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From Periphery to Center A Strategic Country Gender Assessment

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Human Immunodeficiency Syndrome	NAADS	National Agricultural Advisory Services
ACGD	Africa Country Gender Database	NTAE	Non-traditional agricultural exports
ARI	Acute respiratory infections	PEAP	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
BFP	Budget Framework Paper	PER	Public Expenditure Review
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women	PPA	Participatory Poverty Assessment
CEM	Country Economic Memorandum	PRSC	Poverty Reduction Support Credit
DRB	Domestic Relations Bill	PSCP2	Second Private Sector Competitiveness Project (World Bank)
FGD	Focus Group Discussion (UPPAP/PPA)	PSIA	Poverty and Social Impact Assessment
FHH	Female-headed household	RTTP	Rural Travel and Transport Program
FIDA	Uganda Women’s Lawyers Association	SCGA	Strategic Country Gender Assessment
GOU	Government of Uganda	SNA	System of National Accounts
GRB	Gender-Responsive Budgeting	SOB	Sexual Offences Bill
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus	SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
HRW	Human Rights Watch (New York)	SWP	Sector Working Paper
IGA	Income-generating activity	TFIMM	Task Force on Infant and Maternal Mortality
ILO	International Labour Office	TFR	Total fertility rate
JLOS	Justice, Law and Order Sector	UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
LC	Local Council	UDHS	Uganda Demographic and Health Survey
MFPE	Ministry of Finance, Planning, and Economic Development	UJAS	Uganda Joint Assistance Strategy
MGLSD	Ministry of Gender, Labour, and Social Development	UNHS	Uganda National Household Survey
MHH	Male-headed household	UPE	Universal Primary Education
MMR	Maternal mortality ratio	UPPAP	Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Process
MTCS	Medium Term Competitiveness Strategy	WHO	World Health Organization
MTEF	Medium-Term Expenditure Framework	WSS	Water Supply and Sanitation sector
MWLE	Ministry of Water, Lands, and Environment		

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Acknowledgments

“Women of Uganda ...
You are at the center of Production
But at the periphery of benefit.”

From *Women of Uganda* by Miria Matembe

Many people have contributed to the preparation of this assessment. The report starts from, and builds on, work commissioned and carried out by the Government of Uganda (GOU), notably through the Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Process/Second Participatory Poverty Assessment (UPPAP/PPA2). The GOU has acted forcefully to integrate gender issues into the third edition of the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), and to carry the gender focus into the Bank-supported Poverty Reduction Support Credits (PRSC4 and PRSC5). The leadership of Margaret Kakande, Richard Ssewakiryanga, Jane Mpagi, Maggie Kyomukama, and Mabuya Mubarak is especially acknowledged. Research commissioned by GOU, notably on gender analysis of poverty (David Lawson), and on gender/growth linkages (Stephan Klasen), has been instrumental in preparation of this assessment. Uganda’s development partners have played a critical role in supporting this effort, notably Catherine Kanabahita (Netherlands Cooperation), Justina Stroh (at the time with Danish Cooperation), and Jenny Yates (Department for International Development, UK), alongside partner-funded initiatives, such as the 2003 Gender Desk Review (Bonnie Keller). Of particular value is the Denmark-sponsored paper by Stella Mukasa and colleagues, which provides a policy-focused synthesis of gender issues for the PEAP revision, and on which this assessment draws. Ugandan NGOs are very active in gender mainstreaming, and have supported this effort both directly and indirectly. The contribution of Julius Mukunda (Forum for Women and Democracy) is especially appreciated.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Lack of control over productive resources by women remains one of the root causes of poverty. Women explained that they lack control over land, the crops their labor produces from it, livestock, and other productive resources. Yet they are responsible for meeting family needs. They complained bitterly of men wasting time and family resources drinking. Women are “overburdened” and this affects their productivity. ... Gender is a number one poverty issue. Gender inequality emerges from PPA2 as one of the main reasons for persistent poverty. Women’s lack of decision-making power – over land and other household assets, cash incomes, and when and how often to have children – is a direct cause of welfare problems like poor nutrition and health, excessive fertility, high infant mortality, overwork among women and drunkenness among men.

Uganda UPPAP/PPA2.

The findings of the Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Process/Second Participatory Poverty Assessment (UPPAP/PPA2), cited above, present three critical messages for Uganda. The first, and most important, is that there is a marked gender gap in control over resources and decision-making power, to the detriment of women. The second is that the labor burdens of men and women differ significantly, again to the detriment of women, who are “overburdened,” especially when account is taken of the disproportionate responsibility they bear for “meeting family needs.” The third is that the implications of these gender-based differences are far-reaching and intertwined in complex and multi-dimensional ways that affect virtually every aspect of life.

This Strategic Country Gender Assessment (SCGA) takes these findings and their messages as the basis for examining the gender dimensions of poverty in Uganda and their implications for the economy and society. It aims to support the ongoing dialogue with the Government on the revision and subsequent implementation of the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), and the associated Bank-supported PRSC4-5 program, and to support key World Bank operational tasks in 2005/06, notably the Poverty Assessment and the preparation of the Uganda Joint Assistance Strategy (UJAS).

The SCGA is being carried out against the backdrop of a significant change in the dynamics of poverty in the country, as the 2002/03 UNHS data suggest that poverty in Uganda has risen since the 1999 survey. The percentage of people who are poor in 2002/03 stands at 38 percent, compared with 34 percent in 1999/00. The surveys imply worsening poverty, despite some modest economic growth. Explanations for this unexpected rise in poverty over the period focus on several factors. The rise is particularly marked for those working in agriculture, and food crop output may not have kept pace with population growth. Food consumption *per capita* fell by 3percent between the surveys in nominal terms. Consumption of home-produced food is reported to have fallen by around 20percent *per capita*. This may in part reflect a declining share of agriculture as the main activity of the labor force (down by 6percent since 1999), and persistent low labor productivity in agriculture. It is argued here that the interactions of these factors with persistent gender inequality in control over resources, in decision-making, and in the burden of work may contribute to a fuller understanding of these changing poverty dynamics in Uganda.

The SCGA presents a selective synthesis of key issues and actions in Uganda. It aims to put in place three key building blocks necessary to understand, and then act on, the issues raised by the UPPAP/PPA2 findings, namely: (i) the gendered nature of poverty and vulnerability in Uganda, as revealed in the persistence of gender disparities and inequality (Chapter 2); (ii) the different, and unbalanced, roles of men and women in the Ugandan economy and household, and their implications for growth (Chapter 3); and (iii) the nature and extent of gender differences in power and decision-making, with particular focus on voice and participation, land rights, and gender-based violence (Chapter 4). This report does not address gender issues in relation to conflict or to governance, which are addressed more extensively in other analyses. With these building blocks in place, Chapter 5 discusses the country context, including the country's policies, priorities, legal and regulatory framework, and institutional arrangements for implementing its gender and development goals. Chapter 6 outlines key conclusions and recommendations for Uganda and the World Bank. A summary gender profile for Uganda is in Annex 1; an action matrix for the World Bank Country Team is in Annex 2; and Annex 3 contains a bibliography and references.

The key findings of the SCGA are as follows.

“Gender is a Number One Poverty Issue”

Analysis of household survey data based on the sex of the household head has important limitations, notably that it does not say much about the poverty status of men and women in different types of household. Nonetheless, some insights into the gender dimensions of poverty can be drawn from headship-based analysis. For example, it appears that divorced, widowed and married female-headed households (FHH) are particularly prone to being poor at one point in time, with divorced FHH in particular more likely to move into poverty and married FHH more likely to be chronically poor. This should not be interpreted to suggest that the poverty status of women in male-headed households (MHH) is necessarily any better, in the absence of more detailed intra-household analysis. Household structure and composition are important factors in determining the poverty status of the household. Higher numbers of young and old dependents and orphans, and a lower number of working-age individuals, are critical in making FHH more vulnerable to poverty—more prone to move into poverty and less able to move out of poverty.

- ◆ FHH comprise approximately 26 percent of all households, and approximately 20 percent of individuals live in FHH. While the majority of female household heads are widowed or divorced, the overwhelming majority of male household heads are married. There was a notable increase between 1992 and 1999 in the share of widowed FHH (up from 9.5 percent to 11.8 percent, probably as a result of AIDS), and divorced FHH from 1999 to 2003 (5.8 percent compared with 4.3 percent). These trends confirm that female headship is likely to occur as a result of disruptive life changes for women, and is indicative of the instability of both the structure and composition of households, with implications for vulnerability to poverty.
- ◆ The share of FHH is greatest in both the lowest (27 percent) and highest (31 percent) income quintiles. The 2003 data also suggest that the proportion of divorced and widowed MHH in

poverty has risen sharply, to levels that are now approaching the situation facing divorced and widowed FHH, though further analysis of these trends is needed.

- ◆ The 2003 data show that the differences in household poverty incidence, measured by the sex of the household head, have narrowed between 1999 and 2003. The figures show there to be few differences between MHH and FHH below the poverty line (37.6 percent and 38.1 percent respectively).
- ◆ Around 20 percent of Ugandan households are chronically poor and more than 10 percent moved into poverty between 1992 and 1999. The probability of married FHH moving into poverty and being chronically poor is substantially higher than for MHH. Divorced FHH are less likely to move out of poverty (19.1 percent), compared with divorced MHH (33.3 percent), and more likely to move into poverty. Households headed by unmarried individuals, of either sex, are less likely to be chronically poor and more likely never to be poor.
- ◆ There are some distinct differences between MHH and FHH as to expenditure shares spent on alcohol and tobacco, and on school fees. Alcohol expenditure, as a proportion of total expenditure, peaks in divorced MHH with over 6percent of total expenditure spent on alcohol. This compares with less than 2 percent for divorced FHH. For school fees, expenditure shows a less even distribution across household types, with FHH appearing to spend a substantially share of their resources on school fees than MHH.
- ◆ Asset depletion to avoid moving into poverty appears to be more common in FHH than in MHH. This is one clear reason why FHH in general were more likely to be poor in 1999, and not in 1992, when asset levels were still high. The average change in land area for FHH that are chronically poor or moving into poverty is -0.31 and -0.75 acres, respectively, compared with increases of 0.77 and 0.16 acres for MHH.
- ◆ Uganda’s fertility rate, characterized by the UPPAP as “excessive,” is high. The crude birth rate is 45.4 per 1000 people—one of the highest in SSA—and only less than faster growing neighbors such as Somalia (50.9) and Niger (50.6). Uganda’s total fertility rate (TFR) is 6.9, considerably higher than the SSA average of 5.2.
- ◆ The population growth rate of Uganda is 3.4 percent, also higher than the Sub-Saharan average of 2.4 percent. UN projections indicate that Uganda’s population is expected to reach 54.9 million in 2025 and 103.2 million people in 2050, though this already assumes a considerable fertility decline to a TFR of 2.9 in 2045-2050. Whether this will be achieved is far from certain and will likely depend on overall economic development in coming decades as well as on Government efforts to support fertility decline. The high rate of population growth will severely undermine efforts to maintain and boost economic growth rates. It will also make the achievement of universal education for all virtually impossible for coming decades and will seriously compromise efforts to reduce mortality and improve health.
- ◆ Maternal mortality is one of the most important causes of loss of healthy life years in Uganda, and places surviving children at great risk. There are conflicting estimates of the

maternal mortality ratio (MMR) from 1,056 per 100,000 live births (WHO in 1995) to 527 and 504 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births in the 1995 and 2000 UDHS respectively. The majority of maternal deaths occur outside the hospitals, indicating that one important factor is delay in seeking care and delay in reaching care. These delays are themselves linked to important gender differences in access to and control of resources, and to differences in decision-making at the household level.

- ◆ The advent of Universal Primary Education (UPE) and the abolition of user fees in health have had strong pro-poor and pro-women effects, notwithstanding the persistence of gender biases. UPE has increased enrolment dramatically since 1997. Primary enrolments have risen from 3 million in 1997 to 7.6 million in 2003. Despite the significant achievements, the lowest income quintiles are still less likely to attend primary school or to do so consistently. At the secondary level, there is limited access to the majority of the population and continued gender inequalities, with between 20 and 35 percent more boys in S1-S4 and over 60 percent more boys in S5-S6. At the tertiary level, the top 1 percent has access to over 40 percent of available spaces at the major universities.
- ◆ The well-established link between education and fertility is confirmed in Uganda. Women with no education have a TFR of 7.8, those with some primary education 7.3. Women with more than primary education have shown TFR dropping dramatically from above five in 1988 to 3.9 in 2000—a difference of nearly four children between women without education and those with secondary education.
- ◆ Uganda has had unprecedented success in bringing overall HIV prevalence rates down from 15-19 percent in the mid-1990s to around 5 percent now. Of concern are the persistent differences in HIV prevalence for young men and women aged 15-24. These were, respectively, 2.4 percent and 5.6 percent at end-2001. Women comprised 54 percent of new AIDS cases in 2002, and the male/female ratio of AIDS cases in the 15-19 age group is 1:5.
- ◆ In rural areas, MHH of all types are generally likely to have larger landholdings than their FHH counterparts. Between 1992 and 2003, there has been an increase in the percentage of both MHH and FHH reporting that they have no cultivable land: for FHH, the figure has risen from 23.7 percent to 26.5 percent, and for MHH from 18.3 percent to 19.6 percent. Other data sources suggest that women have 6-7 percent of land titles in Uganda.

Time is Tight

Differences in gender roles and capacities constitute a major obstacle to development and poverty reduction in Uganda. Women's significant, though understated, roles in economic production (agriculture and the informal sector, predominantly) and their pivotal position in household management and welfare (food preparation, health and hygiene, child care and education) are central to Uganda's economic development and social survival. The different structural roles of men and women in the market economy are coupled with their equally different—and unbalanced—roles in the household economy, and the boundary between economic and household activity is less well drawn. What particularly characterizes women's roles, in contrast to those of men, is that they must carry out these roles simultaneously, not sequentially. This is evident not only in the UPPAP/PPA2, which amply documents the extent of women's labor burden and their very long working hours, but also in the harsh choices and trade-offs that women inevitably have to make because of the simultaneous competing claims on their—but not men's—labor time. The “overburden” of women is a key component of both individual and household poverty, in large part because of the disproportionate cost borne by women of reproduction and household management responsibilities. As they carry out their multiple tasks, women, much more than men, must work in the face of severe constraints, many of which are deep-seated and systemic in nature, and are rooted in social institutions and organization. Understanding the time constraint and its implications, and moving forcefully to reduce or eliminate it, is fundamental if the revised PEAP is to have a significant and lasting impact on poverty.

- ◆ Aggregate estimates of the “gender intensity of production” in Uganda indicate that men and women are not distributed evenly across the sectors of the economy, and that men and women each contribute around one-half of the country's national product.
- ◆ The structural roles of men and women in the agricultural cycle reveal that women are more active in agriculture than men, specifically in food crop production, marketing, and processing of agricultural products. Analysis of the type of employment undertaken by women and men shows that the vast majority of female employment is in agricultural subsistence work, and more specifically crop production, with 60 percent of women having “cropping” as their occupation, as opposed to only 49 percent of men. Recent estimates suggest that women provide 60 percent of the labor for planting, 70 percent for weeding, 60 percent for harvesting, and 90 percent for processing.
- ◆ Men and women have distinct roles within farming systems, as they are engaged in the production of different crops and livestock. Men concentrate on cash crops (coffee, cotton, tobacco, and lately cereal production for the market), while women concentrate on food crops mainly for family consumption, while simultaneously providing much of the labor involved in cash crop production.
- ◆ Uganda has an exceptionally high level of entrepreneurial activity. Around 29 percent of Ugandans are engaged in some kind of entrepreneurial activity. While Uganda shares the global trend of men having higher entrepreneurship rates than women, the rate for women is also exceptionally high.

- ◆ Available data indicate that women work considerably longer hours than men, between 12 and 18 hours per day, with a mean of 15 hours, compared with an average male working day of around 8-10 hours. Women bear the brunt of domestic tasks, including processing food crops, provisioning water and firewood, and caring for the elderly and the sick. Fetching water, collecting fuelwood, and pounding grain involve arduous physical work and must be performed daily, in addition to agricultural and other productive work. The time and effort required for these tasks, in the almost total absence of even rudimentary domestic technology, is staggering.
- ◆ Village transport surveys from Mbale in Eastern Uganda show that domestic transport tasks require around 1,500 hours/year/household. The "average" adult spends almost 2 hours/day on essential transport tasks and moves a load of 20kg over a distance of nearly 3.5 km every day. The disproportionate burden of this task falls on women/girls who spend around four times as much time as men in transport tasks, and carry (on their heads, usually) around five times as much in volume.
- ◆ The 1992 household survey data show that women spend between four and five times as many hours as men on domestic tasks, while girls do about 3/5 as much again as boys. Rural men offset this differential by spending about 1.3 times as much time as women on market work, while urban men spend twice as much time as women on market work. In terms of total workload, rural women's work week is about 1/3 longer than that of men, while urban men and women work nearly the same number of hours per week. Further analysis is required to capture the implications of HIV/AIDS on how men's and women's time use has evolved since 1992.

The focus on women's overburden in the UPPAP recognized explicitly that market and household economies are intertwined, and that this has critical implications for both the allocation of labor—and its productivity—across the full range of tasks that disproportionately fall to women. Some specific negative effects of time poverty were identified in a number of key areas, in a way that insightfully captures the cross-cutting nature of this issue (UPPAP 2002):

- ◆ **Food security:** women's ability to produce enough food for the family is compromised by their heavy workload.
- ◆ **Household income:** women do not have time for income-generating activities or their business ventures are compromised by lack of time.
- ◆ **Children's schooling:** children, especially girls, are kept out of school to carry out domestic tasks while their mothers work.
- ◆ **Participation in community life:** the level of women's participation in politics and community affairs is limited by their time burdens.
- ◆ **"Men wasting time and family resources drinking":** men spend a lot of time in unproductive activities, especially drinking.

The constraints on women's labor will be a critical factor in Uganda's attempts to modernize agricultural production. A key issue for public policy is how much importance and priority to give, in implementing the revised PEAP, to investments which specifically reduce women's time burdens.

“Lack of Control”

Legal Status and Rights

There are important gender differences in men's and women's legal status and in the rights and protections afforded by law. Key gender-related barriers to access to justice have been identified as: (i) substantive law issues, relating to gender biased laws (notably concerning divorce, adultery, and defilement) and differences in evidentiary (burden-of-proof) requirements; (ii) administration of law issues, including physical access, training and orientation of staff, and delays in delivery of justice; and (iii) barriers which exist in the community where disputes occur, notably the role of culture, religion, and patriarchy in community management, power imbalances in the household, and community dispute resolution for a which are not necessarily gender-inclusive or gender-responsive.

- ◆ Uganda ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1995, without reservations.
- ◆ The Constitution of 1995 enshrines gender equality in many of its provisions. In reality, however, many people in Uganda have very little access to justice and receive little protection from the justice system to ensure their safety and security.
- ◆ Women are poorly represented throughout the justice system, and their lack of representation is, for example, particularly noticeable in the police force.

Economic Dependence

Differences between men and women in the control over economic resources and assets, including the product of their labor, critically define the incentives for men and women to raise output and productivity. The revised PEAP recognizes that women do not always share in the benefits of production, even though they may have done most of the work. Gender differences in economic incentives, resulting from disparities in control over income and assets, directly diminish Uganda's economic performance and prospects.

- ◆ There is emerging evidence in Uganda that men and women face entirely different incentives as economic producers, depending on who controls the resulting income. When there is a market for a food crop that was previously grown for household consumption, control over disposal of that crop passes from women's to men's hands.
- ◆ Men and women have different crop preferences: consistent with their greater family responsibilities, women prefer cassava, beans, sweet potatoes and plantains, because they all contribute to household food security. The crop preferences of men were coffee and vanilla,

no doubt explained by the fact that 90 percent of income from these two crops is controlled by men.

- ◆ When households shift from subsistence to market-oriented production, this affects women and men differently, as is the case with the strategic exports initiative. Reorientation of household production toward the market is not a high priority for women, because they reap unequal benefits from it. Current policies to modernize agriculture and to commercialize other export commodities have the effect of biasing poverty reduction effects disproportionately to men. This has important repercussions for the Programme for the Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA).
- ◆ Labor availability, in particular the availability of women's labor, is an important constraint on commercialized smallholder production, and is affected by rigidities in the gender division of labor across both market-oriented and household-oriented tasks.
- ◆ Women have few assets, and land insecurity, among other issues, is likely to prevent them from contributing equally to, or benefiting equally from, trade expansion. Where women earn income, men often control its use, while women often have to contribute disproportionately to household expenses. This in turn negatively affects the capacity of women to start or expand their own businesses.
- ◆ Generally, women are more dependent on farm self-employment than on non-farm and formal employment. There is high gender inequality in non-farm employment.
- ◆ The key barriers to formal sector employment for women are high fertility, discrimination in formal labor markets, gender inequalities in education, and difficulties of combining employment with childcare.

Cross-country growth regressions in SSA analyzing the impact of gender differences in education and employment on growth over the 1960-92 period, suggest that these differences served to reduce annual *per capita* growth by 0.8 percentage points over this period. This is significant, as a boost of 0.8 percentage points per year would have in effect doubled economic growth over the last 30 years. If these results were to apply in Uganda, it would suggest that Uganda could stand to gain up to 2 percentage points of GDP growth per year through addressing structural gender-based inequalities in education and in formal sector employment. The PEAP notes that if results obtained in a study of gender-based incentive differences in West Africa were to apply in Uganda, a change in incentives could amount to a one-off increase of about 5 percent of GDP.

The combination of macroeconomic analysis, micro-level case studies, and related analysis of demographic linkages, asset inequality, and labor constraints all point in a convergent direction: that there is a strong connection between gender inequality and growth performance. Consequently, it is critically important that growth-enhancing and poverty-reducing policies take account of these issues and seek to tackle the gender-based inequalities not only to promote equity and justice, but also to promote economic growth and efficiency. In this respect, the Government's determination to address gender/growth linkages in economic policymaking,

which has been pioneered by MFPED and supported under the PRSC4-5 program, is encouraging. These insights will also need to inform the Government's efforts to promote private sector-led growth through the Medium Term Competitiveness Strategy (MTCS).

Cultural Subordination and Gender-Based Violence

The economic dependence of women—their lack of control over productive resources and assets—is at the root of the problems women face. It is a systemic issue, where inequity in marital status and in property ownership intersect with cultural attitudes and beliefs to create formidable obstacles to change. Payment of bride price has a control imperative, which is interpreted as husbands' "owning" their wives and controlling virtually every aspect of their lives, including, especially, men's "absolute dominion" over sexual relations with their spouses. The imperative to control women—embodied in the question raised by informants in the Human Rights Watch study on gender-based violence, "how can property own property?"—is itself underpinned by some curious logic. Men fear that women will become promiscuous and indulge in extra-marital affairs if they are allowed to work, and that women will become "uncontrollable," "unmanageable," "unruly," or disrespect men if they gain economic independence. Just as unfortunate is that women are themselves often driven by the same cultural imperatives, and by the pressures of their upbringing and socialization, to support and uphold these views. These phenomena, though often perceived as outside the frame of reference of the Bank's work, are the elemental forces shaping Uganda's development, and deserve particular and rigorous attention in tackling poverty in the country.

- ◆ Gender-based violence is widespread in Uganda. UN data suggest that more than 40 percent of Ugandan women have suffered domestic violence.
- ◆ UDHS data suggest that 76.5 percent of women believe that wife beating is acceptable for any one of a specified set of reasons.
- ◆ There are strong links between certain traditional practices (notably polygyny and bride price) and women's heightened risk of HIV infection. Women's economic dependency and cultural subordination underpins their vulnerability to domestic violence and to HIV/AIDS.
- ◆ Bride price payments lead to the perception among both men and women that men 'own' women, and that it is women's job both to provide for men and serve them. In the words of one study, once a "gesture of appreciation" to the bride's family, now men "literally purchase" their wives. As in a commercial transaction, the husband's payment entitles him to full ownership rights over his acquisition.
- ◆ Conflict over land is widespread, and is more likely to affect FHH. FHH are significantly more likely to be affected by conflict than MHH. The probability of having a conflict is 14 percent higher for widows, and 48 percent higher for a separated woman than for a MHH.

Voice and Decision-Making

The increased presence of women in decision-making has indeed shaped policy. As a result of their participation in decision-making, a gender-sensitive Constitution was formulated, and gender is recognized as significant to poverty eradication. The increasing focus on gender in the 2004 PEAP revision, and in the associated policy-oriented analytical work, has enabled important progress to be registered in bringing voices of poor men and women into the formulation of policies for poverty eradication, in providing evidence of how differently women and men perceive and are affected by poverty, and in making a case for a gender perspective in the poverty reduction strategies in the various sectors. The dynamics of decision-making, and their impact on outcomes, are complex in Uganda, and require further analysis.

- ◆ Differences in decision-making power within the household are one of the factors contributing to poor health outcomes in Uganda, including the high levels of maternal and child mortality. Women in Uganda compare unfavorably with other SSA countries with respect to their ability to decide independently to seek health care for children.
- ◆ The combination of heavy workload, resource dependency, and limited decision-making may also help to explain why 44 percent of pregnant women delay their first visit to a health facility to the last trimester of their pregnancy.

Uganda has been exceptionally pro-active in addressing many important gender issues, through affirmative action in the political sphere, through the abolition of user fees in the health system and the introduction of UPE, through the impressive work to reduce HIV prevalence rates, and through its determination to focus on gender issues in the economic policy arena, in legal reform, and in the PEAP revision. These bode well for Uganda's future. Nonetheless, as this SCGA suggests, there is an important unfinished agenda which will require a greater willingness to tackle some of the more difficult, and systemic, issues which remain, notably the attitudes and beliefs which continue to prevent many women, in many spheres of life, from having any effective control over productive resources, including their sexuality and fertility, and that continue to prevent many men from contributing more fully and more effectively to the wellbeing of their households and families.

Recommendations

The principal recommendations for further action are as follows.

Gender and Poverty

- ◆ Integrate the existing gender analysis of poverty (UNHS) into the planned Poverty Assessment (PA), deepen the focus on “time poverty” through incorporation of the insights from UPPAP/PPA2 into the PA, and analyze further the gender differences in access to productive assets, especially land, with particular focus on the phenomenon of asset depletion in different types of household. Address differences in power and decision-making to the extent this is possible with available data, and their implications for key poverty reduction outcomes.
- ◆ Commission further work on time poverty, including specific time allocation surveys, incorporation of a time module into subsequent UNHS work, and conduct further analysis of available time allocation data. It is critically important to update the analysis and understanding of gender-differentiated time burdens, to take account of the impact of HIV/AIDS and the increased responsibilities for care of those affected and orphans.
- ◆ Support GOU in addressing the linkages between culture and poverty, with particular reference to issues of bride price, polygyny, widow inheritance, the prevalence and costs of domestic violence, and their impact on poverty.

All Work

- ◆ Develop a gender analysis of the energy sector, focusing on domestic energy issues. Integrate the findings into the energy sector strategy and into the design and implementation of the Energy for Rural Transformation Project.
- ◆ Prioritize investment in the energy sector, focusing on energy for the poor. Emphasize traditional energy sources (woodlots and energy-efficient technology), with a particular focus on energy requirements for domestic purposes (e.g., cooking fuels). Consider including the domestic energy sector within the framework of the Poverty Action Fund (PAF), and incorporate this sector into PEAP implementation and PRSC 5 and 6.
- ◆ Maintain and expand investment in water supply and sanitation, especially in rural and under-served areas of Uganda. Increase gender-inclusive representation on decision-making bodies in the WSS sector at both national and local levels.
- ◆ Monitor the effective implementation of the NAADS provisions relating to the access by both men and women farmers to agricultural services provided under the PMA.
- ◆ Address gender-based obstacles to growth and productivity explicitly in policy and programs, including in the revision of the Medium-Term Competitiveness Strategy (MTCS) aimed at developing entrepreneurship, and in other initiatives aimed at expanding and

diversifying trade, such as the strategic exports initiative. Consolidate this focus through the MFPED-led work to address gender/growth linkages in future growth strategies and policies.

- ◆ Pursue further work to document the different economic roles of men and women in Uganda, and the different obstacles they face in maximizing their economic potential.

No Play

- ◆ Implement forcefully the gender-focused components of the JLO sector, as agreed in the sector review in November 2003. Particular attention needs to be given to passage, and then effective enforcement of, the Domestic Relations Bill, and of the Sexual Offenses Bill (Penal Code Amendment Bill 2004), as part of PEAP implementation and PRSC4-5.
- ◆ Undertake a study of the prevalence of gender-based violence in Uganda and its economic and social costs. Integrate the findings into legal reform and other instruments supporting a country strategy to reduce gender-based violence. Document and build on successful interventions at both policy and community levels to address this issue.
- ◆ Implement the PRSC4-5 provisions relating to women's access to land, including development of a management tool under the LSSP to provide a baseline for determining awareness among stakeholders of women's land rights, and continuation of information campaigns relating to women's land rights. Deepen the analysis of cultural dimensions of land rights, and monitor the effective implementation of the "security of occupancy" provisions of the Land Act.

Institutional and Policy Framework

- ◆ Update the National Gender Policy. Clarify the roles of the MGLSD and other key ministries. Address capacity limitations and institutional linkages to ensure effective articulation and implementation of the updated policy.
- ◆ Identify gender issues as a focus area for the 2005/06 budget and workshop, based on the gender and equity guidelines which were prepared as part of PRSC4, and attached to the budget circular issued in October 2004, and act on this in preparation of the 2005/06 budget.
- ◆ Identify and build on good practice cases which tackle the cultural and attitudinal obstacles to women's economic and social empowerment, given the weight of these obstacles in poverty reduction efforts (UPPAP/PPA2).

Key Tasks for the World Bank

- ◆ **PRSC4-6.** Sustain the gender focus of the PRSC process, with increased emphasis given to the gender-responsive budget work, implementation of the JLOS sector undertakings, notably the DRB and SOB, and implementation of the program to address women's land rights, alongside follow-through on the health, education, and water sector undertakings, and the work of the TFIMM. Support for JLOS activities can be strengthened through further

work on the JSDF-supported “gender and law” program addressing women’s property (land) rights in the context of HIV/AIDS.

- ◆ **Poverty Assessment.** Build on existing gender analysis of poverty to address gender dimensions of poverty explicitly. Focus on asset depletion and gender differences in control of resources. Address the growth and productivity implications of these differences. Address the “overburden” of women through analysis of time poverty, to prioritize investment strategies in key sectors (notably energy) to reduce time burdens and minimize trade-offs.
- ◆ **UJAS Process.** Use the SCGA to inform the diagnostic, the action priorities, and the results matrix, in collaboration with key partners. Specify gender-focused results and outcomes in the monitoring matrix.
- ◆ **MTCS and PSCP2.** Address gender as a cross-cutting issue in the wider work supporting the revision and update of Uganda’s MTCS. Focus on the gender-based obstacles and constraints facing women entrepreneurs, notably in access to appropriate financial services, in the legal and regulatory framework, and in addressing socio-cultural barriers relating to male resistance to women’s enterprise development.
- ◆ **Energy.** Prioritize analytical work in energy to address both the “overburden” issue and the linkages with health, productivity, and achievement of the MDGs. Use this analysis to inform the design and subsequent implementation of the Energy for Rural Transformation Project.
- ◆ **MGLSD.** Put in place mechanisms, in collaboration with other partners, to strengthen the capacity of MGLSD to define and implement the National Gender Policy, and to play its central role in implementing the recommendations of the Task Force on Infant and Maternal Mortality (IMM), as called for in PRSC4.
- ◆ **PER.** Pursue the dialogue on gender-responsive budgeting, and the effective implementation of the gender and equity budget guidelines, in the context of the annual PER exercise and National Budget Workshops, as provided for in the PRSC process.

1. INTRODUCTION

1. The Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Process/Second Participatory Poverty Assessment (UPPAP/PPA2) summarized its findings on the gender dimensions of poverty in the following terms:

“Lack of control over productive resources by women remains one of the root causes of poverty. Women explained that they lack control over land, the crops their labor produces from it, livestock, and other productive resources. Yet they are responsible for meeting family needs. They complained bitterly of men wasting time and family resources drinking. Women are “overburdened” and this affects their productivity. ... Gender is a number one poverty issue. Gender inequality emerges from PPA2 as one of the main reasons for persistent poverty. Women’s lack of decision-making power – over land and other household assets, cash incomes, and when and how often to have children – is a direct cause of welfare problems like poor nutrition and health, excessive fertility, high infant mortality, overwork among women and drunkenness among men.”¹

2. These findings present three critical messages for Uganda. The first, and most important, is that there is a marked gender gap in control over resources and decision-making power, to the detriment of women. The second is that the labor burdens of men and women differ substantially, again to the detriment of women, who are “overburdened,” especially when account is taken of the disproportionate responsibility women bear for “meeting family needs.” The third is that the implications of these gender-based disparities are far-reaching and intertwined in complex and multi-dimensional ways that affect virtually every aspect of life.

3. This Strategic Country Gender Assessment (SCGA) takes these UPPAP findings and its messages as the starting point for an examination of the gender dimensions of poverty in Uganda and its implications for the economy and society. The SCGA aims to support the ongoing dialogue with the Government on the formulation and subsequent implementation of the revised Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) and the associated PRSC4 program, and to support key Bank operational tasks in 2005-06, notably the planned Poverty Assessment and the preparation of the Uganda Joint Assistance Strategy (UJAS), by bringing out these core gender issues for poverty reduction in Uganda and by setting out an action agenda to address them.

4. The SCGA is being carried out against the backdrop of a significant change in the dynamics of poverty in the country, as the 2002/03 UNHS data suggest that poverty in Uganda has risen since the 1999 survey. According to UBOS, the percentage of people who are poor in 2002/03 stands at 38 percent, corresponding to 8.9 million people in poverty. This figure can be compared with the estimate from UNHS 1999/2000 that 34 percent were poor (equivalent to 7.2 million people in poverty, in absolute terms). The surveys therefore imply worsening poverty,

¹ UPPAP, *Second Participatory Poverty Assessment Report*, MFPED, December 2002, p. xii and p. 10. Emphasis in original text.

despite some modest economic growth. These poverty rates remain below the 44 percent in poverty estimated from 1996/97 and the 56 percent estimated to be poor in 1992.²

5. Explanations for this unexpected rise in poverty over the period focus on several factors: the rise is particularly marked for those whose household head works in agriculture—specifically crop farmers—among whom poverty rises from 39 percent to 49 percent. At the same time, fewer household heads reported their main activity as being crop farming, reflecting movement of labor out of farming and into non-farm self-employment, though, as will be seen later, this too has important gender-differentiated dimensions. The data also suggest that food crop output may not have kept pace with population growth. Food consumption *per capita* fell by 3 percent between the surveys in nominal terms. Consumption of home-produced food is reported to have fallen by around 20 percent *per capita*. This may in part reflect a declining share of agriculture as the main activity of the labor force (down by 6 percent since 1999), and persistent low labor productivity in agriculture, as productivity-enhancing measures under the PMA have not been fully implemented. It will be argued here that the interactions of these factors with persistent gender inequality in decision-making and in the burden of work may contribute to a fuller understanding of these changing poverty dynamics in Uganda. The Poverty Assessment will address these issues further.

6. The SCGA presents a selective synthesis of key issues and actions in Uganda.³ It aims to put in place three key building blocks necessary to understand, and then act on, the issues raised by the UPPAP/PPA2 findings and their messages, namely: (i) the gendered nature of poverty and vulnerability in Uganda, as revealed in the persistence of gender disparities and inequality (Chapter 2); (ii) the different, and unbalanced, roles of men and women in the Ugandan economy and household (Chapter 3); and (iii) the implications of gender differences in decision making, with particular focus on voice and participation, land rights, and gender-based violence (Chapter 4). With these building blocks in place, Chapter 5 discusses the country context, including the country's policies, priorities, legal and regulatory framework, and institutional arrangements for implementing its gender and development goals. Chapter 6 outlines key conclusions and action recommendations for Uganda and the Bank. Summary country data are in Annex 1, an action matrix for the World Bank country team is in Annex 2, and bibliographic references are in Annex 3.

² See *Information Paper on Changes in Poverty in Uganda 1999/2000 – 2002/03*, A Paper Submitted to the Ministry of Finance, Planning, and Economic Development, October 2003.

³ This SCGA is necessarily limited in the areas it can cover. Specifically, this report does not attempt to address gender issues in relation to the conflict in Northern Uganda, nor does it focus on political governance or decentralization issues, though all of these have important gender dimensions. These areas are addressed in other analyses, notably Mukasa et al. 2004, to which reference will be made as appropriate.

2. GENDER AND POVERTY IN UGANDA

7. This chapter aims to put in place a first critical building block for understanding, and then acting on, the UPPAP findings presented at the outset. This is to address the gender dimensions of poverty in Uganda, and to document the nature and extent of gender-based disparities in access to and control of a range of human, economic, and social capital assets. The persistence of gender-based disparities in Uganda is a core determinant of women's lack of control over resources and lack of decision-making power. It is increasingly recognized both that poverty has many dimensions, and that men and women experience poverty differently.

ENGENDERING ANALYSIS OF HOUSEHOLD SURVEYS: TOWARD A GENDERED UNDERSTANDING OF POVERTY

8. To support the revision of the PEAP, a detailed gender analysis of the UNHS was prepared.⁴ The analysis draws on earlier work by Simon Appleton, which found that female-headed households (FHH) were not poorer than male-headed households (MHH) when assessed by income or consumption, nor did they appear to be consistently disadvantaged on social indicators. Some specific sub-groups, however, notably widowed FHH, did have lower income, faced inequalities in educational attainment, and were dependent on high levels of remittances to maintain economic parity.⁵

9. Key characteristics of households are summarized in *Table 1*. Each of the surveys highlights that FHH comprise approximately 26 percent of all households, and approximately 20 percent of individuals live in FHH. While the majority of female household heads are widowed or divorced, the overwhelming majority of male household heads are married. There was a notable increase between 1992 and 1999 in the share of widowed FHH (up from 9.5 percent to 11.8 percent, probably as a result of AIDS), stabilizing at 9.4 percent in 2003; and an increase in divorced FHH from 1999 to 2003 (5.8 percent compared with 4.3 percent). These trends indicate that female headship is likely to be the result of disruptive life changes for women, and are indicative of the instability of household structures and composition, with implications for vulnerability to poverty (see also para. 16 below).

⁴ David Lawson, *Gender Analysis of the Ugandan National Household Surveys, 1992-2003*, Report prepared for the revision of the Poverty Eradication Action Plan, October 2003. This section is largely drawn from the Lawson report, and from further analysis of the UNHS data undertaken by Anne Christensen in the context of the Poverty Assessment. This study did not address regional dimensions of poverty from a gender perspective, and it will be important in future work to address regional dimensions, especially in Northern Uganda, as well as gender dynamics of poverty for specific population groups, such as refugees.

⁵ Appleton, 1996, in Lawson op. cit.

Table 1: Ugandan Household Survey Data – Disaggregated by Marital Status and Gender of Household Head

National Household Survey	MHH					FHH				
	Un-married	Married	Divorced	Widowed	All	Un-married	Married	Divorced	Widowed	All
1992	6.8%	60.9%	3.2%	1.6%	72.5%	3.8%	9.7%	4.5%	9.5%	27.5%
1999	4.2%	64.0%	2.9%	1.9%	72.9%	2.2%	8.8%	4.3%	11.8%	27.1%
2003 Total	4.5%	66.2%	2.2%	1.3%	74.1%	2.5%	8.3%	5.8%	9.4%	26.0%
2003 Rural	3.3%	69.3%	2.3%	1.3%	76.2%	1.4%	8.3%	4.8%	9.3%	23.8%
2003 Urban	10.3%	51.1%	1.4%	1.0%	63.7%	7.4%	8.6%	10.4%	9.9%	36.3%

Source: Household Surveys 1992,1999, 2003, based on Lawson 2003 and Christensen 2004.

10. *Table 2* shows the demographic characteristics of each classification of household. FHH are on average smaller than MHH (4.5 compared with 5.5), which, in general, has implications for labor availability within the household and for poverty measurement. Dependency ratios are higher in FHH, and across all categories of households, the likelihood of FHH including orphans is higher than in MHH, and in some cases, such as unmarried, divorced, and widowed FHH, the differences are significant.

Table 2: Demographic Data – Disaggregated By Sex of Household Head, 2003

Demographics	MHH					FHH					All
	Un-married	Married	Divorced	Widowed	All	Un-married	Married	Divorced	Widowed	All	
Average household size	1.9	5.8	2.4	3.4	5.4	2.4	4.6	3.9	4.6	4.5	5.1
Average per adult equiv.	1.7	4.3	2.0	2.8	4.1	1.9	3.3	2.9	3.5	3.7	3.8
Dependency Ratio	0.2	1.3	0.8	1.2	1.2	0.7	1.8	1.4	1.6	1.4	1.3
Number of Individuals aged 0- 14 years	0.3	3.1	0.9	1.5	2.8	0.9	2.7	2.1	2.4	2.3	2.7
Number of Individuals aged 15-59 years	1.6	2.7	1.5	1.9	2.6	1.5	1.9	1.8	2.2	2.1	2.4
Number of individuals aged 60+ years	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1
Percentage of households with any member orphaned	2.0%	4.9%	3.8%	7.2%	4.8%	8.5%	4.2%	6.2%	9.2%	6.9%	5.3%

Source: UNHS 2003, based on Lawson 2003 and Christensen 2004.

11. Analysis of the 1992 data indicated that FHH were not significantly poorer than MHH (Appleton 1996). By contrast, the 1999 poverty incidence figures showed that FHH were generally poorer than MHH, when, as shown in *Table 3*, more FHH were below the poverty line in 1999 (38.9 percent) than MHH (32.8 percent). The 2003 data show that the differences in poverty incidence based on sex of the household head have narrowed between 1999 and 2003, as there are few differences between MHH and FHH below the poverty line (37.6 percent and 38.1 percent respectively). It is also apparent that proportionately more FHH live in urban areas (*Table 1*), which are generally less poor, and this could in part contribute to a lower overall poverty headcount for FHH. Moreover, the 2003 data indicate that the share of FHH is greatest in both the lowest (27 percent) and highest (31 percent) income quintiles (Christensen 2004). The 2003 data also suggest that the proportion of divorced and widowed MHH in poverty has risen sharply, to levels that are now approaching the situation facing divorced and widowed FHH, though further analysis of these trends is needed.

Table 3: Poverty Figures – Disaggregated by Marital Status and Gender of Household Head

	MHH					FHH					<i>All</i>
	Un-married	Married	Divorced	Wid-owed	<i>All</i>	Un-married	Married	Divorced	Wid-owed	<i>All</i>	
1992	44.6%	57.2%	48.0%	49.2%	56.5%	39.6%	53.3%	54.6%	62.6%	56.2%	56.4%
1999	17.4%	33.1%	19.9%	26.6%	32.5%	17.9%	43.6%	27.7%	40.4%	38.5%	34.1%
2003 Total	18.4%	38.0%	34.9%	38.7%	37.6%	12.4%	41.1%	32.1%	41.9%	38.1%	38.8%
2003 Rural	25.9%	41.2%	37.9%	44.3%	41.0%	19.1%	46.2%	38.7%	48.0%	44.6%	
2003 Urban	5.3%	12.2%	11.8%	7.3%	11.6%	4.5%	11.1%	16.4%	15.2%	13.3%	

Source: Based on Lawson 2003 and Christensen 2004.

12. This gender analysis of the UNHS data confirms both the diversity and instability in household structure and composition, but caution is needed in interpreting results based on the sex of the household head. It is clear that a simple distinction between male and female heads of households does not adequately capture the diversity of family systems, how they allocate resources, or, more broadly, the gender dimensions of poverty. Analysis based on the sex of the household head has significant limitations. Because intra-household resource allocation cannot be observed, it is assumed that the entire household is poor (or non-poor). Consequently, it is important not to conflate differences based on the sex of the household head with differences between men and women, nor to assume that women in MHH, for example, have the same access to and control over assets and resources as men in these households. As will be shown in Chapter 3, consumption- or income-based analysis of poverty also does not capture the substantial economic and non-economic contributions of women to household welfare.⁶ Analysis of households on the basis of headship nonetheless provides useful information on the structure and characteristics of different households in Uganda, and is a useful point of departure for understanding some of the gender dimensions of poverty in the country.

13. Headship-based analysis, for example, provides insight into poverty dynamics. Lawson compares the 1992 and 1999 data sets from the standpoint of households which are chronically poor, moving into or out of poverty, and never poor. These data suggest that 20 percent of Ugandan households are chronically poor and more than 10 percent moved into poverty over this period. (Lawson 2003). More detailed disaggregation indicates that certain types of households are more likely to be found in specific income groups. Overall, there are three distinct characteristics associated with poverty measures over this period.

- ◆ First, the probability of married FHH moving into poverty and being chronically poor is substantially higher than for MHH.
- ◆ Second, divorced FHH are less likely to move out of poverty (19.1 percent), compared to divorced MHH (33.3 percent), and more likely to move into poverty.
- ◆ Third, households headed by unmarried individuals, of either sex, are less likely to be chronically poor and more likely never to be poor.⁷

⁶ For more on this, see Klasen 2004a.

⁷ It will be important to update this trend analysis in light of the 2003 findings concerning the rapid increase in the numbers of divorced and widowed MHH below the poverty line.

14. Analysis of the 1999 UNHS data indicates that total food shares across different households are also virtually the same, and in line with previous evidence. However, there are some distinct differences, across MHH and FHH, as to expenditure shares spent on alcohol and tobacco, and school fees. Alcohol expenditure as a proportion of total expenditure peaks in divorced MHH with over 6 percent of total expenditure spent on alcohol. This compares with less than 2 percent for divorced FHH (after controlling for the number of men in the household).⁸ For school fees, expenditure shows a less even distribution across household types, with FHH appearing to spend substantially more on school fees than MHH. This is especially the case for divorced and widowed FHH, even after controlling for the increased numbers of young people in these types of household (*Table 4*).

Table 4: Shares of Expenditure (%) on Alcohol, Tobacco, Education, and Health by Type, 1999

Product	MHH					FHH					All
	Unmarried	Married/ Cohabiting	Divorced	Widowed	All	Unmarried	Married/ Cohabiting	Divorced	Widowed	All	
Households in Category (%)	4.4	64.4	3.0	1.9	73.7	2.6	7.8	4.5	11.4	26.3	100.0
Total Alcohol	3.95	3.15	6.34	3.69	3.35	2.53	1.99	1.84	1.19	1.67	2.9
Total Tobacco	1.91	0.84	2.17	1.7	0.98	0.22	0.45	0.34	0.35	0.37	0.82
Alcohol & Tobacco	5.86	3.99	8.51	5.39	4.33	2.75	2.44	2.18	1.54	2.04	3.72
Total Health	2.57	4.38	3.5	3.97	4.22	3.47	3.46	3.14	4.39	3.81	4.11
Total Education	2.01	3.79	1.46	2.14	3.54	3.63	4.64	4.52	4.33	4.37	3.76
Health & Education	4.58	8.17	4.96	6.11	7.76	7.1	8.1	7.66	8.72	8.18	7.87
Ratio Alcohol and Tobacco to Health and Education	1.28	0.49	1.72	0.88	0.56	0.39	0.30	0.28	0.18	0.25	0.47

Source: Compiled from data in Lawson 2003.

15. It appears, then, that FHH apportion expenditure to benefit the household more generally, i.e., through education, which is consistent with observations throughout Africa and elsewhere that resources controlled by women (for which in this instance female headship is seen as a proxy) are generally allocated more effectively to meet the welfare needs of the entire household. UDHS data confirm that alcohol and tobacco consumption patterns show marked gender and socio-economic differences (See *Table 8* below).

16. Asset depletion to avoid moving into poverty is far more common in FHH than in MHH. Asset depletion is one clear reason why FHH in general were more likely to be poor in 1999, and not in 1992, when asset levels were still high. *Table 5* outlines the number of assets, per household, for some enterprise goods in 1992 and 1999, and the level of change between the two years. Comparing actual and percentage land amounts, and the increase in the number of chickens over the two periods, it can be observed that the chronically poor and households moving into poverty experience far lower increases than households that are non poor or moving out of poverty. This is particularly the case for FHH. For example, the average increase in land area for FHH that are chronically poor or moving into poverty is -0.31 and -0.75 acres,

⁸ This issue was noted in *Uganda Growing Out of Poverty*, A World Bank Country Study, 1993.

respectively, compared with increases of 0.77 and 0.16 acres for MHH. Evidence from UPPAP/PPA2 indicates that farming households that suffered severe drought problems had to sell off their assets, especially land, in order to pay taxes, medical bills, and school fees; this was also a reason identified for why people fell into poverty. Depletion of key household enterprise assets of this nature is also likely to limit the potential for a household to move out of poverty. This is undoubtedly one of the ways in which gender-based differences contribute to poverty in Uganda.

Table 5: Poverty Dynamics and Asset Levels at 1992 and Asset Changes (1992-1999)

ASSETS	Chronic Poor		Moving Out of Poverty		Moving Into Poverty		Never In Poverty		All
	MHH	FHH	MHH	FHH	MHH	FHH	MHH	FHH	
Asset Quantities – All Households									
Amount of Land at 1992	2.84	2.17	2.81	2.53	2.54	2.25	2.84	2.45	2.72
Number of chickens at 1992	1.93	1.82	1.73	1.26	1.57	1.07	1.75	1.42	1.69
Number of cows 1992	0.94	0.45	1.05	0.71	1.01	1.03	1.05	0.88	0.98
Number of pigs 1992	0.79	0.30	0.87	0.53	0.64	1.00	0.72	0.76	0.74
Number of goats 1992	1.84	1.58	1.55	1.37	1.55	0.63	1.73	1.01	1.58
Asset Changes - All Areas									
% Increase in Land Area	27.1%	-14.3%	85.8%	46.3%	6.3%	-33.3%	124.3%	-3.7%	69.1%
Average Land Area Increases	0.77	-0.31	2.41	1.17	0.16	-0.75	3.53	-0.09	1.88
% Increase in Chicken Numbers	71.5%	27.5%	194.9%	228.9%	8.4%	52.2%	111.4%	376.1%	136.8%
Average Increase in Number of Chickens	1.38	0.50	3.38	2.88	0.13	0.56	1.95	5.34	2.31
Average increase in Number of Cows	-0.08	-0.30	-0.04	0.04	-0.17	-0.25	0.69	-0.02	0.16

Calculations based on IHS/UNHS 1992/99 Panel, in Lawson 2003.

NOTE:- Gender of household head based on 1992 IHS

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN HUMAN CAPACITY: THE NEXUS OF POPULATION, FERTILITY, AND EDUCATION

17. Gender disparities exist in other areas which contribute to poverty in Uganda. These include differences in human capacity, as reflected in education and health indicators, which will be addressed below. Other areas, such as gender differences in voice, participation, and decision-making, and in ownership and control of land, will be addressed in Chapter 4.

Population, Fertility, and Health

18. Uganda's fertility is undoubtedly high, whether or not this qualifies as "excessive." Uganda's crude birth rate is 45.4 per 1,000 people—one of the highest in SSA—and only less than faster growing neighbors such as Somalia (50.9) and Niger (50.6).⁹ Uganda's total fertility rate (TFR) is 6.9 and is higher than the SSA average of 5.2. Uganda's TFR has remained almost constant between 1995 and 2000, with a moderate decrease from 7.3 births per woman in 1988 to 6.9 births in 1995. The TFR is much higher in rural areas (7.4 children per woman) compared with urban areas (4 children per woman). Age-specific fertility rates show that fertility in the 15-

⁹ For a much more extensive analysis of Uganda's health sector, see World Bank, 2004. *Improving health outcomes for the poor in Uganda: current status and implications for health sector development*, Report No. 29425-UG, Human Development I, Africa Region, World Bank. June.

19 age group has increased between 1988 and 1995/2000. The TFR has changed little in the poorest quintile between 1988 and 2000, and has remained very high, above 7 children per woman. In the richest quintile, the TFR has dropped from above six to around five between 1988 and 2000—a difference of around two children between poorest and richest.

19. The population growth rate of Uganda is 3.4 percent, which is much higher than the sub-Saharan average of 2.4 percent. According to UN projections, Uganda's population is expected to reach 54.9 million in 2025 and 103.2 million people in 2050 (Table 6). This projection is based on considerable fertility decline to a TFR of only 2.9 in 2045-2050. Whether this will be achieved is far from certain and will likely depend on overall economic development in coming decades as well as government efforts to support a fertility decline. The table also shows other relevant demographic projections.

Table 6: Demographic Projections for Uganda 2000-2050

Year	Population ('000)	Pop. Growth	Population Density	TFR	Dependency Rate	Pop. Aged 15-64	Growth 15-64	Pop. Aged 5-19
2000	23,487	3.30%	100	7.10	110	11,164	3.16%	9,504
2005	27,623	3.62%	117	6.78	112	13,044	3.67%	11,167
2010	32,996	3.58%	140	6.37	111	15,621	3.88%	13,467
2015	39,335	3.46%	167	5.93	108	18,894	4.06%	16,167
2020	46,634	3.31%	198	5.43	102	23,051	4.00%	19,115
2025	54,883	3.11%	233	4.87	96	28,051	3.86%	22,143
2030	63,953	2.84%	271	4.27	89	33,894	3.64%	25,287
2035	73,550	2.53%	312	3.70	82	40,522	3.38%	28,395
2040	83,344	2.27%	353	3.24	74	47,844	3.12%	31,096
2045	93,250	2.06%	395	2.90	67	55,801	2.79%	33,051
2050	103,248		438		61	64,039		34,326

Note: The Total Fertility Rate (TFR) and the two growth rates refer always to the annual growth rate in the 5-year interval between the row where the data is entered and the subsequent one. The dependency rate refers to the number of dependents (below 15 and above 64) divided by the working age population (times 100). The population density refers to persons per square kilometer. The population density figures are taken from the United Nations. The Uganda Population Census and World Bank data suggest that the population density in 2000 was higher, at around 120.

Source: United Nations Population Division (2002), in Klasen 2004b.

20. An important question is whether this rapid pace of population growth is likely to affect growth of *per capita* incomes and thus poverty reduction in Uganda. Klasen argues that the high rates of population growth will severely undermine efforts to maintain and boost economic growth rates. Rapid population growth will also make the achievement of universal education for all virtually impossible in the coming decades and will seriously compromise efforts to reduce mortality and improve health, thereby also impairing Uganda's prospects for meeting the MDGs (Klasen 2004b).

21. Maternal mortality is one of the most important causes of loss of healthy life years in Uganda, and places surviving children at great risk, as the death of the mother has been found in a variety of settings to be an important predictor of school dropout and child mortality. Unfortunately for such an important indicator, there is conflicting data on maternal mortality ratio (MMR) for Uganda. The WHO estimate of MMR in Uganda in 1995 is very high—1,056 per 100,000 live births—which places Uganda in the bottom third of SSA. According to the

UDHS data for 1995 and 2000, the MMR estimates for Uganda were 527 and 504 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births respectively. The majority of maternal deaths occur outside the hospitals, indicating that delay in seeking care and delay in reaching care are critical. Of the deaths that occur in the hospital, many of the women arrived at the hospital moribund. In one study, 86.1 percent of maternal deaths in 74 facilities occurred within an hour of arrival. Although in-patient management certainly needs to be improved, these data point more to lack of recognition of warning signs and lack of timely transport (World Bank 2004b). They also suggest, strongly, that women lack the resources and decision-making power over when and how to seek care, and that their “overburden” is a contributing factor in delaying efforts to seek care, as will be discussed in the following chapters.

Education

22. Universal Primary Education (UPE) has increased enrolment dramatically since 1997. UPE has increased primary enrolments from 3 million in 1997 to 7.6 million in 2003, with the percentage of girls rising steadily to 49.3 percent in 2003 (Kwesiga 2003). Despite the significant achievements, the lowest income quintiles are still less likely to attend primary school and to do so consistently. At the secondary level, there is limited access for the majority of the population and continued gender inequalities, with 20-35 percent more boys in S1-S4 and over 60 percent more boys in S5-S6. At the tertiary level, the top 1 percent has access to over 40 percent of available spaces at the major universities (Mpuga and Canagarajah 2004). UNHS data confirm both the improvements registered, and the persistence of disparities, both by socio-economic status and by Region, as well as by gender (*Table 7*). A key challenge now is to improve the quality of schooling for the greatly increased number of pupils in the primary system.

Table 7: Education Level by Household Head and by Region, 2002 in %.

	Uganda			Rural		Urban	
	All	MHH	FHH	MHH	FHH	MHH	FHH
No formal education	17.8	12.4	33.4	12.9	39.9	3.6	12.5
Some primary	40.0	41.3	36.5	44.4	39.4	23.1	27.3
Completed primary	14.5	16.3	9.4	16.4	7.6	15.7	15.5
Some secondary	11.8	12.6	9.6	11.5	6.4	19.1	19.6
Completed secondary	5.4	6.0	3.4	4.9	2.3	12.7	6.7
Post-secondary or higher	9.7	10.6	7.1	8.2	3.8	24.6	17.8
Not Stated	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.6	1.3	0.6

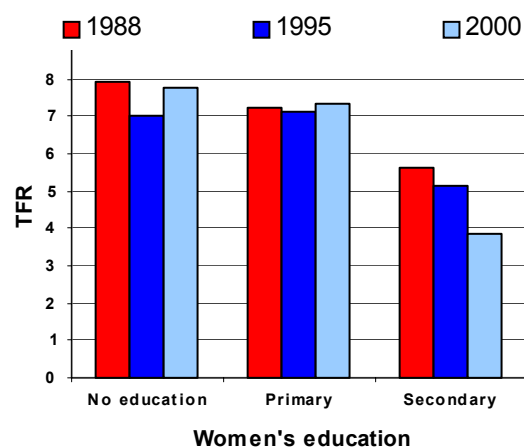
Source: UNHS 2003, in Christensen 2004.

23. There has been a great deal of research on specific issues, including gender-relevant issues, in primary education: for example, the impact of pre-UPE school fees on girls and boys’ enrolment and retention, a simple presentation of basic statistical data by sex, an analysis of gender stereotypes in social studies textbooks, and examination of corporal punishment and pregnancy as factors in girls’ drop-out from primary school. The constraints and barriers that affect girls’ access to primary school, their retention rate in school and their performance, by comparison with boys, are well known.¹⁰ Some gender-specific issues persist, as articulated by Keller (2003):

¹⁰ See Keller 2003 for sources and references; also Kwesiga 2003.

- ◆ The gross drop-out rates for girls and boys in primary classes tend to be similar, except in Primary 6, when girls’ drop-out rate is higher.
- ◆ Pregnancy and early marriage of school girls is an important factor in primary school drop-out: 14 percent of cases nationwide but 33 percent in the east.
- ◆ Teachers and pupils attribute more importance to pregnancy and early marriage of schoolgirls as a cause for school drop-out than do parents, in a district where these factors are significant (for example, Soroti).
- ◆ Schoolgirls enter into sexual relationships, among other reasons, as a way of obtaining basic necessities that their poor parents cannot afford. Defilement of girls at school is a serious and widespread problem, exacerbated by poor parents who agree to accept compensation from defilers or to marry off their young daughters, in contravention of the law. Sexual harassment is common but unreported.
- ◆ Poor parents in rural areas do not value girls’ education as highly as that of boys, on the grounds that girls will marry and will leave the natal household, or because they see the receipt of bride price as offering temporary relief from poverty.
- ◆ The poor quality of schooling and the school environment (teachers’ conditions and their inadequate training, lack of classrooms and teaching materials, etc.) affect pupils of both sexes. However, the gendered nature of the school environment and the persistence of male-biased attitudes play a role in the differential persistence of girls and boys in school, as well as in their academic performance.

Figure 1: Fertility Trends by Women’s Education



Source: World Bank 2004b

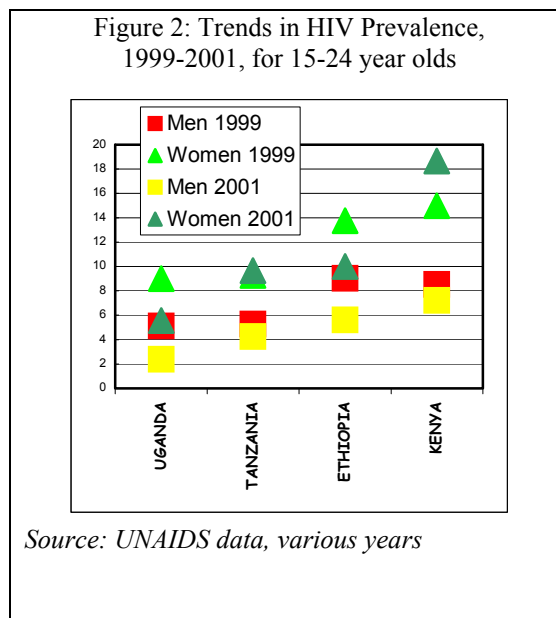
24. The well-established link between education and fertility is confirmed in Uganda. As shown by the 2000 UDHS, women with no education have a TFR of 7.8, those with some primary education 7.3. Women with more than primary education have shown TFR dropping dramatically from above five in 1988 to 3.9 in 2000—a difference of nearly four children between women without education and those with secondary education (*Figure 1*). Gender inequality in education, employment, earnings and bargaining power within families plays a significant role in keeping Uganda’s fertility rates among the highest in the world (Klasen 2004b).

Gender and HIV/AIDS

25. Uganda has had unprecedented success in bringing overall HIV prevalence rates down from 15-19 percent in the mid-1990s to around 5 percent now. This progress has not translated into reduced gender disparities. Of particular concern are the different HIV prevalence rates for young men and women aged 15-24 in Uganda. In 2001, these were estimated, respectively, at 2.4 percent and 5.6 percent, an improvement over the 1999 estimates (*Figure 2*).¹¹ Data for 2002 suggest overall prevalence in the 15-24 age group at 7 percent, with a marked gender gap: 2.8 percent for males and 10.3 percent for females.

26. It is essential for Uganda to address three core gender dimensions of HIV/AIDS. The first is that **risk and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS** are substantially different for men and for women, as is evident in the marked age- and sex-differentiated **HIV prevalence rates**, and in the fact that, uniquely in Africa, women account for the **majority of adults (57 percent)** living with HIV/AIDS¹²—this has implications for strategies to reduce overall prevalence in SSA and how and for whom **AIDS prevention** activities are undertaken. In 2002, women represented 52 percent of new HIV infections and 54 percent of new AIDS cases in Uganda.¹³ The second is that the **impact** of HIV/AIDS differs markedly along gender lines, reflecting men’s and women’s different roles and responsibilities in household and market activities, and critical gender differences in access to and control of resources—this has implications for **care, support, and treatment** programs, and especially for addressing the needs of the 1.3 million AIDS orphans in Uganda. The third is that tackling the AIDS pandemic is fundamentally about a radical change in gender relations, through behavior change that empowers both men and women to “**transform**” gender relations. This combination of factors can be termed the “gender dynamics” of HIV/AIDS.¹⁴ Understanding and explicitly acting on these gender dynamics is essential if Uganda is to continue and sustain its remarkable progress toward overcoming the AIDS pandemic.¹⁵

27. There are important socio-economic differences in knowledge of HIV/AIDS. DHS data provide an interesting comparison of Uganda with Tanzania and Zambia (*Figure 3*). The data suggest knowledge of how AIDS is transmitted is high, though with significant differences:



¹¹ UNAIDS data on HIV/AIDS as of June 2002. Available at www.unaids.org (statistical tables).

¹² The progressive feminization of AIDS in Africa is part of a worsening trend. See UNAIDS. 2004 *Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic: Executive Summary*, accessed at the UNAIDS website www.unaids.org.

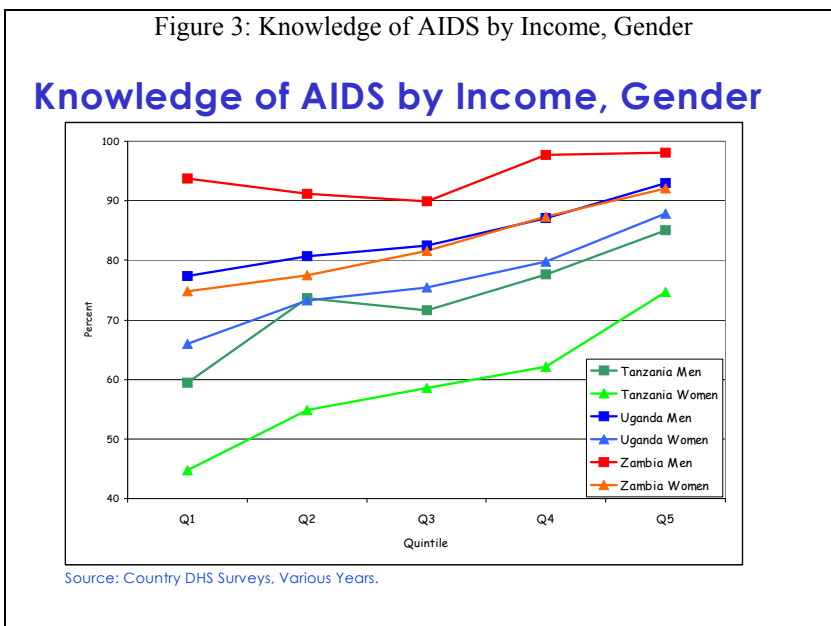
¹³ STD/AIDS Control Programme 2003.

¹⁴ This term is used by Geeta Rao Gupta in her paper, *Gender, Sexuality, and HIV/AIDS: The What, the Why, and the How*, Plenary Address, XIIIth International AIDS Conference, Durban, South Africa, July 12, 2000.

¹⁵ See Muntemba and Blackden, *The Gender Dimensions of HIV/AIDS in Africa: Putting Gender on the MAP*, AFTPM Technical Note. January 2003.

knowledge is higher among men than among women, and generally higher in the richer quintiles compared with the poorer. The data for Uganda suggest that knowledge of how AIDS is transmitted is higher than in Tanzania but lower than in Zambia. Data for Uganda confirm other encouraging trends (World Bank 2004b):

- ◆ High level of knowledge about methods to prevent HIV/AIDS, with 80-90 percent of the population knowing at least two important ways to avoid HIV/AIDS.
- ◆ Remarkable increase in the mean age at first sex, from 14 to 16 years.
- ◆ Significant reduction in prevalence of sex with non-regular partners, from 53 to 14 percent.
- ◆ Increased condom use, especially in urban areas.



UDHS data on alcohol and tobacco use, and on the prevalence of sex with non-regular partners show both important socio-economic and gender differences (*Table 8*).

Table 8: Alcohol and Tobacco Use, and Sex with Non-Regular Partner

Indicator	Sex	Quintile					Avg.
		1	2	3	4	5	
Percent aged 15-49 having sex with non-regular partner in the last 12 months	Men	7.0	6.4	7.0	9.5	14.1	8.9
	Women	0.6	0.4	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.6
Percent aged 15-49 intoxicated in the past month	Men	32.4	24.3	23.0	20.4	14.6	22.8
	Women	6.8	7.4	5.6	3.9	5.3	5.8
Percent aged 15-49 who currently smoke or chew tobacco	Men	36.7	28.3	26.1	21.3	14.4	25.2
	Women	6.0	4.9	3.9	2.0	0.4	3.3

Source: UDHS in Gwatkin et al. 2004.

3. ALL WORK

28. This chapter aims to put in place a second critical building block essential for addressing the UPPAP findings presented above. This is to come to grips with the roles of men and women in the Ugandan economy and household, with a view to tackling the question of women’s “overburden,” in comparison with the labor burdens of men.

STRUCTURAL ECONOMIC ROLES OF MEN AND WOMEN IN UGANDA: TOWARD ECONOMIC INCLUSION

29. A distinguishing characteristic of Uganda’s economy, shared with other SSA economies more generally, is that both men and women play substantial economic roles. The economy has diminished its dependence on agriculture, which now contributes almost 40 percent of GDP, 85 percent of export earnings, and 80 percent of total employment.¹⁶

Table 9: Uganda - Structure of the Productive Economy 1997 (Preliminary Estimates).

Sector	Share of GDP*	Gender Intensity of Production*		Contributions to GDP by Sector and by Sex**	
		Female	Male	Female	Male
		(%)			
Agriculture	49.0	75	25	72.6	24.8
o/w Smallholder Sector	33.0	80	20		
Traditional Exports	3.5	60	40		
Non-Traditional Agricultural Exports	1.0	80	20		
Industry	14.4	15	85	4.3	24.8
o/w: Manufacturing	6.8	n/a	n/a		
Services	36.6	32	68	23.1	50.4
Informal Sector (estimates)					
Total/Share:***	100.0	50.6	49.4	100.0	100.0

Note: Gender Intensity of Production: female and male shares of employment.

Source: Based on Elson and Evers 1997.

Principal data sources: * = Elson and Evers 1997; ** = Africa Country Gender Database (ACGD), staff estimates. *** own calculations.

30. One way to capture the dynamics of the different contributions of men and women to the productive economy is in the “gender intensity of production” in different sectors, an approach developed by Elson and Evers and applied to Uganda (Elson and Evers 1997). *Table 9* above presents the “gender intensity of production” in Uganda, and the respective shares of men’s and women’s contributions to national product by principal sector. These estimates, while highly aggregated, provide a useful indication of the magnitude of the respective contributions of men and women to the economy. They suggest, in the Ugandan case, that men and women are not

¹⁶ *Sector Working Paper for Agriculture*, prepared for the PEAP Revision, cited in Moncrieffe, 2003.

distributed evenly across the sectors of the economy, as women comprise the majority of the labor force in agriculture, while men are a substantially higher majority of the labor force in the industry and service sectors. They suggest, further, that men and women each contribute around one-half of the country's national product. It is probable that these estimates understate women's contribution to the economy, though they also do not take account of gender differences in productivity.

Table 10: Contributions to Production in Relation to Shares of Population and Land Ownership

Indicator	F	M
	%	
Population	51	49
Food production	80	20
Planting	60	40
Weeding	70	30
Harvesting	60	40
Processing/preparation	90	10
Access to/ownership of land and related means of production	8	92

31. Micro-level country data confirm the general validity of these aggregate estimates. The structural roles of men and women in the agricultural cycle reveal that **women** are more active in agriculture than men, specifically in food crop production, marketing, and processing of agricultural products (*Table 10*). Analysis of the type of employment undertaken by women and men shows that the vast majority of female employment is in agricultural subsistence work, and more specifically crop production, with 60 percent of women having “cropping” as their occupation, as opposed to only 49 percent of men (Lawson 2003). As noted in the NAADS strategy, women in Uganda play a pivotal role in agriculture, providing most of the labor force. Men and women have distinct roles within the farming systems, as they are engaged in the production of different crops and livestock. Men tend to concentrate on the production of cash crops (coffee, cotton, tobacco and lately cereal production for the market), while women concentrate on the production of food crops mainly for family consumption (and simultaneously providing for much of the labor in cash crop production). In livestock production women concentrate on poultry and small ruminants (mainly rabbits, pigs, goats and sheep), while men concentrate on large stock (mainly cattle).¹⁷

32. Using household data analysis, it has been shown that non-farm employment is an important area of growth in SSA, where a large share of women find employment and incomes to grow out of poverty (Canagarajah et al. 2001). Using data from Uganda, Canagarajah et al. show that between 1992 and 1996 in the rural non-farm sector women's labor force participation increased, and therefore incomes of women and FHH increased, leading to a reduction in poverty. This shows that when provided with opportunity women are able to participate, and to contribute to economic growth and poverty reduction. Removing constraints to female participation in the labor market can therefore promote this kind of outcome and accelerate the

¹⁷ NAADS Secretariat, 2003. *NAADS Poverty and Gender Strategy for the Delivery of Improved Agricultural Advisory Services*, Kampala, Uganda, November.

pace of poverty reduction in Uganda. This is especially important given the importance of rural poverty in Uganda.

33. A global study of entrepreneurship, which includes Uganda, suggests that the country has an exceptionally high level of entrepreneurial activity.¹⁸ The study indicated that for 2003 Uganda had the highest total entrepreneurial activity (TEA) index (29.2) among all countries surveyed. This means that 29 out of 100 Ugandans are engaged in some kind of entrepreneurial activity. The definition of entrepreneurship includes self-employment in any kind of remunerated activity, and includes the informal sector. While Uganda shares the global trend of men having higher TEA rates than women, the rate for women is also exceptionally high. This compares with a TEA index of 12 in the U.S., and 1.6 in France. The study points out that the relationship between entrepreneurship and growth is complex, as in Uganda especially the question of how entrepreneurship translates into economic development and poverty reduction remains open.¹⁹ In developing countries, women prefer wage employment if available. In Uganda, it is not uncommon for people to engage in business activities in addition to wage employment, or to run several small business ventures at once. The GEM study points to the existence of marked regional differences in entrepreneurship, with the Eastern districts showing “spectacularly high” rates of entrepreneurial activity – while at the same time poverty in the Eastern regions is also shown to have risen sharply in recent years. There is potential for more sex-disaggregation and gender analysis of the data, which could provide interesting results, given the large size and national coverage of the sample.

Policy Implications

34. Men and women both play substantial—though different—roles in the Ugandan economy; consequently, gender is an economic issue for Uganda, not just a social or social sector issue. There is a large body of micro-economic empirical evidence, and emerging macroeconomic analysis, which show that gender inequality directly and indirectly limits economic growth in Uganda. Because gender inequality acts as a powerful constraint to growth in Uganda, removing gender-based barriers to growth will make a substantial contribution to realizing the country’s growth potential and achieving the growth targets articulated in the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP).

35. Klasen’s investigation of the extent to which existing gender inequalities in Uganda are likely to impact economic growth focused on five factors.²⁰ First, the impact of past gender inequality in education is likely to have had a negative impact on economic growth, but that negative impact is likely to diminish in the coming years. Second, there is considerable gender inequality in non-agricultural employment which might place an increasing burden on an outward-oriented growth strategy in Uganda. Third, there is evidence of gender bias in access to

¹⁸ Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, *GEM Uganda 2003 Executive Report*, Makerere University Business School, 2003.

¹⁹ The GEM study distinguishes, for example between “necessity” and “opportunity” entrepreneurship—the former is seen as involuntary and motivated by “necessity,” while the latter is voluntary and motivated by the pursuit of perceived opportunities. Both types of entrepreneurship exist at high levels in Uganda.

²⁰ See: Stephan Klasen, 2004. *Gender and Growth in Uganda: Some Preliminary Findings and Policy Issues*, Prepared for World Bank and MFPED, February.

credit which hurts women's ability to invest. Fourth, high fertility is a major burden for women and reduces their ability to participate in the economy. This high fertility is itself closely linked to gender gaps in education, employment, and bargaining power at the household level, as reflected in the UPPAP findings, and discussed in Chapter 2. Fifth, there is qualitative evidence that gender imbalance in the division of labor and in benefits from earnings in agriculture might endanger efforts to promote labor-intensive cash crops for exports. All of these issues, but particularly the last one, require further research if their full effects are to be accurately assessed.

36. There is a growing body of microeconomic evidence and case study material to suggest ways in which gender inequality affects growth, output, and productivity, especially in agriculture (for SSA examples, see *Box 1*). As reported in Keller (2003), the main finding from a study of non-traditional agricultural exports (NTAEs) in villages in Masindi and Mukono districts is that poor women and men farmers are unwilling to diversify into NTAEs because of lack of sufficient labor (household and hired).²¹ Women in particular are labor-constrained, and they are more concerned to use labor for food crop production to ensure household food security. When asked about their problems in expanding agricultural production, men identified transport and marketing difficulties and lack of access to credit, which are already targeted by Government initiatives. Women, by contrast, identified problems related to agricultural production *per se*, in particular their labor constraints. When asked about the causes of labor constraints, men said simply that they had no money to hire labor. Women, on the other hand, gave the time they spent looking after their families, working on their husbands' gardens, and producing food for their households as reasons for inability to expand their production for the market (the combination of market and household tasks is addressed in paras. 43ff below).

Box 1: Gender and Growth: Missed Potential

Burkina Faso: Shifting existing resources between men's and women's plots within the same household could increase output by 10-20 percent.

Kenya: Giving women farmers the same level of agricultural inputs and education as men could increase yields obtained by women by more than 20 percent.

Tanzania: Reducing time burdens of women could increase household cash incomes for smallholder coffee and banana growers by 10 percent, labor productivity by 15 percent, and capital productivity by 44 percent.

Zambia: If women enjoyed the same overall degree of capital investment in agricultural inputs, including land, as their male counterparts, output could increase by up to 15 percent.

Macroeconomy: Gender inequality in education and employment is estimated to have reduced SSA's *per capita* growth during 1960-92 by **0.8 percentage points per year**

Source: Various studies cited in Blackden and Bhanu 1999.

37. Men and women face entirely different incentives as economic producers, depending on who controls the resulting income. When asked about their crop preferences in the UPPAP/PPA2 exercise, women and men gave different lists: women preferred cassava, beans, sweet potatoes and plantains because they all contributed to household food security, though sweet potatoes could, in addition, be sold. The two top crop preferences of men were coffee and vanilla, no doubt explained by the fact that 90 percent of income from these two crops was controlled by men (Keller 2003). UPPAP/PPA2 also draws attention to a widely known phenomenon from Uganda and elsewhere in the sub-region: that when there is a market for a food crop that was previously grown for household consumption, control over disposal of that

²¹ Deborah Kasente et al. *Gender and the Expansion of Non-Traditional Agricultural Exports in Uganda*, in Razawi, 2002. For a wider review of these issues, see Keller 2003.

crop passes from women's to men's hands. In Bushenyi, women's income from sale of plantains (*matooke*) declined when men took it over as a cash crop. Women were prevented from acquiring income from cash crops even though they had contributed substantial labor to their production, and their time/labor for production of food crops for household consumption was reduced—with consequent effects on the nutritional status of household members. UPPAP notes, therefore, that the decrease in poverty that is expected to follow from a shift to market-oriented production may “impact preferentially on men.”²²

38. Gender inequality also affects the implementation of Uganda's Strategic Exports Initiative. The Poverty and Social Impact Assessment (PSIA) of the initiative noted that supply response sought under the strategy was limited by gender inequality, as the strategy failed to recognize that one of the principal determinants of response is the way incentives are mediated, at household and community levels, by negotiated relationships of cooperation and conflict between men and women. Differing incentives in turn affect household income and how it is distributed. The PSIA points out that both incentive issues and intra-household distributional issues center on the monopolization of major income streams by men.²³

39. More generally, the constraints on women's labor will be a critical factor in Uganda's attempts to modernize agricultural production. Several studies have documented that women withhold their labor from household production of cash crops because they know they will not benefit from the income earned.²⁴ If such a scenario is as common, as is suspected, this will obviously limit the opportunities to shift subsistence-oriented households toward market-oriented production and hinder initiatives to improve their well-being. These differences have wider implications for Uganda's growth prospects, and specifically for the implementation of the Programme for the Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA), and for Uganda's efforts to promote private sector growth as the Medium Term Competitiveness Strategy (MTCS) is revised and updated.²⁵

40. In summary, key issues that emerge from research findings include:

- ◆ When households shift from subsistence to market-oriented production, this affects women and men differently, as is the case with the strategic exports initiative. Reorientation of household production toward the market is not a high priority for women because they reap unequal benefits from it.
- ◆ Labor availability, in particular the availability of women's labor, is an important constraint on commercialized smallholder production, and is affected by rigidities in the gender division of labor across both market-oriented and household-oriented tasks.

²² UPPAP 2002. *op. cit.*

²³ See Booth et al. 2003.

²⁴ For an example, see Frank Muhereza, “Ranches Restructuring and Changing Gender Relations in Pastoral Households in the Former Ankole Ranching Scheme,” 2001. Besides withholding their labor from their husbands' plantain plantations, women also refused to take up growing Irish potatoes because their husbands would reap the benefits. See also Kasente et al. 2002, and World Bank 2001.

²⁵ The wider issue of gender-differentiated economic incentives and their implications for growth and welfare has been the subject of much debate. See Razavi 2002; Blackden and Bhanu 1999.

- ◆ Current policies to modernize agriculture and to commercialize other export commodities bias poverty reduction effects disproportionately to men. This is especially important in the context of the PSIA finding, cited above, concerning the monopolization of income streams by men (para. 38).
- ◆ Women have few assets, and land insecurity, among other issues, is likely to prevent them from contributing equally to, or benefiting equally from, trade expansion. Even where women earn incomes, men often control these, or women have to contribute disproportionately to household expenses.
- ◆ Generally, women are more dependent on farm self-employment than on non-farm and formal employment. There is high gender inequality in non-farm employment.
- ◆ The most notable barriers to formal sector employment are high fertility, discrimination in formal labor markets, gender inequalities in education, and difficulties of combining employment with childcare.

41. Cross-country growth regressions in SSA assessed the impact of gender differences in education and employment on growth over the 1960-92 period. They suggest that these differences served to reduce annual *per capita* growth by 0.8 percentage points over this period (Klasen 1998, in Blackden and Bhanu 1999). This is significant, as a boost of 0.8 percentage points per year would have in effect doubled *per capita* economic growth over the last 30 years. If these results were to apply in Uganda, it would suggest that Uganda could stand to gain up to 2 percentage points of GDP growth per year through addressing structural gender-based inequalities in education and in formal sector employment. The PEAP notes that if the results obtained in a study of gender-based incentive differences in West Africa were to apply in Uganda, a change in incentives could amount to a one-off increase of about 5 percent of GDP (GOU 2004a).

42. The combination of macro analysis, micro-level case studies, and related analysis of demographic linkages, asset inequality, and labor constraints all point in a convergent direction: that there is a strong connection between gender inequality and growth performance. Consequently, it is critically important that growth-enhancing and poverty-reducing policies take account of these gender-based influences on, and obstacles to, growth, and seek to tackle these gender inequalities not only to promote equity and justice, but also to promote economic growth and efficiency. In this respect, the Government's determination to address gender/growth linkages in economic policymaking, which has been pioneered by MFPED and supported under the PRSC4-5 program, is encouraging.

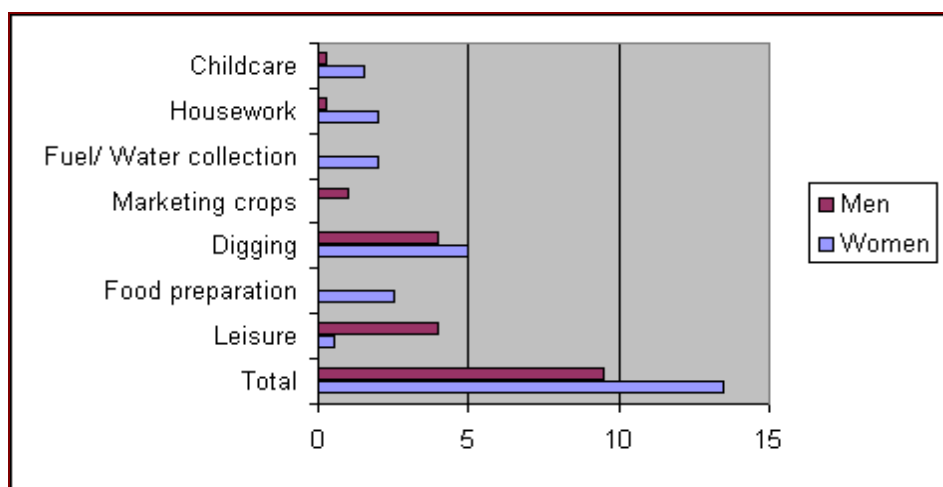
INTERDEPENDENCE OF HOUSEHOLD AND MARKET ECONOMIES: MINIMIZING TRADE-OFFS & BUILDING ON EXTERNALITIES

43. The different structural roles of men and women in the economy (notably in agriculture and the informal sector) are coupled with their equally different—and unbalanced—roles in the household economy. A further distinguishing characteristic of the Ugandan economy, shared with others in SSA, is that the boundary between economic and household activity is less well

drawn than in other Regions (Gelb 2001). In addition to their prominence in agriculture, women bear the brunt of domestic tasks: processing food crops, providing water and firewood, and caring for the elderly and the sick. This is the second component of women’s overburden—their “double workday,” as revealed in the UPPAP/PPA2 analysis, as well as in numerous other studies in Uganda. Analysis of how men and women (and, where possible, children) spend their time is critical to understanding both the “overburden” of women and the multi-dimensional nature of this issue (*Box 2*).

44. The UPPAP/PPA2 brought to light forcefully the problem of women’s “overburden,” and identified the strong imbalance in the gender division of labor as one of the major contributors to poverty. Women must work, substantially more than do men, in both the "market" and the "household" economies. On average, their workdays may be 50 percent longer, and their work is closely integrated with household production systems. A study in Rakai and Kumi districts confirms that involvement in non-farm activities creates a “double workday” for women (*Figure 4*) and often necessitates a shift of domestic responsibilities to other females (usually daughters) in the household. In comparison, rural men in the same community spend an average of four hours a day in agricultural production (cash crops) leaving the rest of the day to whatever they choose to do (UPPAP 2002).²⁶

Figure 4: Time allocation for men and women in Katebe, Rakai (Hours/Day)



Source: UPPAP 2002.

²⁶ See Mukasa, Stella, et al. 2004. *Uganda: Poverty and Gender Assessment – Strengthening Linkages between Poverty and Gender Analysis in Uganda*, Danish Cooperation, Kampala.

Box 2: The Importance of Time

Analysis of men's and women's time allocation is a critical development tool for three key reasons. First, time allocation data in Uganda, as elsewhere in SSA, reveal not only the substantial market economy contributions of men and women to Uganda's development, but also, and just as importantly, the existence of a whole realm of human activity—the household economy—that is largely invisible and un-counted, and which is predominantly where women work. Second, once the co-existence and interdependence of these economies become apparent, cross-sectoral and cross-task synergies and trade-offs assume particular importance in identifying constraints to raising growth and productivity, and in setting policy and program priorities. Third, time constraints were a critical (if insufficiently appreciated) issue before the HIV/AIDS pandemic—the advent of HIV/AIDS exacerbates the time constraints across the two economies, and gives added urgency to addressing them as a matter of priority in poverty reduction strategies.

45. The 1992 household survey provides descriptive data on the respective workloads of men and women, boys and girls, in both domestic and market tasks, separately for rural and urban households (*Table 11*). The data show that women spend between four and five times as many hours as men on domestic tasks, while girls do about 3/5 as much again as boys. Rural men offset this differential by spending about 1.3 times as much time as women on market work, while urban men spend twice as much time as women on market work. In terms of total workload, rural women's work week is about 1/3 longer than that of men, while urban men and women work nearly the same number of hours per week. Further analysis is required to capture the implications of HIV/AIDS on how men's and women's time use has evolved since 1992. This gives greater urgency to the need for updated data and analysis of men's and women's time use in the context of AIDS.

46. Case examples from the transport, water, and energy sectors further illustrate the marked gender differences in time allocation, reflecting in turn important structural dimensions of, and rigidities in, the gender division of labor. They confirm and reinforce the UPPAP findings not only that women are overburdened, but that they indeed have by far the greater of the burden for "meeting family needs."

47. The water and sanitation sector (WSS) has been able to expand its coverage such that, in rural areas, approximately 55 percent have access to safe water and 50 percent to sanitation. The urban water sector services 60-65 percent of all households. Access rates have fallen compared with the 1990s, as population growth has outstripped the supply of water points. Consumption rates (in both rural and urban areas) are lower than is considered essential for health needs, reflecting low access levels. Though consumption and access are still higher in urban areas, only about 13 percent of the population have piped connections within their homes, with marked disparities between urban (57 percent) and rural (4 percent) areas. Typical rural water collection times have not changed since 1995; they remain at about 30 minutes.²⁷ However, over the same period, they fell significantly in urban areas, from 15 to 9 minutes (Moncrieffe 2003). The status of key WSS indicators is summarized in *Table 12* below.

Table 11: Weekly Work Hours by Type, Area, Sex, and Age

Type of Work					Total	
Domestic Work (Hours)						
Area	Women	Girls	Men	Boys	Female	Male
Rural	30.3	24.2	8.1	14.9	54.5	23.1
Urban	31.7	26.1	6.6	15.7	57.9	22.3
Market Work (Hours)						
Rural	24.6	8.0	32.4	10.8	32.6	43.3
Urban	20.8	3.8	43.1	4.0	24.6	47.1
Total Work (Hours)						
Rural	54.9	32.2	40.5	25.8	87.1	66.3
Urban	52.6	29.9	49.7	19.7	82.5	69.3
Ratios (Males = 100)						
Domestic Work						
Rural	373	162	100	100	236	100
Urban	479	167	100	100	260	100
Market Work						
Rural	76	74	100	100	75	100
Urban	48	94	100	100	52	100
Total Work						
Rural	135	125	100	100	131	100
Urban	106	152	100	100	119	100

Source: Based on data in Glick et al. 2004. Ratios compare women with men and girls with boys for each category of labor.

²⁷ An alternative estimate of collection time for rural water comes from the recent study of the benefit incidence of public spending in Uganda. According to the 1999 UNHS data, water is, on average, 5 km from the homestead (7km for the poorest 20 percent and 3.4 km for the richest 20 percent). Assuming an average walking speed of 5 km/hour, and one trip per day, this would translate into about a 2 hour/day time expenditure in fetching water. The data also confirm women's predominant responsibility for water provisioning in the household. See Mpuga and Canagarajah, 2004. *Are Government Budgets becoming pro-poor? An Analysis of Social Services Delivery Trends in Uganda*. Kampala.

Table 12: Rural and Urban Water and Sanitation Coverage

Item	%
WATER	
Rural water coverage (access to safe water)	55
Urban water coverage	62
Population with piped connections in homes	16-18
Households serviced by Urban Water Sector	60-65
Average rural water consumption per capita/day	12-14
Average urban water consumption per capita/day	17
SANITATION	
Rural sanitation coverage	50
Rural pit latrine coverage	90
Population using pit latrines	83
Population using flush toilet	2
Population without access to any toilet facility	14
Rural households with access to safe excreta disposal	51
Urban centres with access to piped sewerage services	8
Primary schools with inadequate sanitary facilities	98
Primary schools with separate latrines for girls	33
Population in Kampala from which refuse is collected	20
Population in Kampala from which refuse collected is appropriately disposed of	10
	Minutes
Typical water collection time (rural)	30
Typical water collection time (urban)	9

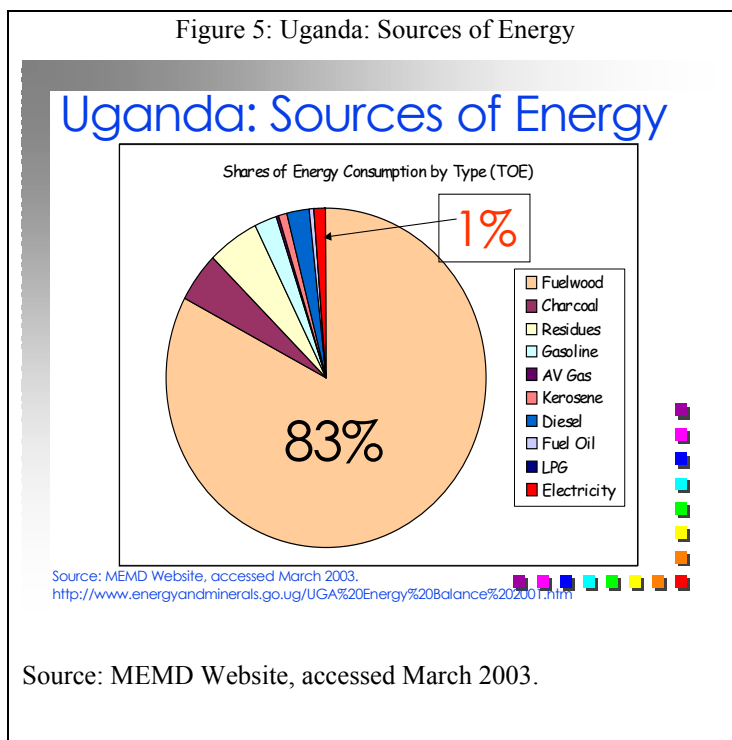
Source : Mukasa et al. 2004.

48. The WSS Report highlights (Moncrieffe 2003):

- ◆ The burden for water collection falls disproportionately on women and girl children, who have to walk farther distances to reach safe water.
- ◆ The time saved through increased coverage may not necessarily expand women's leisure time but does allow space for other activities. Girls could use the time saved to attend school.
- ◆ Where households are required to make cash contributions to set up facilities, the very poor, persons with disabilities, elderly and children-headed households are not required to make contributions but still gain access.
- ◆ Community mobilization activities have increased women's participation but have not necessarily improved gender relations. Women do not hold senior positions and are underrepresented in technical occupations such as hand-pump mechanics. Where women are appointed as treasurers, men sometimes execute the responsibilities of the post nonetheless.
- ◆ Women are also underrepresented in senior and technical positions within the DWD.

49. The task of provisioning the household with its energy resides essentially with females, who have to fetch wood/fuel from increasingly more distant sources. This is extremely time-

consuming, energy-intensive and exhausting, as well as highly inefficient. It is one of the direct contributors to women being "overburdened." The problem of energy provisioning assumes greater importance when, as is the case in Uganda, more than 90 percent of total energy consumed is comprised of "traditional" fuels: fuelwood, charcoal, residues (*Figure 5*), while electricity comprises 1 percent of total energy consumption. The coverage of rural electrification is around 5 percent. At the same time, more than 90 percent of total energy investment is related to the power sector. Around 0.05 percent of the sector's investment program is for "renewables and energy efficient technology."²⁸

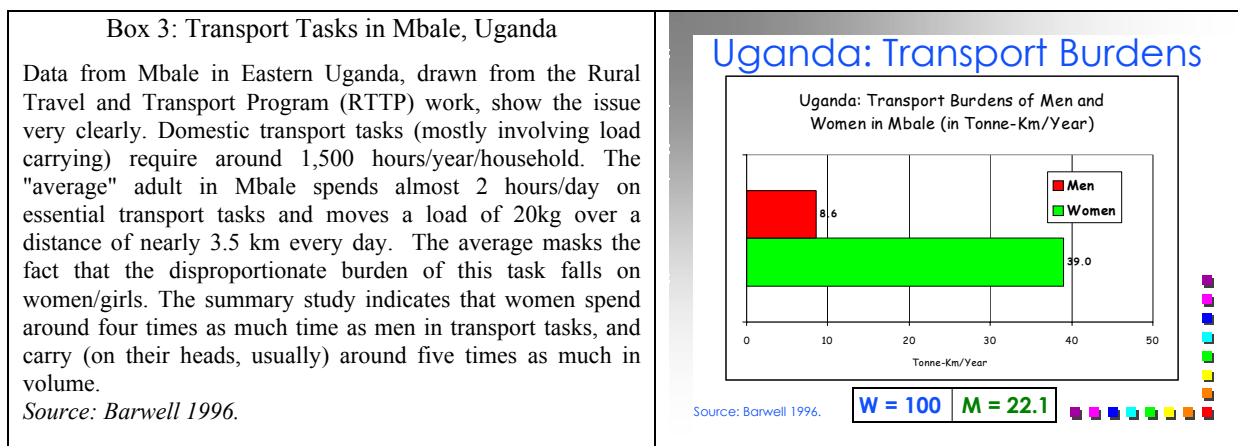


50. In part because of the demands of water and energy provisioning over sometimes considerable distances, village transport surveys show that women spend nearly three times as much time in transport activities compared with men, and they transport about four times as much in volume.²⁹ Women's transport needs are typically more complex than those of men; adequately responding to these needs could increase women's contribution to economic productivity and qualitatively improve household welfare. Women's access to transport also determines their utilization of existing health and other services, and particularly affects the ability of girl children to attend school. Analysis of transport tasks and their distribution by sex illustrates this problem in Uganda (*Box 3*).

51. The UPPAP/PPA2 surveys highlighted both the gender imbalance in responsibilities for fuelwood provisioning and the increasing difficulty with which this task is carried out, given the extent of environmental degradation. People stressed that declining soil fertility, deforestation, pasture degradation, and decreasing fish stocks are impacting heavily on their livelihoods by constraining their ability to increase their income, thereby making them more vulnerable. Women in particular were concerned about these changes. They now have to walk longer distances and to more isolated places to collect resources such as wood, grass and wild fruits. This is increasing their work burden and exposing them to new risks (*Table 13*). The PEAP document, for example, mentions UBOS data suggesting that the distance to fuelwood sources has risen markedly from 0.06km in 1992 to 0.73km in 2000—a 12-fold increase over the period. The results and monitoring matrix proposes a monitoring indicator whereby the average distance

²⁸ C. Mark Blackden, 2004. *Gender and Energy in Uganda: A Brief Summary of Issues for the PEAP Revision*, World Bank, Washington, D.C. (processed), January.

²⁹ See, in particular, Malmberg-Calvo 1994, and Barwell 1996.



to a firewood source will fall from 0.73km in 2000/01 to <0.5 km by 2009/10 (GOU 2004a). This represents important progress, but it will be critical for PEAP implementation to incorporate specific measures aimed at accomplishing this goal.

Table 13: Extract from Gender Activity Profile, Butema Village, Bugiri

Activities	Man	Woman	Boy	Girl	Comments by community members	
Fetching water	X	✓	✓	✓	Men only fetch water for domestic purposes when their spouses are sick or have just given birth. When men collect water, they use bicycles and do not have to endure long distances and weights like their female counterparts. Men may collect water for selling.	
Gathering firewood	X	✓	✓	✓	It is unheard of for men to collect firewood.	
Environmental decline reported in PPA2					No. of Sites	No. of Districts
Clearing of tree cover for settlement, arable and grazing land, wood-fuel for cooking and provision of alternative sources of income. As a result women and children walk longer distances to access firewood.					36	12

Source: UPPAP 2002.

52. The “overburden” of women has been compounded by the advent of the AIDS pandemic, with the massively increased (and again disproportionate) burdens placed on women to take care of the country's 1.2 million AIDS orphans and those directly affected by HIV/AIDS. This has elevated the issue of women's time burden into a development crisis, which has been further exacerbated through the growing emphasis given to "home-based" care. Studies of the economic impact of AIDS tend to ignore this "household" dimension altogether, thereby severely understating the full impact at household and community levels.

53. The issue of gender-differentiated time and labor constraints was addressed in earlier poverty focused analyses. For example, the 1993 CEM/Poverty Assessment³⁰ indicated that women work longer hours than men, between 12 and 18 hours per day, with a mean of 15 hours, compared with an average male working day of around 8-10 hours. The CEM indicated that fetching water, collecting fuelwood, and pounding grain involve arduous physical work and must be performed daily, in addition to agricultural and other productive work. The time and effort

³⁰ See World Bank 1993.

required for these tasks, in the almost total absence of even rudimentary domestic technology, is staggering (*Box 4*).

Box 4: Labor Time and Technology in Uganda

Family labor efficiency, or more accurately, female labor time and efficiency, is also severely compromised by the almost total absence of basic domestic technology in rural areas. In all the villages and households visited, none had access to piped water, most used boreholes anything between 1 and 5 km away. Firewood collection has to be done regularly, often three or four times a week, in some cases daily. Women's lack of transport technology -- bicycles, wheelbarrows, pull-carts -- makes this task both arduous and extremely time-consuming. When men collect firewood, they frequently have access to a bicycle which significantly reduces the time-costs of transportation. Low-efficiency cooking stoves aggravate the need for frequent trips to collect fuelwood. Limited availability or affordability of simple hand grinders or shellers makes manual food processing, especially of hard grains such as maize and rice, another time-consuming chore for women and female children. The time costs associated with the heavy burden of domestic work place constraints on women's labor time as both family and hired labor. Female labor time, on account of the greater domestic labor overhead, is relatively supply inelastic and less substitutable than male labor. Consequently, the capacity of women farmers to reallocate their labor time to shifts in crop or labor market incentives has to be seen within the context of these wider and continuous demands on their time.

Source: Alison Evans, "A Review of the Rural Labor Market in Uganda", May 1992, in World Bank 1993.

Policy Implications

54. The UPPAP/PPA2 did much more than confirm the double workday of women. It recognized explicitly that market and household economies are intertwined, and that this has critical implications for both the allocation of labor—and its productivity—across the full range of tasks that predominantly fall to women. The fact that women are responsible for domestic work as well as for the greater share of productive work in many places means that time poverty is a significant issue for women. UPPAP/PPA2 focused attention on some specific negative effects of time poverty in a number of key areas, in a way that insightfully captures the cross-cutting nature of this issue (*Figure 6*):

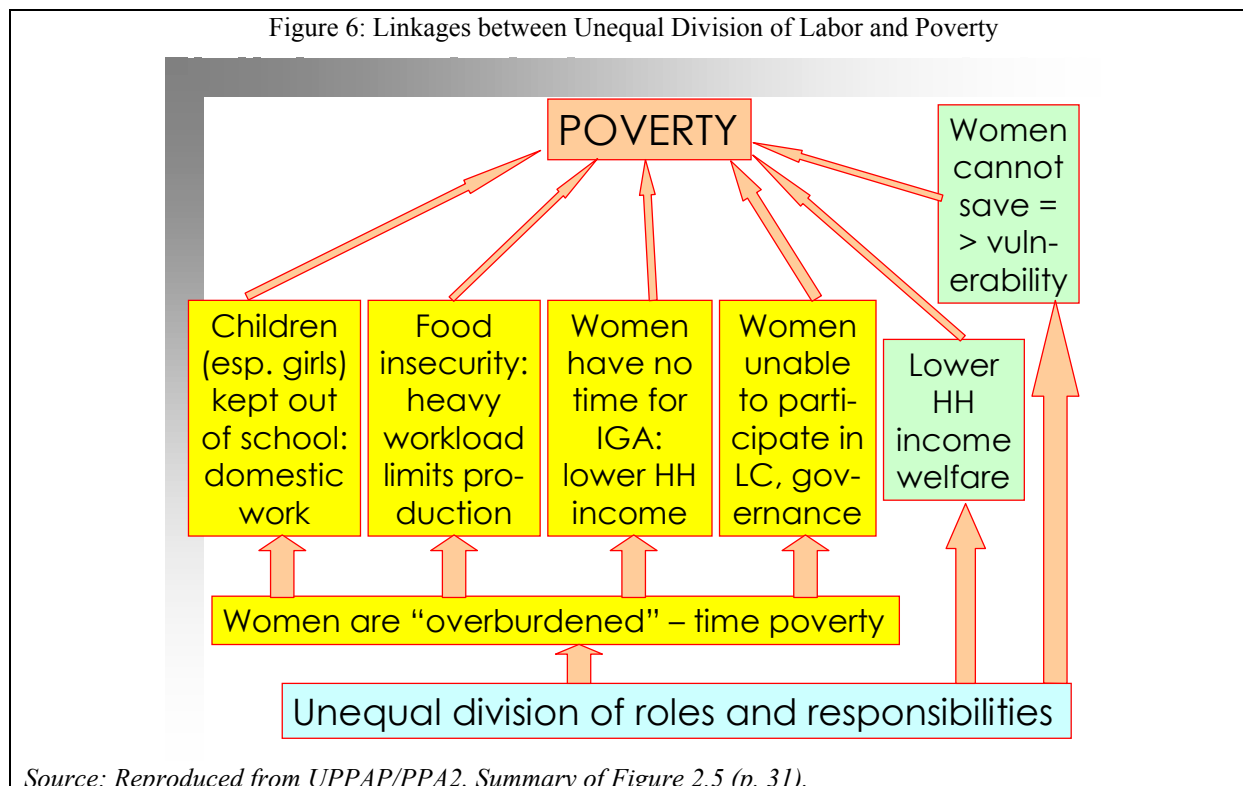
- ◆ **Food security:** women's ability to produce enough food for the family is compromised by their heavy workload, as noted by women in Ihurio Ntungamo:

We as women are overburdened with garden work. We are the ones to attend the gardens while the men relax at Nyamunuka trading centre. Even the demand for scholastic materials and uniform for children falls on us... So it is difficult to take care of all the gardens alone and this sometimes affects output.

Woman in FGD with women, Ihurio, Ntungamo

- ◆ **Household income:** the amount of household income available for family needs is diminished because women do not have time for income generating activities or their business ventures are compromised by lack of time. In Kisarabwe in Masindi, women have the major responsibility for agricultural production, which is the 'major economic activity and source of livelihood', as well as all responsibility for domestic work. Women reported that this hinders them from success in efforts to better their lives through earning income from business.
- ◆ **Children's schooling:** children, especially girls, are kept out of school to carry out domestic tasks while their mothers work.

- ◆ **Participation in community life:** the level of women’s participation in politics and community affairs is limited by their workload, as well as by cultural constraints, and limits their capacity to contribute to accountable government.



Women have too many activities to accomplish at home to the extent they fail to get time to think about what goes on in life outside the home.

Man in community meeting in Kiddugala, Wakiso

Women do not have time for politic. If they were made LCI chairman it would be a mess.

Old man, Oludria, Arua

- ◆ **“Men wasting time and family resources drinking”:** the fact that men in many households spend a lot of time in unproductive activities, especially drinking, reduces the overall level of household income and welfare. Women pointed this out in many sites. For example, in Nakapelimen in Moroto women explained how men waste time drinking and challenged men when they retorted that women providing for everything is what women are ‘supposed to do.’

Men drink from morning to sunset. So it is the women to think of the children's feeding, clothing and sleeping.
Very poor woman, Nakapelimen, Moroto
How do you expect us to improve if you do not lend a hand?
Poor woman during community feedback on PPA2 findings in Nakapelimen, Moroto

55. The principal consequence of time poverty is that hard choices and trade-offs are inevitable, and are particularly harsh for resource- and labor-constrained (i.e., poor) individuals and households. Trade-offs in time use among otherwise desirable objectives—remunerated work, education of children, and care tasks—are one of the core characteristics sustaining both poverty and vulnerability, with important implications for the inter-generational transmission of poverty.

56. The issue of women's lack of control applies to the use of their own time. UPPAP discussions revealed that men also control women's time, with implications for economic, social, and political activity, as well as for mobility more generally. Some forbid their wives from participating in politics or in social groups. In Kiddugala, women reported that many of them had never gone beyond Bbembe parish. Most men had refused to allow their wives to attend training in Namayumba sub-county, fearing that 'women would become arrogant and disrespectful after attending the training.' It is recounted that one woman attended despite her husband's directive; the husband terminated the marriage as soon as she returned (UPPAP 2002). The issue of control is addressed further in Chapter 4.

Box 5: Saving Time and Energy

The Mbale data indicate that striking savings of time are possible. If woodlots were within 30 minutes of the homestead and if the water source were within 400 meters, Mbale households (and predominantly their women/girls) would save more than 900 hours/year (>240 for wood and >660 for water). This is close to 1/2 person-year of work, assuming 8 hours/day, 5 days/week. This would in turn free up time for other, more productive tasks, including education.

Source: Barwell 1996.

Water and fuel investments significantly reduce collection time
Potential average annual time savings

Location	Potable water within 400m (hrs/yr)	Woodlots within 30 mins walk (hrs/yr)	Total Potential Savings (hrs/yr)
Lusaka Rural (Zambia)	~180	~200	~380
Kaya (Burkina Faso)	~120	~100	~220
Mbale (Uganda)	>660	>240	>900
Kasama* (Zambia)	>600	0	>600
Dedougou* (Burkina Faso)	~250	0	~250

* Kasama & Dedougou already within the target for water.
Source: Barwell 1996, in *Engendering Development*, PRR, 2001.

57. The public policy issue is how important is the problem of women's "overburden," and how much priority and investment to give to addressing it? This is one of the central challenges of the PEAP revision. If women's time (let alone women themselves) is effectively valued at zero, then the opportunity cost of their time is also zero, which can give the misleading impression that there is no need for public policy to pay attention to it. Moreover, in the context of energy, fuelwood is itself perceived as a "free" good, since the time, energy, and effort required by women to fetch it is not counted. Yet the potential time savings, and their impact on other aspects of life, are considerable, as illustrated in the Mbale case in Uganda (Box 5).

58. The importance of addressing domestic energy issues has even greater relevance and urgency if one takes into account some of their wider (environmental) health implications. Using fuelwood for cooking exposes people (again, predominantly women and very young children) to pollutants and toxins, and contributes to high levels of acute respiratory infections (ARI) and other ailments, in turn fuelling high morbidity and mortality. Globally, it has been estimated that this phenomenon alone costs the lives of 2 million women and children each year. The 2000/01 UDHS data indicate that children aged 6-11 months experience a prevalence rate of symptoms of ARI of 33 percent. This makes ARI the third most important health problem for children in Uganda after malaria and diarrhea, and a significant issue for Uganda's efforts to reduce both maternal and child mortality in line with achieving the MDGs (Blackden 2004).

4. NO PLAY

59. The third critical building block is to address the issue of women’s “lack of control” of resources, and the associated lack of decision-making power. This is by far the most important, and most complex, of the issues raised in the UPPAP. As is apparent from the UPPAP findings, the issue of lack of control by women concerns economic matters and choices related to earning or disposing of income or assets. It is also concerned with “when and how often to have children.” It is associated in the UPPAP with “excessive fertility,” discussed in Chapter 2. This chapter examines gender differences in decision-making and control over resources, as reflected in three key areas: (i) voice and participation in public life and in decision-making at different levels; (ii) differences in access to and control of land, itself both a critical productive resource and a proxy for property rights more generally; and (iii) the phenomenon of domestic violence, widely reported in the UPPAP and elsewhere, not least in view of its links with the spread of HIV/AIDS. These are areas in which gender inequality has far-reaching consequences for Uganda’s social and economic development.

Voice and Participation

60. Uganda has made extraordinary progress in affirmatively enabling women to have more of a voice in public affairs. A study of affirmative action in Ugandan politics showed that the increased presence of women in decision making has indeed shaped policy and met women’s gender needs.³¹ As a result of their participation in decision-making, a gender-sensitive Constitution was formulated, and gender has been increasingly and more systematically recognized as central to poverty eradication, as will be explored further in Chapter 5. The increasing focus on gender in the PEAP revisions and in associated policy-oriented analytical work has enabled important progress to be registered in the following areas:

- ◆ Bringing voices of poor men and women into the formulation of policies for poverty eradication.
- ◆ Providing evidence of how differently women and men perceive and are affected by poverty.
- ◆ Making a case for a gender perspective in the poverty reduction strategies in the various sectors.³²

61. However, as *Table 14* below shows, women’s voice is still under-represented in national and local government decision-making.

³¹ Tanzam Nite, 2003. “Affirmative Action in Ugandan Politics,” in *Women’s Political Space: The Experience of Affirmative Action in Eritrea, Tanzania and Uganda*. British Council/DFID.

³² As presented in Mukasa et al. 2004.

Table 14: Gender Representation in Decision Making

Position in Public Life		Sex	1996	%	2003	%
Members of Parliament		M	225	81.2	230	75.4
		F	52	18.8	75	24.6
Members of the Executive	President	M	01	100.0	01	100.0
		F	00	0.0	00	0.0
	Vice President	M	00	0.0	01	100.0
		F	01	100.0	00	0.0
	Cabinet Ministers	M	21	91.3	18	85.7
		F	02	8.7	03	14.3
	Ministers of State	M	18	90.0	33	73.3
		F	02	10.0	12	26.7
Chairpersons of District Local Governments		M	45	100.0	55	98.2
		F	00	0.0	01	1.8
Councilors in District Local Councils		M	908	57.6	571	61.1
		F	668	42.4	364	38.9
Sub-County Chairpersons		M	851	98.4	673	97.7
		F	14	1.6	16	2.3
Councilors at Sub-county level		M	6,177	51.5	6,224	55.4
		F	5,821	48.5	5,007	44.6
Civil Servants at the highest scale (U1) [excluding teachers]		M	-		814	82.6
		F	-		171	17.4
Chief Administrative Officers [Technical Heads of Districts]		M	-		53	94.6
		F	-		3	5.4

Source: Tanzarn 2003. 1996 data from *Africa Gender and Development Index (Uganda)*.

62. At the household level, women's limited decision-making is associated with their insecurity of access to productive resources, especially land, and to their being predominantly engaged in the unpaid care economy. While women perform most of the agricultural work, they do not make decisions of what enterprises to get involved in, nor how the benefits accruing from them are distributed. Nonetheless, some progress is made when women contribute cash earnings to the household. According to the UDHS (2000), 40 percent of women employed for cash participate in household decisions. This is in comparison with a 22 percent participation rate for women not employed for cash, and a 14 percent participation rate for unemployed women.³³

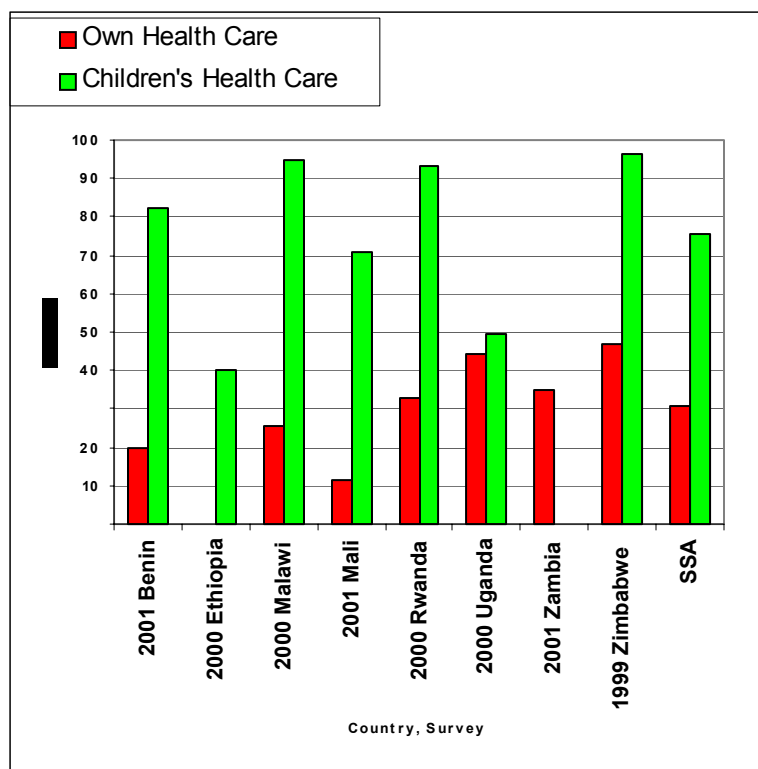
63. While it not possible to analyze expenditure allocation within households using UNHS data, it is possible to use data from the UDHS 2000 to assess to what extent women have control over household expenditure. This analysis suggests, perversely, that the more women contribute to household expenditure, the less control they have over how the money is used. For example, of the married women who meet the entire household expenditure, 37 percent make the decision on how to spend this themselves, while 26 percent allow the husband to decide (compared to 78 percent and 6 percent respectively for women who do not contribute to household expenditure). As Lawson points out, this may at first seem counter-intuitive, but it may in fact add credence to the UPPAP/PPA2 findings that women spend all their money on domestic needs as a means of not becoming economically active or independent (Lawson 2003). This may be a strategy for counteracting the prevailing (male) attitudes toward women's economic independence, and the

³³ Mukasa et al. 2004, p. 23.

risks of violence associated with it. As noted in para. 77 below, women’s economic autonomy is associated with becoming “unruly” and “unmanageable,” which markedly limits their involvement and their decision-making capacity. This is clearly an area requiring further analysis.

64. A study which examined why the Domestic Relations Bill (DRB) is important for poverty reduction in Uganda showed that most of the gender inequalities in access to resources manifest themselves at the household level.³⁴ This implies, strongly, that the most important aspects of empowerment are those that pertain in the domestic sphere, and therefore, the family. These inequalities perpetuate women’s—as well as national—poverty. Enactment of the DRB into law has the potential to address gender-based inequalities such as land rights, decision-making, and the invisibility of women’s work, all of which, as we have seen, are core gender dimensions of poverty in Uganda. This reinforces the case for urgent enactment and effective enforcement of the DRB.

Figure 7: Women’s Health Care Decision-Making



Source: Country DHS Surveys in Gwatkin et al. 2004.

65. Differences in decision-making power within the household are one of the factors contributing to poor health outcomes in Uganda, including the high levels of maternal and child mortality. The Government has demonstrated its appreciation of this important aspect of health outcomes by collecting data on six aspects of household decision-making in the 2000 UDHS. These data suggest that women in Uganda compare favorably with other SSA countries for which there are comparable data with respect to women’s ability to decide to seek care for themselves, but the country compares very unfavorably with other SSA countries with respect to decisions to seek care for children (*Figure 7*).³⁵ The combination of heavy workload, resource dependency, and limited decision-making may also help to explain why 44 percent of pregnant women delay their first visit to a health facility to the last trimester of their pregnancy (World Bank 2004b).

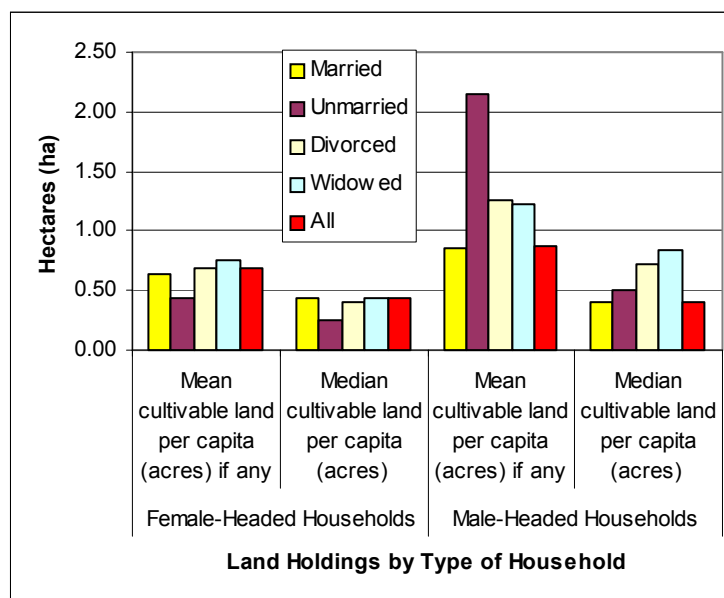
³⁴ See Tanzarn 2004. *The Link between the Domestic Relations Bill (DRB) and the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP)*, prepared for UWONET.

³⁵ This issue has been identified in the Health Sector Study. See World Bank 2004b.

Gender and Land Issues

66. UNHS 2003 data on cultivable land assets confirm a gender disparity similar to that found in the 1992 IHS. In rural areas, MHH of all types are generally likely to have larger landholdings than their FHH counterparts (*Figure 8*). Between 1992 and 2003, there has been an increase in the percentage of both MHH and FHH reporting that they have no cultivable land: for FHH, the figure has risen from 23.7 percent to 26.5 percent, and for MHH from 18.3 percent to 19.6 percent.³⁶

Figure 8: Land Assets by Household Type(Rural Areas)



Source: Christensen 2004.

67. The UPPAP/PPA2 findings focus on differences in access to and control of land as one of the most critical assets necessary for productive activity. The Sector Working Paper for the Environment and Natural Resources sector, prepared for the PEAP revision, discusses land tenure issues and land security problems extensively.³⁷ It notes that poor people, particularly women, are disadvantaged by insecure land tenure arrangements, inadequate understanding of land rights, and by lack of information and access to advice. Conflicts between *Mailo* owners and *bonafide* occupants contribute to this insecurity. Conflicts exist, too, where communities believe they own land, while Government considers it common property. Though, in principle, the 1998 Land Act affords some protection for women, children and other disadvantaged groups, there is need for more effective measures, and for a land policy that addresses “issues of multiple layers of rights, reducing transaction costs on titled land, mitigating distress sales and implementing systematic demarcation.” The Land Act itself is compromised by the widespread failure to register land. Additionally, there are not sufficient resources to rectify this.

68. A situation analysis for the Land Sector institutions was carried out in October 2003 by the Ministry of Water, Lands, and Environment (MWLE) in all the 56 districts of the country to assess the state of the Land sector institutions, their constraints and make recommendations. The analysis established that the District Land Management Offices received Land applications for

³⁶ These changes need to be interpreted with caution, since households can report not having cultivable land for various reasons: landlessness, poverty, having formal sector employment, or switching out of agriculture to non-farm employment.

³⁷ See Moncrieffe review of the ENR SWP. p. 15 December 2003.

processing of certificate titles, of which about 6 percent were for women; lease offers were also issued, of which about 5 percent were to women.³⁸

69. In one study, 47 percent of the plots were owned by the husband alone, 11 percent by the wife, and 21 percent jointly.³⁹ The study concludes, for this sample at least, that an extension of land rights to women could have amounted to a considerable shift in the gender distribution of productive assets. This is particularly important with respect to widows and the fact that, under customary law, women have no land rights on their own but are instead to be taken care of by the deceased's kin, something that could imply considerable insecurity of land ownership by widows (Deininger and Castagnini 2002). FHH are significantly more likely to be affected by conflict than MHH. The probability of having a conflict is 14 percent higher for widows, and 48 percent higher for a separated woman than for a MHH. Moreover, rather than reducing the incidence of conflict, the 1998 Land Act has led to a stark increase in land conflicts, suggesting that other accompanying measures are necessary to prevent the law being an obstacle, rather than a contribution, to greater tenure security. This is highly relevant when set against the further finding of this study that there is significantly lower productivity per acre on plots affected by conflict. The missed output/potential, and its implications for household welfare and food security is significant.

70. To ensure security of occupancy, the Land Act provides for spousal consent with respect to disposal of registered land on which the family depends for its livelihood. The effectiveness of this provision is diminished in two important respects. One is that, as indicated, land registration is not common. The second is that spousal consent is problematic in a context in which consent assumes equal rights of spouses and balanced power relations within marriage, which is largely non-existent in many households in Uganda. Local councils, whose work is heavily informed by their cultural context, which administer land sales, assume consent is given *'as long as the women do not complain.'* In the climate of violence, or the threat of violence, which is addressed in the next section below, the likelihood of women "complaining" is greatly diminished. Moreover, where previously women's lack of ownership did not preclude their guaranteed access to land through the clan (even her spouse's), men are found to be increasingly perceiving *their* ownership of land as individuals and not as custodians on the basis of their being household heads. The result is increased loss of access to land by women and individual appropriation of the commercial value by men (Mukasa et al. 2004).

71. These problems are compounded by limited information, high costs and inefficiencies associated with the institutions responsible for land administration including the district land boards, the registries and land tribunals. A study of the performance of the Land Tribunals showed that there are four times more cases brought to the tribunals by men than by women. Many women and some poor men who are unable to access and afford the tribunals have sought to resolve disputes at other for a or simply given up fighting for their rights. Women are further disadvantaged by the limited time they have (time poverty) that does not allow them to go out

³⁸ As reported in *Country Status Report on Government of Uganda's Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) and the Outcome of the 23rd Special Session of the General Assembly (2000)*. Ministry of Gender, Labour, and Social Development, MGLSD, February 2004.

³⁹ Klaus Deininger and Rafaella Castagnini, *Incidence and Impact of Land Conflict in Uganda*, World Bank, December 2002.

and pursue protracted issues outside the home. At another level, gender insensitivity of the institutions responsible for land administration further alienate female users. Although these have provisions for women's representation, the absence of sufficient resources has affected their operations and effectiveness further increasing the vulnerability of the poor, and poor women.⁴⁰

Gender-Based Violence

72. There is a dark side to the issue of women's lack of control of productive resources: powerlessness in the face of sexual and other forms of violence against women, which is exacerbated by the linkage between violence and the spread of HIV/AIDS. Domestic violence was noted to be common in many sites covered by the UPPAP/PPA2 surveys. Many of those interviewed reasoned that domestic violence is one by-product of poverty and is often linked to alcohol abuse (See *Table 8* above). Men were noted to resort to violence to enforce 'order', 'discipline' and 'respect' among women and to use violence to ensure that women perform their traditional roles.

When he comes when I am not through with preparing his meals, I must face the wrath of his beatings.

Woman in community meeting in Kagoma Gate, Jinja

Men take themselves very special. If you tell a man to do household chores, he will beat you.

Poor woman in women's focus group, Nakapelimen, Moroto

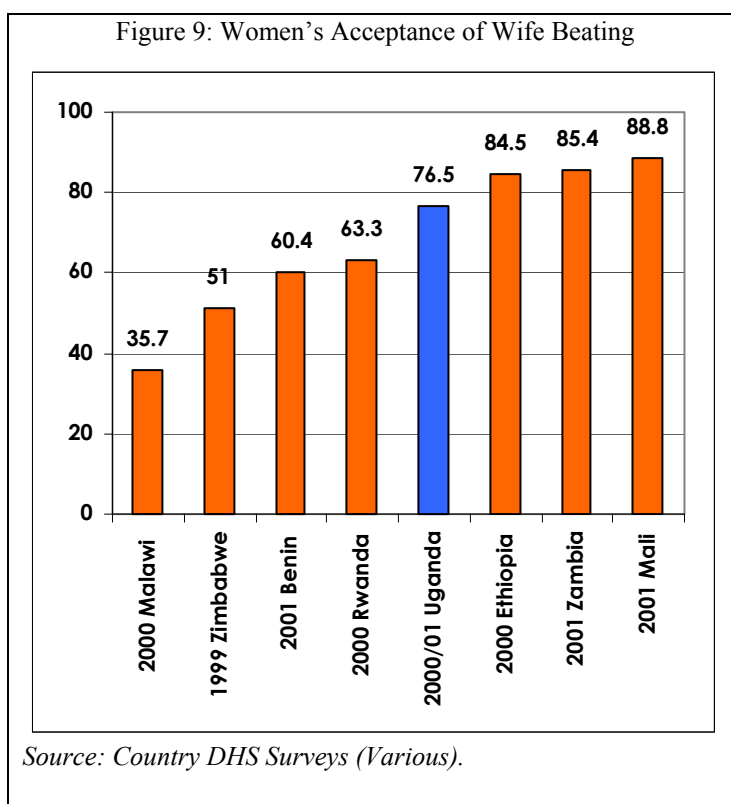
73. In some cases, women accept that men have a right to use violence to 'discipline' them, but in others they requested assistance from FIDA to 'help them access justice'. DHS data for Uganda confirm that wife beating has become "so endemic and normalized"⁴¹ that women themselves often believe that wife beating is acceptable. These data suggest that 76.5 percent of Ugandan women agree that their husband/male partner would be justified in beating them for at least one of a list of specified reasons. This compares with 85 percent in Zambia and 51 percent in Zimbabwe (*Figure 9*).

⁴⁰ Mukasa et al. 2004.

⁴¹ This phrase is used in UNICEF 2004.

74. A report by Human Rights Watch offers an extensive discussion of this issue and some insights into the implications for women, and for Ugandan society, of the combined effects of gender inequality, HIV, and violence.⁴² The report notes that in many communities wife battery that does not result in serious injury is tolerated and considered a normal part of marriage. Because domestic violence is under-reported, and official statistics are largely absent, domestic violence rates are difficult to measure with any accuracy. There is, however, general agreement that domestic violence rates are high in Uganda. The report cites UN data suggesting that more than 40 percent of Ugandan women have suffered domestic violence. A study of domestic violence among women attending the pre-natal clinic in Mulago hospital found that a similar percentage (40.7 percent) of women reported physical assaults in the year before conceiving. Human Rights Watch was informed that complaints of domestic violence rose from 495 in 2001 to 1,009 in 2002, an increase attributable in part to training on women’s rights but also to increased levels of violence as a result of poverty.⁴³ The numerous interviews with affected people portray “the ways in which violence strips women of bodily autonomy, prevents them from safeguarding themselves from exposure to HIV infection, and forces them to go to great lengths to disguise their HIV positive status.” It also examines links between certain traditional practices (notably polygamy and bride price) and women’s heightened risk of HIV infection, and how, ultimately, economic dependency underpins women’s vulnerability to both domestic violence and HIV/AIDS.

75. The HRW Report highlights sex as a marital obligation, where men in many instances have “absolute dominion” over the terms of sexual relations with their spouses. Refusing the man sex is often perceived as “legitimate” grounds for male violence.⁴⁴ While marital rape is not a recognized legal concept in



⁴² See: *Just Die Quietly: Domestic Violence and Women’s Vulnerability to HIV in Uganda*, Human Rights Watch, August 2003. This report, and others, accessible at: www.hrw.org.

⁴³ Human Rights Watch, 2003a, p. 17.

⁴⁴ This is a problem that is by no means unique to Uganda or to Africa. As reported in WHO 2002, in many cultures, beating a wife to chastise or to discipline her is seen as culturally and religiously justified. Because men are perceived as the “owners” of their wives, it is necessary to show them who is boss, so that future transgressions are discouraged. Sadly, because of their own cultural milieu and perceptions of self worth, many women often agree with the idea that men have the right to discipline their wives, if necessary by force. In the Uganda case, the HRW report documents repeatedly that for many women negotiation of the terms of sexual relations, or discussion of safe sex and sexual behavior, are simply not an option.

Uganda, interviews for the report indicate that forced sex within marriage is “rampant”—in one sample, nearly 70 percent of women confirmed that their husbands forced them to have sex against their will. Notwithstanding Uganda’s progress in reducing HIV prevalence, the connection between sexual violence and AIDS is evident. In a study of heterosexual HIV transmission in rural Uganda, women who reported being forced to have sex against their will in the previous year had an eightfold increased risk of becoming infected with HIV.⁴⁵ It is a vicious circle with respect to HIV/AIDS. “Women who perceive their male partner to be at significant risk of HIV infection may be reluctant to engage in sexual relations with this partner; this resistance may be met, in turn, with physical violence or coercion into sex by the male partner” (HRW 2003a).

76. As the HRW report accurately notes (p. 21), a combination of factors heightens women’s vulnerability to HIV. Cultural perceptions of women’s sexual and reproductive obligations in marriage rob women of bodily autonomy, while unequal property rights, the payment of bride price (see *Box 7* below), and women’s inability to take their children from the fathers’ homes render women unable to leave abusive relationships. These factors and more combine with violence, or the threat of violence, to create an environment within which women are trapped into having unprotected sex with HIV-positive men and are unable to seek information or treatment on HIV infection and AIDS. In such circumstances, it is not surprising that what has become the conventional approach to HIV/AIDS prevention—Abstain, Be faithful, use Condoms—is perceived by many women as being totally off the mark (*Box 6*).

Box 6: The Limits of ABC

Abstinence is unrealistic in an environment in which boys are encouraged to be sexually aggressive and girls are kept in ignorance about their own sexuality. And calls for abstinence are, of course, meaningless when sexual activity is coerced, or when women and girls feel they must resort to sex as a matter of survival.

Being faithful only works if both partners play by the same rules. Yet prevailing norms encourage men to have multiple partners. ... Fidelity will do nothing to protect a girl or woman against HIV/AIDS if her partner is unfaithful; nor will fidelity to an older male who is more likely to be infected.

Condom use is almost invariably a male decision, and many men remain deeply reluctant to use them. Alternative forms of contraception ... which might give greater power to women and girls, are hard to come by. Source: UNAIDS 2004.

77. The economic dependence of women—their lack of control over productive resources and assets—is at the root of the problem. It is a systemic issue, where inequity in marital status and in property ownership intersects with cultural attitudes and beliefs to create formidable obstacles to change. The imperative to control women—embodied in the question reported in the HRW interviews “how can property own property?”—is itself underpinned by some curious logic. In the UPPAP/PPA2, it is widely reported that men fear that women will become promiscuous and indulge in extra-marital affairs if they are allowed to work.⁴⁶ Men express the view that women will become “uncontrollable,” “unmanageable,” “unruly,” or disrespect men if

⁴⁵ Study cited in World Health Organization (WHO), *World Report on Violence and Health*, Geneva 2002, p. 102.

⁴⁶ The situation is similar in Kenya. A Human Rights Watch study of Kenya (HRW 2003b) reports the view of men that if women own property “they would automatically commit adultery.”

they gain economic independence. They reason that women working might lead to family break-up as women might abandon men if they are no longer economically dependent on them. Conversely, it is also reported that when the husband learns that the woman can get some income, he will swiftly shift the burden of looking after the family to the wife. Women who are allowed to work are left to shoulder the responsibility of caring for the home, e.g., pay school fees, buy food, meet the medical bills, buy clothes for the entire family, ensure provision of all household necessities, and pay taxes for their husbands. Just as unfortunate is that women are themselves often driven by these same cultural imperatives to support and uphold these views. One woman argued that “at times, we women are a problem because after our husbands have supported us to do business, when we become successful we end up despising them” (UPPAP 2002).

78. Interviews with women entrepreneurs in November 2004 reinforced the centrality of these culturally-based obstacles to women’s economic empowerment. While access to finance, and the need for management training and other business development services, are highlighted as particular issues facing women entrepreneurs, the question of the reluctance of husbands to “allow” their wives to engage in business activity was never far from the surface. As a consequence, women’s enterprises often remain precarious, and are usually tied to small-scale and informal activities that can be reconciled with their domestic responsibilities. This essentially means that a substantial segment of Uganda’s entrepreneurial spirit remains underutilized and is unable to realize its full potential in contributing to the country’s growth and economic dynamism.

“Some men are just men by nature. They are unable to care for their families. Most fear responsibility.”

Poor women in FGD on gender roles. Nakapelimen, Moroto.

5. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK AND COUNTRY POLICY

79. This chapter aims to provide summary information on the legal and institutional framework within which Uganda addresses issues of gender inequality, as a basis for outlining a set of priority interventions.

Legal Framework

80. There are important gender differences in men's and women's legal status and in the rights and protections afforded by law. Uganda ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1995, without reservations. The Constitution of 1995 enshrines gender equality in many of its provisions.⁴⁷ The JLOS aims to “enable all people in Uganda to live in a just and safe society.” As the Desk Review notes, “reality, however, is that many people in Uganda, particularly the poor and marginalized groups like women, the disabled, and children, have very little access to justice and little protection from the justice system to ensure their safety and security” (Keller 2002). A key insight from the Desk Review, and one confirmed by the key UPPAP message cited at the outset, is that many of the barriers to justice are overlapping, and are particularly problematic for women:

“The barriers to justice are broad and interlinked such that the elimination of a single one brings others to the surface. When geographical/physical barriers to ... access have been removed, financial barriers have been removed, social constraints surmounted, there are still constraints inherent in the legal provisions ... But these constraints are exacerbated for women because of the structural disadvantages resulting from gender-based discrimination that permeate all areas of their lives.” (p. 3).

81. The Constitution of Uganda domesticates CEDAW in fundamental ways. In general, it provides for total gender equality in all fields (Articles 21, 30, and 31) and prescribes affirmative action measures for women to redress imbalances created as a result of history or tradition. The Constitution further outlaws cultures, traditions and practices that undermine the welfare, dignity and interests of women (Articles 32 and 33).

⁴⁷ An excellent discussion of gender issues in access to justice is in *Justice, Law and Order Sector, A Desk Review of Gender and Access to Justice in Uganda*, March 2002. Unless otherwise indicated, the review is the principal source of information for this section.

82. Key gender-related barriers to access to justice have been identified as: (i) substantive law issues, relating to gender biased laws (notably concerning divorce, adultery, and defilement) and differences in evidentiary (burden-of-proof) requirements; (ii) administration of law issues, including, physical access, training and orientation of staff - the lack of representation of women is, for example, particularly noticeable in the police force (*Table 15*), and delays in delivery of justice; and (iii) barriers which exist in the community where disputes occur, notably the role of culture, religion, and patriarchy in community management, power imbalances in the household, and community dispute resolution fora which are not necessary gender inclusive or gender-responsive. The law on defilement is biased in the important respect that it is framed as protective of girls under age 18, and therefore does not protect “a large number of boys who are victims of sexual violation” (p. 15). According to the rules of evidence, victims of sexual offenses can only be female, thereby frustrating access to justice for male victims, while, as the Desk Review notes, the prevailing stereotype is that women and girls are liars and should take some blame for sexual offenses against them. Most community-based dispute-resolution fora are not always gender-responsive. In one study, only a small percentage of individuals reported violence—60 percent of people interviewed cited the fact that the abusers were their partners as the reasons for failure to report. (p. 23).⁴⁸

Table 15: Distribution of Men and Women in the Justice Sector, 2001

Position/Agency	F	M
	%	
State Attorneys	30	70
State Prosecutors	28	72
Police Force	10	90
Judges	25	75
Magistrates	35	65
The Bar	13	87
Prison Service	15	85
Legislature	20	80

Source: Calculated from data in JLOS Desk Review, GOU 2002.

Cultural Factors

83. Culture is integral to understanding both gender and poverty issues in Uganda, and how they are intertwined.⁴⁹ Some practices, which are justified as cultural and customary practices, pose a threat to women’s safety and security, and limit access to justice. Examples include female genital mutilation, domestic violence, particularly wife battery, early marriage, widow inheritance, and the practice of property grabbing from widows and orphans. Culture has a pervasive impact on social and economic life. It is a cross-sectoral issue which influences the roles and status of men and women in different sectors. The allocation of resources, of decision making power, status, opportunities, and rewards to men and women are defined by gender, itself largely defined by cultural norms, expectations, attitudes, and beliefs. *Table 16* below illustrates the influence of culture on gender disparities and their links with key determinants of poverty.

⁴⁸ Underreporting of sexual offenses is not unique to Uganda, nor to Africa. A recent opinion piece in the Washington Post [June 11, 2004] reported that in Philadelphia many sexual offenses had not been counted as crimes, to reduce reported crime rates in the city. A subsequent investigation revealed that Philadelphia police had classified 2,000 reported sexual assaults as non-crimes, 60 percent of which should have been classified as sexual assaults or rapes. See: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A35740-2004Jun11.html>

⁴⁹ This section is largely drawn from Mukasa et al. 2004, in particular its Chapter 10.

Table 16: Gender and Culture: Links with Poverty Issues

Culturally defined Gendered Practices	Prevalence/significance of Issue (where data exist)	Influence on gender dimensions of poverty
Payment of bride wealth		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Women's time and labor are considered part of the value received by the men and their extended families. ◆ Predisposes girls to early marriage, which negatively affects their education opportunities and compromises their health and ultimately their employment.
Domestic violence	40-45% of women have experienced domestic violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Affects women's health and productivity, at times results in death ◆ Disempowers women
Widow inheritance		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Disempowers women and may entail dispossession of property (and children, especially girls). Predisposes to HIV/AIDS either way, thereby dwindling the scope for protection of children
Polygamy	% of HH in polygamous unions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Inability to provide for the needs of the family. Women in the relationship end up as family heads with limited resources, sharing of scarce resources across many 'households', fragmentation of land and impetus for higher fertility rates amongst women in polygamous families (competing for male heirs)
Female Genital Mutilation		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Health hazards/maternal mortality. Non preservation of women's dignity, trauma, school drop out once they complete the 'passage into womanhood'.
Inheritance practices		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Perpetuate landlessness of women and low value attached to women (rootless and visitors in their 'homes'). Compromise potential productivity of women.

Source: Based on Mukasa et al. 2004.

84. Many of the issues of power and control over assets highlighted in this SCGA have cultural roots. Some of these linkages are outlined in *Table 17* below.

Table 17: Culture and Gender disparities within poverty determinants

Key Poverty Determinants	Gender disparities		Influence of culture
	Women	Men	
Ownership of registered land	7%	93%	Women are economically dependent on men. Land inheritance is mainly patrilineal.
Formal labor force participation	12%	88%	Women are domesticated and have limited opportunities, nor is emphasis placed on preparing them for the public space. Training is often skewed toward culturally appropriate fields regardless of their income-earning potential.
Wages of <40,000 USh/month	51%	44%	Less value placed on women's work (globally).
Literacy rates for population aged 10 yrs and above	63%	77%	Still reflects the low value placed on women's role outside the home. Grooming of women for marriage is a factor in limiting schooling and therefore literacy. Gender allocation of roles also affects girls progression in formal education, the main channel for literacy.
Shares of total enrolment at tertiary level	38%	62%	As above. Poverty interacts with negative attitudes about girls' education. For many, investment in girls' education is investing to benefit a different family or clan (the man's) Early marriages are also a factor.
Maternal mortality ratio (per 100,000 live births)	506		No control over sexuality and resources, limited access to information, harmful practices and taboos against women and children, early marriage.
Distribution of credit	9%	91%	Implications of women's economic independence for men and for gender relations.
People living with HIV/AIDS	51%	49%	Women have no control over their sexuality and their bodies.
Likelihood of adults being sick within households	31.8%	24.3%	Workload, exposure to hazardous conditions.
Members of Parliament and limited participation in governance and development structures	24.4%	75.6%	Leadership is a preserve of men; also negative socialization for the role, limited skills, and low value of women.
Men and women chairpersons of district land boards.	3.6%	96.4%	Limited participation in governance structures; land as male preserve; public life as a preserve of men.
Applications for processing land certificate titles	6%	94%	Lack of exposure to land issues; limited opportunity to inherit; land grabbing from widows; limited knowledge of land rights and information on procedures; high costs.

Source: Mukasa et al. 2004.

85. Many sources confirm the importance of bride price in defining women's place and value in society, and the extent to which women do (or even may) control assets and resources (*Box 7*). As reported in the UPPAP/PPA2, in a discussion of land rights for women, one respondent asked bluntly whether "property could own property."

Box 7: Bride Price

Bridewealth payments lead to the perception among both men and women that men ‘own’ women, and therefore that it is women’s job both to provide for men and serve them. In a discussion of men’s assets in Kigusa in Bugiri, one woman expressed a common sentiment when she said ‘I was bought by the man, so my body is his asset to use as he wishes.’ Bride price was also used to legitimize domestic violence. In a discussion of domestic violence in Katebe in Rakai, a male participant commented ‘If you buy a cloth, do you not wash it any time you want?’ and the women agreed that as men have paid cows for them, they are a property in the home to be used as the man wishes.

According to Human Rights Watch, bride price was once a “gesture of appreciation” to the bride’s family – now men “literally purchase” their wives. As in a commercial transaction, the husband’s payment entitles him to full ownership rights over his acquisition.

Source: UPPAP 2002; HRW 2003a.

Institutional and Policy Framework

86. In Uganda, the National Machinery for the Advancement of Women & Gender Mainstreaming is the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MGLSD). The National Machinery plans, coordinates and monitors the delivery of gender mainstreaming programs in Uganda. The National Machinery has structures at District and Lower Local Governments (Community Development function) to execute this mandate at grassroots levels.⁵⁰ MGLSD spearheaded the development of the National Gender Policy in 1997, which is now in the process of being updated and revised to take account both of emerging insights into the gender dimensions of poverty in Uganda, and to build on opportunities afforded by new instruments and modalities for prioritizing and channeling interventions, notably the PEAP. MGLSD has made important contributions in this area. However, as noted by the JLOS Desk Review, the impact of MGLSD has been limited by staffing and financial constraints (GOU 2002).

87. In the revision of the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), the Ugandan authorities have given much more substantive attention to gender issues as a cross-cutting dimension of development. Several factors bolstered the Government’s recognition that gender issues were insufficiently addressed in the 1997 PEAP and in the 2000 PEAP update, while falling income poverty at the time seemed to diminish the urgency of focusing on gender issues explicitly. First, the 2000 UDHS survey showed increasing mortality rates, which were negating the benefits of GDP growth. Further examination of the underlying causes revealed that unequal gender relations were affecting household-level decisions that themselves had an important impact on the welfare of household members. Second, the results of the Poverty and Social Impact Assessment (PSIA) of the strategic exports strategy suggested that gender inequality was hampering the supply response sought under the strategy, which in turn suggested that continued gender inequality has wider economic and growth implications for Uganda (see Chapter 3). Third, the UPPAP/PPA2 process, undertaken in 2001/02, made apparent that poverty in Uganda has important gender dimensions, not least that the “overburden” of women was a significant issue throughout the country, with implications across many sectors. Consequently, the

⁵⁰ Ibid.

Ugandan authorities were determined to give much greater prominence to gender issues in the 2003/04 PEAP Revision.

88. The Government established a PEAP Gender Team in 2002 under the leadership of the Ministry of Finance, Planning, and Economic Development (MFPED) to take the lead in coordinating and managing the integration of gender, as one of the key cross-cutting issues for the PEAP. MFPED worked together with MGLSD to commission a “desk review” of gender and poverty issues, which was completed in May 2003, and prepared guidelines for addressing gender issues in each of the Sector Working Papers (SWPs) being prepared as input into the PEAP revision. A technical workshop on engendering the PEAP was held in March 2003. Concurrently, the Government commissioned further gender-focused analytical work to underpin the more systematic integration of gender into the PEAP revision. This work included: (i) a gender analysis of the UNHS 2002/03 data set, and earlier surveys, to obtain a clearer understanding of some of the key gender dynamics of poverty in the country (Lawson 2003); (ii) a preliminary econometric analysis of gender/growth linkages in Uganda, to address the implications of gender inequality for Uganda’s growth prospects and potential (Klasen 2004a); (iii) further analysis of population dynamics in Uganda, to address the persistent high rate of population growth (Klasen 2004b); (iv) a gender analysis of the Justice, Law and Order Sector (JLOS), undertaken by the Ministry of Justice (GOU 2002); and (v) a gender review of most of the Sector Working Papers (SWPs) which were prepared for the PEAP revision to highlight opportunities and gaps for integrating gender concerns (Moncrieffe 2003). Much of this work has provided the analytical foundations for this report.

89. The Government has followed through on this expanded focus on gender in the PEAP by addressing key gender issues in the PRSC process, as the primary instrument supporting PEAP implementation. To this end, the Government has prepared a set of gender-focused actions, which are reflected in the PRSC4 policy matrix, as summarized in *Table 18* below:

Table 18: Principal Gender-Focused Actions in the PRSC 4 Policy Result Matrix

Pillar	Outcome/Output	PRSC4 Action
I	Implications of gender inequality for growth and development addressed in policy and budgets	MGLSD to initiate the revision of the National Gender Policy.
I		MFPED and MGLSD to initiate and develop gender and equity budgeting guidelines for the 2005/06 budget cycle.
I		MFPED and MGLSD to carry out analysis of gender and growth linkages.
II	Greater access to, and improved enforcement of, the justice system	JLOS undertakings include tabling of Domestic Relations Bill (DRB) to parliament and tabling of Sexual Offences Bill (SOB) to Cabinet
III	Secure land tenure across categories of land users including communities, and greater access to and control of land by women.	MWLE initiates development of evaluation tool for LSSP to provide baseline assessment of women’s land rights, including awareness level.

Note: This reflects the 4 pillars of the 2000 PEAP, not the five pillars of the 2004 revised PEAP.

90. In addition, the PRSC4 policy matrix includes gender-disaggregated and gender-responsive indicators relating to: (i) access to agricultural services (Pillar III); (ii) the undertakings in the education sector for primary completion; and the undertakings in the health sector for child and maternal mortality, HIV prevalence, and adolescent health (Pillar IV). Moreover, the renewed focus on reducing the high rates of infant and maternal mortality, and the

determination of the Government to implement the recommendations of the Task Force on Infant and Maternal Mortality (TFIMM), represent a critical opportunity to address the gender dimensions of these issues in the multi-sectoral approach supported by the PRSC process.

91. MFPED is determined to improve the gender-responsiveness of public budgets while strengthening the coherence of the budget process with upstream policy and planning. As part of PRSC4, a key action to be carried out by MFPED, with support from MGLSD and other stakeholders, was to initiate and develop gender and equity budgeting guidelines, which were to be integrated into the Budget Circular underpinning preparation of Sectoral Budget Framework Papers (BFPs) in the 2005/06 budget cycle. Implementation of these guidelines would initially focus on the key sectors of health, education, agriculture extension, and water and sanitation, as these are sectors which have made the most progress in articulating gender-responsive strategies and programs. The purpose of the guidelines is to provide a step-by-step mechanism for integrating gender into the budget process. It is expected that the impact of the guidelines on the preparation of the 2005/06 budget will be one of the topics of the 2005 workshop on the budget. The guidelines were completed in September 2004, and were incorporated into the Budget Circular issued in October 2004. It will be important to monitor the implementation of these guidelines as part of the PER and budget support process.

92. PRSC4 strengthens the efforts, initially launched under PRSC3, to improve the access of women to land. Progress under PRSC3 in increasing awareness of women's land rights among key stakeholders was very limited, in part because of a lack of focus of the actions envisaged and because of capacity constraints. To provide a more solid foundation for implementing this program, MWLE will develop and implement a monitoring tool for the Land Sector Strategic Plan (LSSP) which will provide a baseline assessment of women's land rights, including the level of awareness among key stakeholders. Once this baseline has been established, MWLE will develop and test methods for tracking the implementation of the provisions of the Land Act concerning family security of occupancy, and will conduct further information campaigns to raise awareness of women's land rights among key stakeholders. The baseline data collected will facilitate periodic monitoring and evaluation of the impact of the public information campaigns.

93. The Government has also made progress in other areas. The abolition of user fees in health, and the introduction of universal primary education (UPE) have had strong pro-poor and pro-women effects, notwithstanding the persistence of gender biases. A recent analysis of the benefit incidence of public spending in Uganda finds that, in the health sector, after the abolition of user fees in 2001, the distribution of the health subsidy has become more pro-poor, with the poorest 20 percent of the population receiving 24 percent of the subsidy (23 percent for men and 25 percent for women), up from 18 percent in 1999.⁵¹ This means that poor people, especially women, have increased access to health facilities since the abolition of user fees. In education, the introduction of UPE has reduced the gender gap in primary enrollments, and pupils from the poorest quintile have seen their enrollment rates rise from 51 percent (boys) and 40 percent (girls) in 1992 to 77 percent (boys) and 76 percent (girls) in 2002. Gains from public spending on primary schooling have evened out following the introduction of UPE. In 2002, the poorest

⁵¹ This paragraph is drawn from Mpuga and Canagarajah, 2004.

20 percent of children gained over 24 percent of the subsidy, though there is still a marked gender gap as boys gained 27 percent of this subsidy, while girls gained 22 percent. However, gender and poverty gaps persist at secondary and tertiary levels, indicating that without specific policies to address imbalances, the poor and especially women are likely to lose out on benefiting from public spending in these areas. Finally, the National Gender Policy (NGP) is currently being revised and updated to take account of new insights into poverty and gender dynamics, as well as new opportunities for gender mainstreaming in the PEAP, and in other policy instruments.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

94. The principal findings of this SCGA are summarized in this Chapter. The Executive Summary contains a more detailed presentation of specific findings.

Gender and Poverty (Chapter 2)

95. Gender analysis of the UNHS data confirms both the diversity and instability in household structure and composition, but caution is needed in interpreting results based on the sex of the household head. Because intra-household resource allocation cannot be observed, it has to be assumed that the entire household is poor (or non-poor). Consequently, it is important not to conflate differences based on the sex of the household head with differences between men and women, nor to assume that women in MHH, for example, have the same access to and control over assets and resources as men in these households. Consumption- or income-based analysis of poverty also does not capture the substantial economic and non-economic contributions of women to household welfare. Analysis of households on the basis of headship nonetheless provides information on the structure and characteristics of different households in Uganda, and is a useful point of departure for understanding some of the gender dimensions of poverty in the country. For example, divorced, widowed and married FHH are particularly prone to being poor at one point in time, with divorced FHH in particular more likely to move into poverty. Household structure and composition are important factors in determining the poverty status of the household. Higher numbers of young and old dependents and orphans, and a lower number of working-age individuals are critical in making FHH more vulnerable to poverty (more prone to move into poverty and less able to move out of poverty).

96. There are significant age- and gender-specific differences in risk and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS, and in the impact of the disease. Cultural beliefs and practices relating to sexuality, fertility, and reproductive rights, including socially-constructed power relations which emphasize male domination and female subordination, undermine women's ability to negotiate safe sex and to protect themselves. This is compounded by very high levels of violence, including sexual violence (rape, defilement), and by women's economic insecurity, which leads to use of sex as a survival strategy. Increased reliance on home-based care for AIDS patients, as a cost-saving measure, contributes to a substantially higher workload for women, along with poor health and poverty.

All Work (Chapter 3)

97. Differences in gender roles and capacities constitute a major obstacle to development and poverty reduction in Uganda. Women's significant, though understated, roles in economic production (agriculture and the informal sector, predominantly) and their pivotal position in household management and welfare (food preparation, health and hygiene, child care and education) are central to Uganda's economic development and social survival. The different

structural roles of men and women in the economy are coupled with their equally different – and unbalanced – roles in the household economy, while the boundary between economic and household activity is less well drawn. What particularly characterizes women's roles, in contrast to those of men, is that they must carry out these roles simultaneously, not sequentially. This is evident not only in the UPPAP/PPA2 which amply documents the extent of women's labor burden and their very long working hours, but also in the harsh choices and trade-offs that women inevitably have to make because of the simultaneous competing claims on their—but not men's—labor time. The “overburden” of women is a key component of both individual and household poverty, in large part because of the disproportionate cost borne by women of reproduction and household management responsibilities. As they carry out their multiple tasks, women, much more than men, must work in the face of severe constraints, many of which are deep-seated and systemic in nature, and are rooted in social institutions and organization. Understanding the time constraint and its implications, and moving forcefully to reduce or eliminate it, is fundamental if the PEAP is to have a significant and lasting impact on poverty.

98. There is emerging evidence in Uganda that men and women face entirely different incentives as economic producers, depending on who controls the resulting income. When there is a market for a food crop that was previously grown for household consumption, control over disposal of that crop passes from women's to men's hands. Where men and women differ in the control over the product of their labor, and this is evident in Uganda, an undifferentiated supply response cannot simply be assumed. These differences critically define effective incentives to raise output and productivity. Gender differences in economic incentives, resulting from disparities in control over income and assets, directly diminish Uganda's economic performance and prospects.

99. The combination of macro analysis, micro-level case studies, and related analysis of demographic linkages, asset inequality, and labor constraints all point in a convergent direction: that there is a strong connection between gender inequality and growth performance. Consequently, it is critically important that growth-enhancing and poverty-reducing policies take account of these issues and seek to tackle the gender-based inequalities not only to promote equity and justice, but also to promote economic growth and efficiency. In this respect, the Government's determination to address gender/growth linkages in economic policymaking, which has been pioneered by MFPED and supported under the PRSC4-5 program, is encouraging.

100. The focus on women's overburden in the UPPAP recognized explicitly that market and household economies are intertwined, and that this has critical implications for both the allocation of labor – and its productivity – across the full range of tasks that predominantly fall to women. Some specific negative effects of time poverty were identified in a number of key areas, in a way that insightfully captures the cross-cutting nature of this issue:

- ◆ **Food security:** women's ability to produce enough food for the family is compromised by their heavy workload.
- ◆ **Household income:** women do not have time for income generating activities or their business ventures are compromised by lack of time.

- ◆ **Children’s schooling:** children, especially girls, are kept out of school to carry out domestic tasks while their mothers work.
- ◆ **Participation in community life:** the level of women’s participation in politics and community affairs is limited by their time burdens.
- ◆ **“Men wasting time and family resources drinking”:** men spend a lot of time in unproductive activities, especially drinking.

101. The constraints on women’s labor will be a critical factor in Uganda’s attempts to modernize agricultural production through the PMA. A key issue for public policy is how much importance and priority to give, in the PEAP revision, to investments which specifically reduce women’s time burdens.

No Play (Chapter 4)

102. The increased presence of women in decision-making has indeed shaped policy. As a result of their participation in decision-making, a gender-sensitive Constitution was formulated, a relatively progressive Land Act was enacted, and gender is recognized as significant to poverty eradication. The increasing focus on gender in the 2003/04 PEAP revision and in the associated policy-oriented analytical work has enabled important progress to be registered in bringing voices of poor men and women into the formulation of policies for poverty eradication, in providing evidence of how differently women and men perceive and are affected by poverty, and in making a case for a gender perspective in the poverty reduction strategies in the various sectors. The 1997 National Gender Policy is being updated to reflect emerging issues and opportunities. At the household level, women’s limited decision making is associated with their insecurity of access to productive resources, especially land, and to their being predominantly engaged in the unpaid care economy. The dynamics of decision-making, and their impact on outcomes, are complex in Uganda, and require further analysis.

103. Access to land is a complex problem in Uganda. Insecurity of tenure, and conflict over land remain pervasive for women. This insecurity has implications for productivity and for wider issues of decision-making at both household and community levels. Gender disparities in knowledge and power, and bias in institutions and implementation reinforce the vulnerability of women vis-à-vis access to and control of land. The focus on women’s land rights in the PRSC process is, consequently, a core element of any effort to improve women’s “control” over critical assets and productive resources.

104. There is a dark side to the issue of women’s lack of control of productive resources: powerlessness in the face of sexual and other forms of violence against women, which is exacerbated by the linkage between violence and the spread of HIV/AIDS. Gender-based violence is widespread in Uganda. UN data suggest that more than 40 percent of Ugandan women have suffered domestic violence. Domestic violence was noted to be common in many sites covered by the UPPAP/PPA2 surveys. Many of those interviewed reasoned that domestic violence is one by-product of poverty and is often linked to alcohol abuse. Men were noted to resort to violence to enforce ‘order’, ‘discipline’ and ‘respect’ among women and to use

violence to ensure that women perform their traditional roles. UDHS data for Uganda confirm that women themselves often believe that wife beating is acceptable, where 76.5 percent of Ugandan women agree that their husband/male partner would be justified in beating them for at least one of a list of specified reasons.

Institutional Framework and Country Policy (Chapter 5)

105. There are important gender differences in men’s and women’s legal status and in the rights and protections afforded by law. Key gender-related barriers to access to justice have been identified as: (i) substantive law issues, relating to gender-biased laws (notably concerning divorce, adultery, and defilement) and differences in evidentiary (burden-of-proof) requirements; (ii) administration of law issues, including physical access, training and orientation of staff, and delays in delivery of justice; and (iii) barriers which exist in the community where disputes occur, notably the role of culture, religion, and patriarchy in community management, power imbalances in the household, and community dispute resolution fora which are not necessary gender-inclusive or gender-responsive.

Conclusion

106. The economic dependence of women—their lack of control over productive resources and assets—is at the root of the problems women face. It is a systemic issue, where inequity in marital status and in property ownership intersect with cultural attitudes and beliefs to create formidable obstacles to change. Payment of bride price has a control imperative, which is interpreted as husbands' "owning" their wives and controlling virtually every aspect of their lives, including, especially, men’s “absolute dominion” over sexual relations with their spouses. The imperative to control women—embodied in the question “how can property own property?”—is itself underpinned by some perverse logic. Men fear that women will become promiscuous and indulge in extra-marital affairs if they are allowed to work, and that women will become “uncontrollable,” “unmanageable,” “unruly,” or disrespect men if they gain economic independence. Just as unfortunate is that women are themselves often driven by the same cultural imperatives to support and uphold these views. These phenomena, though often perceived as outside the frame of reference of the Bank's work, are the elemental forces shaping Uganda's development, and deserve particular and rigorous attention in tackling poverty in the country.

107. Uganda has been exceptionally pro-active in addressing many important gender issues, through affirmative action in the political sphere, through the abolition of user fees in the health system and the introduction of UPE, through the impressive work to reduce HIV prevalence rates, and through its determination to focus on gender issues in the economic policy arena, in legal reform, and in the PEAP revision. These bode well for Uganda’s future. Nonetheless, as this SCGA suggests, there is an important unfinished agenda which will require a greater willingness to tackle some of the more difficult, and systemic issues which remain, notably the attitudes and beliefs which continue to prevent many women, in many spheres of life, from having any effective control over productive resources, including their sexuality and fertility, and that continue to prevent many men from contributing more fully and more effectively to the wellbeing of their households and families.

Recommendations

108. The principal recommendations for further action are as follows.

Gender and Poverty

- ◆ Integrate the existing gender analysis of poverty (UNHS) into the planned Poverty Assessment (PA), deepen the focus on “time poverty” through incorporation of the insights from UPPAP/PPA2 into the PA, and analyze further the gender differences in access to productive assets, especially land, with particular focus on the phenomenon of asset depletion in different types of household. Address differences in power and decision-making to the extent this is possible with available data, and their implications for key poverty reduction outcomes.
- ◆ Commission further work on time poverty, including specific time allocation surveys, incorporation of a time module into subsequent UNHS work, and conduct further analysis of available time allocation data. It is critically important to update the analysis and understanding of gender-differentiated time burdens, to take account of the impact of HIV/AIDS and the increased responsibilities for care of those affected and orphans.
- ◆ Support GOU in addressing the linkages between culture and poverty, with particular reference to issues of bride price, polygyny, widow inheritance, the prevalence and costs of domestic violence, and their impact on poverty.

All Work

- ◆ Develop a gender analysis of the energy sector, focusing on domestic energy issues. Integrate the findings into the energy sector strategy and into the design and implementation of the Energy for Rural Transformation Project.
- ◆ Prioritize investment in the energy sector, focusing on energy for the poor. Emphasize traditional energy sources (woodlots and energy-efficient technology), with a particular focus on energy requirements for domestic purposes (e.g., cooking fuels). Consider including the domestic energy sector within the framework of the Poverty Action Fund (PAF), and incorporate this sector into PEAP implementation and PRSC 5 and 6. Related to this is the need to prioritize investment in labor-saving technology in the domestic sphere, notably to ease the burdens of food product processing and transformation.
- ◆ Maintain and expand investment in water supply and sanitation, especially in rural and under-served areas of Uganda. Increase gender-inclusive representation on decision-making bodies in the WSS sector at both national and local levels.
- ◆ Monitor the effective implementation of the NAADS provisions relating to the access by both men and women farmers to agricultural services provided under the PMA.

- ◆ Address gender-based obstacles to growth and productivity, including in developing entrepreneurship, in the strategic exports initiative, and in other initiatives aimed at expanding and diversifying trade, as part of the MoFPED-led initiative to address gender/growth linkages in future growth strategies and policies.
- ◆ Pursue further work to document the different economic roles of men and women in Uganda, and the different obstacles they face in maximizing their economic potential. Address gender-based barriers to economic empowerment in the investment climate assessment and related work.

No Play

- ◆ Implement forcefully the gender-focused components of the JLO sector, as agreed in the sector review in November 2003. Particular attention needs to be given to passage, and then effective enforcement of, the Domestic Relations Bill governing property rights for women; and of the Sexual Offenses Bill (Penal Code Amendment Bill 2004), as part of PEAP implementation and PRSC 4.
- ◆ Undertake a study of the prevalence of gender-based violence in Uganda and its economic and social costs. Integrate the findings into legal reform and other instruments supporting a country strategy to reduce gender-based violence. Document and build on successful interventions at both policy and community levels to address this issue.
- ◆ Implement the PRSC4/5 provisions relating to women's access to land, including development of a management tool under the LSSP to provide a baseline for determining awareness among stakeholders of women's land rights, and continuation of information campaigns relating to women's land rights. Deepen the analysis of cultural dimensions of land rights, and monitor the effective implementation of the "security of occupancy" provisions of the Land Act.

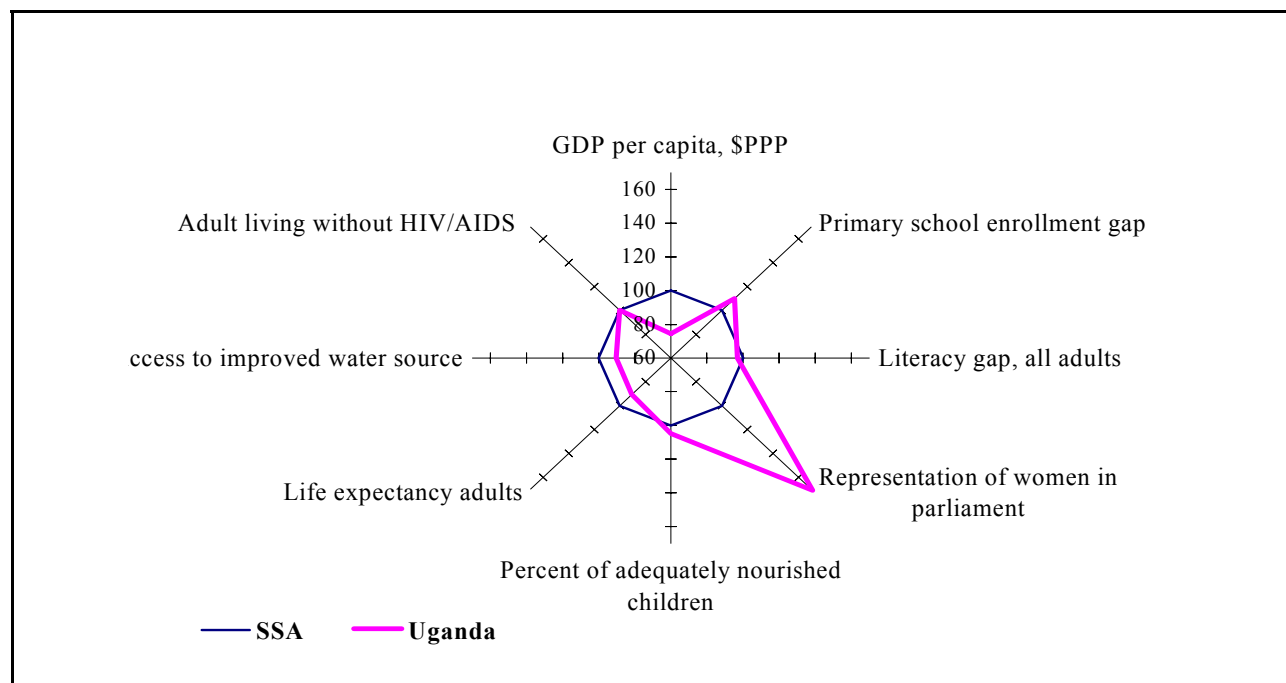
Institutional and Policy Framework

- ◆ As the National Gender Policy is updated, it is important to clarify the roles of the MGLSD and other key ministries. Address capacity limitations and institutional linkages to ensure effective articulation and implementation of the updated policy.
- ◆ Identify gender issues as a focus area for the 2005/06 budget and workshop, based on the gender and equity budget guidelines issued in October 2004, and act on this in budget preparation and in performance evaluation.
- ◆ Identify and build on good practice cases which tackle the cultural and attitudinal obstacles to women's economic and social empowerment, given the weight of these obstacles in poverty reduction efforts (UPPAP/PPA2).

Key Tasks for the World Bank

- ◆ **PRSC4-6.** Sustain the gender focus of the PRSC process, with increased emphasis given to the gender-responsive budget work, implementation of the JLOS sector undertakings, notably the DRB and SOB, and implementation of the program to address women’s land rights, alongside follow-through on the health, education, and water sector undertakings, and the work of the TFIMM. Support for JLOS activities can be strengthened through putting in place the full JSDF “gender and law” program addressing women’s property (land) rights in the context of HIV/AIDS.
- ◆ **Poverty Assessment.** Build on existing gender analysis of poverty to address gender dimensions of poverty explicitly. Focus on asset depletion and gender differences in control of resources. Address the growth and productivity implications of these differences. Address the “overburden” of women through analysis of time poverty, to prioritize investment strategies in key sectors (notably energy) to reduce time burdens and minimize trade-offs.
- ◆ **UJAS Process.** Use the SCGA to inform the diagnostic, the action priorities, and the results matrix, in collaboration with key partners who have been pro-active with respect to gender mainstreaming.
- ◆ **MTCS and PSCP2.** Address gender as a cross-cutting issue in the wider work supporting the revision and update of Uganda’s MTCS. Focus on the gender-based obstacles and constraints facing women entrepreneurs, notably in access to appropriate financial services, in the legal and regulatory framework, and in addressing socio-cultural barriers relating to male resistance to women’s enterprise development.
- ◆ **Energy.** Prioritize ESW in energy to address both the “overburden” issue and the linkages with health, productivity, and achievement of the MDGs. Use this analysis to inform the design and subsequent implementation of the Energy for Rural Transformation Project. Prioritize energy- and time-saving technologies focused on the household economy and the needs of women.
- ◆ **MGLSD.** Put in place mechanisms, in collaboration with other partners, to strengthen the capacity of MGLSD to define and implement the National Gender Policy, and to play its central role in implementing the recommendations of the Task Force on Infant and Maternal Mortality (IMM), as called for in PRSC4.
- ◆ **PER.** Pursue the dialogue on gender-responsive budgeting, and the effective implementation of the gender and equity budget guidelines attached to the October 2004 Budget Circular, in the context of the annual PER exercise and National Budget Workshops, as provided for in the PRSC process.

Uganda Summary Gender Profile



Note: This figure indicates that Uganda has a lower than average economic development, a lower life expectancy, and lower access to improved water sources. The country has slightly higher number of adults living without HIV/AIDS, and a higher share of children that are adequately nourished, compared to the SSA average. The gender disaggregated data for primary school enrollment and literacy show a gender gap that is slightly greater than the SSA averages, on the other hand, women have a 60 percent higher representation in parliament than the average of SSA.

Technical notes: this spider web is constructed to show where the country is in relation to the Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) average in the aspects of economic development, health and education. The SSA average was normalized to 100. The indicators were constructed in a way that a higher magnitude of an indicator indicates a higher level of development. To achieve this consistency, we inverted the percent of malnourished children and the HIV/AIDS prevalence to percent of children being adequately nourished and adult living without HIV/AIDS, respectively. If a country line is inside the SSA line, the country's development level is below the SSA average, and vice versa.

Definition of indicators:

- GDP per capita, \$PPP = GDP per capita converted to international dollars using purchasing power parity rates;
- Primary school enrollment gap = the ratio of female to male gross primary school enrollment rate;
- Literacy gap = the ratio of female to male literacy rate for people aged 15+;
- Life expectancy = life expectancy at birth in years;
- Representation of women in parliament = percent of women in parliament;
- Adult living without HIV/AIDS = percent of adults living without HIV/AIDS;
- Access to improved water source = percentage of the total population with reasonable access to an adequate amount of water from an improved source;
- Percent of adequately nourished children = 100 minus the percent of under-five children suffering from moderate & severe underweight, below minus two standard deviations from median weight for age of reference population.

Sources: Africa Country Gender Database (ACGD)

Indicator	Data (early period)				Data (most recent period)				Source ¹
	Female	year	Male	year	Female	year	Male	year	
HUMAN ASSETS: CAPABILITY									
Health									
Life Expectancy at Birth	51	1970	49	1970	42	2000	42	2000	1
Crude Birth Rate (per 1,000 people)	50 (1970)				45 (2003)				10
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000 live births)	109 (1970)				106 (2000)				4
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000 live births) richest quintile					63 (1995)				2
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000 live births) poorest quintile					109 (1995)				2
Under 5 mortality rate (%)	185 (1997)				161 (2000)				1
Total Fertility Rate (births per woman)	7	1970			7	2000			4
Total Fertility Rate (births per woman) richest quintile	NA				4	2000			10
Total Fertility Rate (births per woman) poorest quintile	NA				7	2000			10
Adolescent Fertility Rate (births per 1,000 women aged 15-19)	196	1997			204	2000			9
Maternal Mortality Ratio (per 100,000 live births)	1,100	1995			1,100	2000			9
Risk of unintended pregnancy (% of married women aged 15-19)					29	2000			9
Contraceptive Prevalence (% women aged 15-49)	1	1982			15	2000			9
Births Attended by Skilled Health Staff (% of Total)	38	1988			38	2000			9
Education									
Adult Illiteracy Rate (15+)	79	1970	49	1970	42	2001	22	2001	1
Young adult illiteracy rate (15-25 years old)	66	1970	35	1970	27	2001	14	2001	1
Net Primary Enrollment Rate Rural (% of age group)	NA								3
Net Primary Enrollment Rate Urban (% of age group)	NA								3
Net Primary Enrollment Rate (% of age group)	35	1981	43	1981	108	1999	110	1999	1
Gross primary enrollment rate (% of age group)	30	1970	46	1970	146	2000	162	2000	9
Gross secondary enrollment rate (% of age group)	2	1970	6	1970	13	2000	20	2000	9
Share of Secondary Enrollments net (%)	NA								1
Share of Tertiary Enrollments gross (%)	0	1970	1	1970	1	2000	3	2000	9
Progression to Grade 5 (% of cohort)	73	1981	82	1981					1
HIV/AIDS									
Adult HIV Prevalence (% of age group 15-49)					5 (2001)				4
Females % of infected adults population					55	1999			4
HIV Prevalence Rate in Young People (15-24)					5.6	2001	2.4	2001	10
Adults (15-49) Living with HIV/AIDS					510,000 (2001)				4
Percent infected in age group 15-19					NA				4
Percent infected in age group 20-29					NA				4
Percent infected in age group 30-39					NA				4
Total Number of People Currently Infected					600,000 (2001)				4
AIDS Orphans (Cumulative)					1,200,000 (2003)				10
Women Attending Antenatal Clinics in major urban areas (% infected)					11	2000			4
Women Attending Antenatal Clinics outside major urban areas (% infected)					10	2000			4

Indicator	Data (early period)				Data (most recent period)				Source ¹
	Female	year	Male	year	Female	year	Male	year	
HUMAN ASSETS: CAPABILITY									
Female Sex Workers / Male STD patients in major urban areas (% infected)					28	2000			4
ECONOMIC ASSETS: OPPORTUNITY									
Labor Force Participation									
Adult economic activity rate					79	2000	88	2000	8
Agricultural Labor Force % of total female/male labor force	91	1980	84	1980	91	2000	77	2000	9
Industry Labor Force % of total female/male labor force	2	1980	6	1980	6	2000	7	2000	9
Services Labor Force % of total female/male labor force	8	1980	10	1980	3	2000	12	2000	9
Gender Intensity of Production									
Agriculture labor force (% female-male)	57	1992	43	1992	75	1997	25	1997	6 & 10
Industry labor force (% female-male)	26	1992	74	1992	15	1997	85	1997	6 & 10
Services labor force (% female-male)	31	1992	69	1992	32	1997	68	1997	6 & 10
Informal Sector employment (% female-male)	49	1992	51	1992					6
Contribution to GDP (%)					50	1997	50	1997	10
PHYSICAL ASSETS: SECURITY									
Access to improved drinking water source (%)		16 (1985)				50 (2000)			1
Access to improved drinking water source (%) Rural		12 (1985)				46 (2000)			1
Access to improved drinking water source (%) Urban		45 (1985)				72 (2000)			1
Access to improved sanitation (%)		13 (1985)				75 (2000)			1
Access to improved sanitation (%) Rural		10 (1985)				72 (2000)			1
Access to improved sanitation (%) Urban		40 (1985)				96 (2000)			1
Traditional energy use (%)		75 (1971)				90 (1997)			1
Total Time Allocation (hours/week)	NA				15-18		8-10		10
Time Allocated to Water/Energy Provision (hrs/day)	NA				1				10
Domestic transport Tasks (hours/day)	NA				2	1996			10
Share of earned income (% of total)	NA								-
Land Ownership (%)	NA				7-8	2003	92-93	2003	10
Access to Financial Services (%)	NA								-
SOCIAL ASSETS: EMPOWERMENT									
Representation in Parliament, 2003 (%)					25	2003	75	2003	10
Representation in Cabinet, 1999 (%)					NA				7
Representation at Ministerial Level	10	1994			14	2003	86	2003	10
Country Policy on Gender Equality ²					1	2000			8
Household Headship (%)	25	1992	75	1992	28	2003	72	2003	10
Household Headship, Rural (%)	25	1992	75	1992					3
Household Headship, Urban (%)	29	1992	71	1992					3

¹ Sources: 1 GDF/WDI, 2 WDI 2001, 3 Human Welfare Indicators, 4 UNAIDS, 5 ILO/UNSD, 6 Standardized Data Files, 7 IPU, 8 UNDP-Human Development Report, 9 genderstats. 10 Recent period data from SCGA background materials.

² Convention on the Elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (1979): 1=ratified, 2=signed 3=not signed

Annex 2:

Uganda – Strategic Country Gender Assessment
Priority Policy and Operational Interventions

Priority Sectors/Tasks	Key Gender Issues	Principal Actions	Principal Responsibility	Timeframe
I. Policy Dialogue and Country Relations				
◆ UJAS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Gender roles in the economy ◆ Gender dimensions of poverty ◆ Gender/growth linkages: gender inequality limits growth ◆ Gender disparities in access to and control of resources ◆ “Overburden” of women ◆ Gender to inform priority setting ◆ Gender-based violence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Gender inclusive participatory process ◆ Gender analysis of the poverty data and of economic roles and constraints ◆ Gender to inform core diagnostic and priority setting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ CT/TTL in collaboration with other CAS partners 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ FY05 deliverable
◆ PEAP Revision and Implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ “Overburden” of women ◆ Gender to inform priority setting ◆ Gender-based violence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Support effective integration of gender issues into the final PEAP document and monitor its implementation ◆ Revisit PAF priorities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ MFPEd, partners, civil society stakeholders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Ongoing
◆ Gender and Law Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Gender differences in legal rights and protections ◆ Vulnerability of orphans and widows ◆ Impact of HIV/AIDS ◆ Land and other property rights ◆ Gender based violence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Complete preparation of full JSDF grant for gender and law capacity-building ◆ Implement PRSC4 measures supporting JLOS implementation (Domestic Relations and Sexual Offenses Bills) and strengthening women’s land rights. ◆ Tackle gender-based violence, and links with HIV/AIDS in policy dialogue and lending instruments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ JSDF TTL 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Submit full JSDF proposal by March 2005
II. Economic and Sector Analysis				
◆ Poverty Assessment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Experience of poverty different for men and for women ◆ Headship-based analysis insufficient to capture gender dimensions of poverty ◆ Focus on gender differences in vulnerability, risk, and poverty dynamics ◆ Gender-differentiated needs and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Deepen gender analysis of household survey data ◆ Gender analysis of other dimensions of poverty ◆ Gender-inclusive participatory analysis of poverty ◆ Gender to inform setting of action priorities ◆ Address time poverty through 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ TTL/CT and other partners, including GOT and civil society stakeholders ◆ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ FY05 deliverable

Priority Sectors/Tasks	Key Gender Issues	Principal Actions	Principal Responsibility	Timeframe
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ PER 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ priorities ◆ Asset depletion ◆ Time poverty ◆ Gender differentiated priorities for service delivery and access ◆ Impact of public spending (and revenues) different for men and women ◆ Gender inclusion and responsiveness in setting expenditure priorities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ investment in labor- and time-saving technology accessible to women ◆ Support GOU in developing and implementing gender budget guidelines for 2005/06 budget cycle. ◆ Monitor implementation of guidelines in Budget Circular and sectoral BFPs ◆ Address gender impact and implementation experience in 2005 budget workshop 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ MFPEd, MGLSD, civil society stakeholders, and development partners ◆ May 2005 budget workshop 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ CY04, in line with timeframe for preparation of 2005/06 budget
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ ESW on Domestic Violence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Gender-based violence as significant dimension of poverty 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Analyze prevalence, costs ◆ Document good practice examples of measures to address this issue 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ MGLSD, JLOS, partners 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ ESW on Energy Sector 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Gender-differentiated burdens in household energy provisioning ◆ Focus on domestic energy (cooking fuels) ◆ Links w/ ARI 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Study “domestic” energy sector as part of focus on energy for the poor ◆ Address traditional energy sources ◆ Analyze cross-sectoral linkages ◆ Time allocation analysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆
III. Lending Operations				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ PRSC4 ◆ PRSC 5-6 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Gender differentiated priorities for service delivery and access ◆ Impact of public spending (and revenues) different for men and women ◆ Gender inclusion and responsiveness in setting expenditure priorities ◆ Gender differences in legal rights and protections ◆ Land access issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Support implementation of gender-focused actions in PRSC4 Program Document and Policy Matrix ◆ Follow up in PRSC 5 and 6, with renewed focus on implementing the national gender policy, addressing women’s land rights and access, and strengthening legal protections through the JLOS program (DRB and SOB). ◆ Continue analysis of gender and growth linkages ◆ Address high fertility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ GOU and partners 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Energy for Rural Transformation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Gender roles in household energy provisioning ◆ Domestic energy requirements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Document men’s and women’s different roles in rural economy and household ◆ Invest in labor-saving technology, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆

Priority Sectors/Tasks	Key Gender Issues	Principal Actions	Principal Responsibility	Timeframe
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Links with transport ◆ “Double workday” time burden 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ including transport ◆ Prioritize investment in alternative energy sources to meet domestic needs (fuel) 		
IV. Portfolio Management				
◆ Portfolio management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Gender differentiated impact of ongoing operations ◆ Gender responsiveness of portfolio of operations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Conduct impact assessment/ portfolio review from gender standpoint, prioritize key sectors (energy, roads, water) ◆ Retro-fit priority operations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ TTLs and GOT counterparts 	◆
◆ Private Sector Competitive-ness Project (PSCP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Gender-differentiated obstacles to enterprise start-up and development ◆ Time constraints ◆ Gender bias in access to financial services ◆ Socio-cultural dimensions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Address gender-based obstacles to finance access explicitly ◆ Gender analysis of the legal and regulatory framework ◆ Investment in time- and labor-saving technologies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ TTLs and GOT counterparts 	◆
◆ HIV/AIDS (MAP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ “Gender dynamics” of HIV/AIDS: differences in risk/vulnerability and impact, and need for “transformation” of gender relations ◆ Gender-based violence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Address gender differences in risk and vulnerability in action plans ◆ Address gender differences in impact, with implications for care and coping ◆ Address gender differences in access to treatment (ARVs) ◆ Address gender based violence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ NACs, TTL/CD and other stakeholders, including at community level 	◆

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