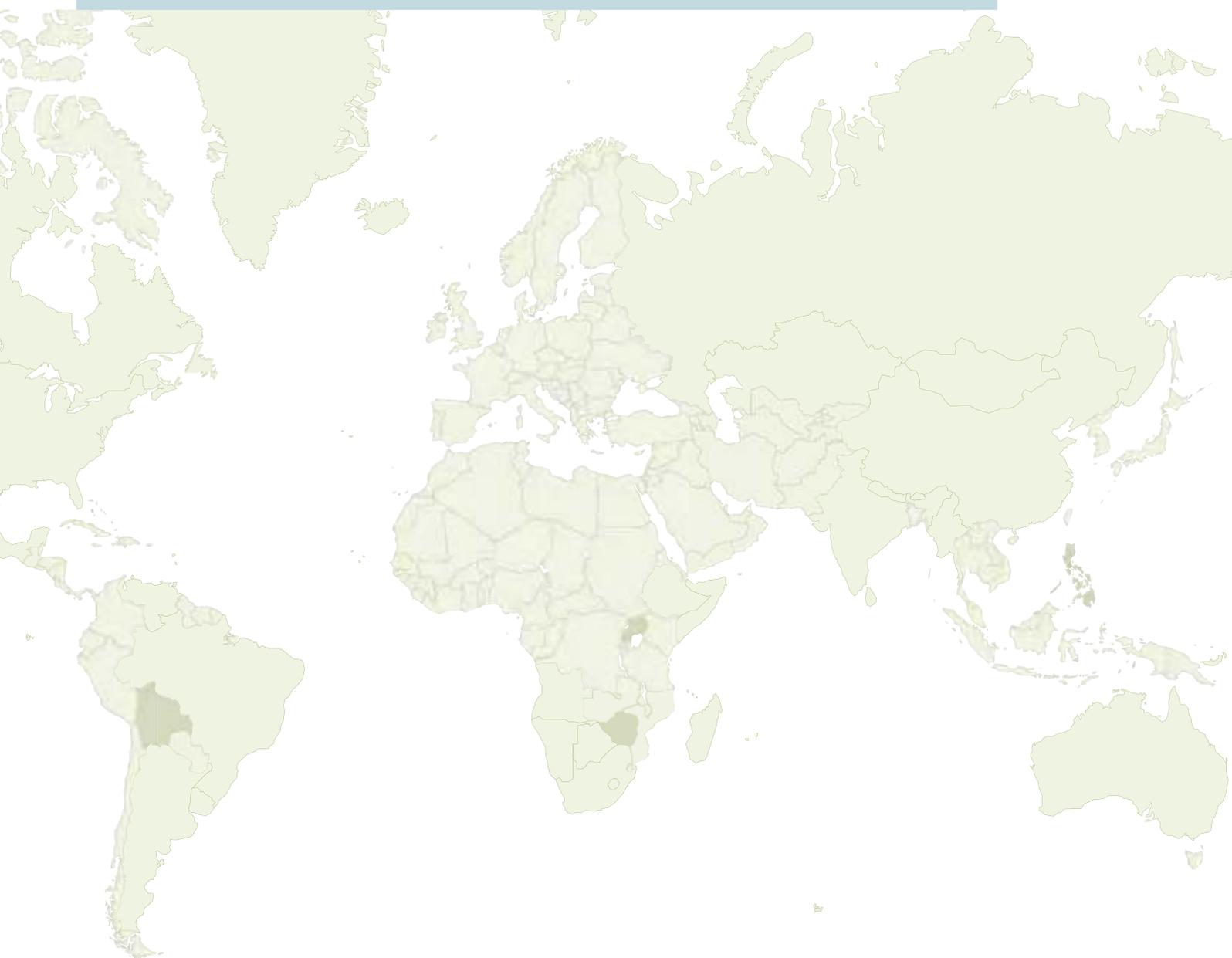
Amotoom Original, Obalanga (Parish of Amotoom)

Zimbabwe**Mutare**

Sakubva
Chikanga
Dangamvura

Bulawayo

Pelandaba
Lobengula
Pumula
Emganwini



Methods

Various methods were employed in the research process. **Participatory workshops** created spaces of collective reflection to discuss participants' own concerns and included a number of different methods. In Bolivia, workshops included a participatory mapping of participants' municipality/village in order to collectively analyse and reflect on the positive and negative aspects related to the working and living conditions. Another method was the creation of a timeline of key events and positive/negative changes in the community and participants' lives which were later collectively discussed. Participants were prompted to create problem trees to make their own analysis of the causes of poverty and its mechanisms. Also, visioning activities were employed to imagine the future participants aspired to and identify actions and actors involved in the long-term improvements in people's lives. Workshops generally concluded with a gallery/exhibition to share and validate what had been discussed in the course of the session. Excluding Uganda, the projects made a large use of visual tools to facilitate dialogue and discussion. These helped participants to see the graphic/written representations of what was discussed and suggest amendments.

Also **focus group discussions** (generally composed of a minimum of 5 and a maximum of 12 people) included a range of activities to make the discussion more directly driven by participants and to facilitate dialogue with other groups. Facilitators encouraged the use of flipcharts to list different types of issues (problems, solutions, actors, etc.). Flipcharts were also used by participants to discuss and rank their different priorities. However, what was important was the discussion amongst the group generated in the process of writing the issues on paper rather than the contents of the flipcharts. These visual tools were also very important when different groups met and compared their priorities and problems. It is important to highlight that focus groups were not taking place in isolation but were part of a process which involved many members of a community and often different focus group discussions took place simultaneously and were preceded

and followed by activities involving all participants. These discussions between diverse groups in the community highlighted intra-community inequalities and the different perspectives they represented. This collective discussion presented a comprehensive analysis of participants' concerns, articulated and framed by them.

In addition, **in-depth interviews** were used as an open and flexible method to gather information from key stakeholders. These included marginalised people who would not participate in (or not speak during) community research sessions; people who other participants felt had important stories; or participants who the researchers identified as having an interesting perspective that deserved a more in-depth conversation. Sometimes, interviews were used with specific community members who wanted to talk about particularly sensitive issues which they could not raise in front of other participants.

Participatory **validation workshops** were a crucial element of the research process. Participants were presented with the systematised information collected previously, both visually and orally, and they were given the opportunity to integrate, change, and withdraw any of it.

This study recognises that communities are made up of very different people in terms of gender, age, ethnicity and livelihood matters, and this diversity must be carefully considered without presenting a homogenous view of the experiences and priorities of a specific community. One of the ways adopted to identify different voices was to divide participants in groups. However, this categorisation process is highly problematic and often people fall under more than just one category. Moreover, it can be very disempowering to label people under specific categories on the basis of one aspect of their complex identities (for example orphans, internally displaced people, fisherfolk, widows, etc.).¹² The research approached this process of 'grouping' critically and was conscious of its limitations; communities were asked what groups with some shared interests and perspective were present, and groups were selected after consultation and discussion. Often, these groups matched other types of self-help or other existing community groups

such as groups of people with disabilities, older people or orphans, and so on.

Analysis

The process of analysis started at community level with research participants. Local researchers validated results with participants and sent their consolidated analysis to the research coordinator. These four reports were submitted together with the full dataset containing the transcriptions of the research sessions.

All these materials were included in a single database, and analysed through qualitative data analysis software. Codes were developed through the analysis following the issues emerging from data and those identified by local researchers. Due to time constraints, the research coordinator did not code the entire set of original transcripts and focused on the data selected by local researchers in their reports. However, whenever a specific piece of data was particularly interesting, the original full transcript was analysed to gain further information about a specific issue or story. An important tool of the qualitative data analysis software was the 'word tree', which used a word search to conduct an efficient and comprehensive analysis. This tool allowed the researcher to display in one screen all the instances in which specific words appeared in the data and see in what context there were placed. It was also possible to click on a specific sentence to view the data around it. Word trees were very effective in ensuring that most data on a specific topic supported a particular finding and quickly identifying data that contradicted key emerging messages. However, there were challenges due to the different taxonomy used by different researchers and research assistants in typing the transcripts. Moreover, a quarter of the dataset was in Spanish, forcing the researcher to make separate word trees for the Bolivian dataset.

In the process of analysis, when a specific issue was identified in the data, the following questions were used to develop the findings:

- 1 Who has raised the issue? In what context?
- 2 If it is a rural community, do we have similar considerations (consistent findings) in urban areas and vice versa?
- 3 Is it an issue raised equally by women and men, boys and girls? From which specific groups (people living with disabilities or with HIV; older people)?
- 4 Is there any difference between the answers of children and adults?
- 5 Do the examples and answers from other research sessions/COMPASS 2015 research projects confirm the findings or add new layers of complexity and new facets?
- 6 Is there a pattern running through data on this specific issue?
- 7 Are there other perspectives that contradict the key emerging messages?
- 8 What are the implications of these findings for development policy?

Analysis from the four local research teams was synthesised in a preliminary analysis of the findings. This document was discussed by the local researchers who sent detailed written and oral feedback. The preliminary analysis was also shared with 18 other participatory research projects at a one-week workshop in May 2013 as part of the *Participate* initiative, where it underwent a process of peer review and discussion. Further feedback was provided by another workshop held at CAFOD. A full draft was prepared and discussed by the local research teams in each country. Their detailed feedback was then integrated into this final report.

The research coordinator also visited all the countries involved in the COMPASS 2015 research and participated in several research sessions. Lead researchers from each partner came to the UK to further discuss the research (except for the Ugandan researcher who was denied a visa). These exchanges allowed the research coordinator to gain a better understanding of the social reality of the research participants and facilitated the input of local researchers into the analysis and drafting of the final report.

A more detailed methodology with details of each research project is available at:

<http://www.cafod.org.uk/Policy-and-Research/Post-MDGs>

References

¹ The concept of change in the context of this research focuses on people's individual experiences of transformation, and refers to both positive and negative processes.

² '100 Voices: Southern perspectives on what should come after the MDGs', CAFOD, 2012.

³ Pope Paul VI. *Populorum Progressio*, 1967, # 65.

⁴ <http://www.myworld2015.org/>

⁵ Perspectives and local definitions of wellbeing were gathered through questions and discussions around what 'living well' means, who does/doesn't 'live well' and why.

⁶ Wood, G. 'Staying Secure, Staying Poor: The 'Faustian Bargain''. *World Development*, 31(3), 2003, p. 456.

⁷ In the case of the conflict in Uganda, this study has collected the perspectives of Teso people, only one of the parties involved in the conflict. It is important to clarify that the research is not interested in finding out the causes of or the specific responsibility for this particular conflict but rather to present the stories of the people affected and the consequences of long-term conflict on poor rural communities. As mentioned in Section 2, Teso participants understand how the severe poverty of their neighbours plays an important role in the conflict.

⁸ Carabaos are a domestic water buffalo used in agriculture.

⁹ Copra is the dried meat, or kernel, of coconut.

¹⁰ Mitlin, D. 'Understanding Urban Poverty; What the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers Tell Us'. *Human Settlements Working Paper Series No. 13 Poverty Reduction in Urban Areas*, IIED, London, 2004.

¹¹ Available at: <http://www.beyond2015.org/sites/default/files/Post%202015%20Guidelines%20SP.pdf>

¹² Anderson, M. 'Understanding Difference and Building Solidarity: a Challenge to Development Initiatives', in Deborah Eade (ed.), *Development and Social Diversity*, Oxfam (UK and Ireland), 1996, pp. 7-15.

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Participate
Knowledge from the margins for post-2015